THE LONG TERM MANAGEMENT

OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BANFFSHIRE ESTATE

TERRENCE CHARLES ARNETT

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1984

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 6.9)

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Title of Thesis The Long Term Management of an Eighteenth Century Banffshire Estate

Management decisions taken on one 80,000 acre estate over the course of a century, are examined to determine the extent to which architectural and other environmental improvements corresponded to a consistent strategic plan. Inconsistencies and departures are shown to be largely those of innovation prompted by wider social and economic forces, and to a lesser extent prompted by the personal whims and interests of successive owners.

The specific strategic plan examined is that of the four generations of the Earldom of Findlater in Northeast Scotland. The selected period begins with relative impoverishment in 1707, and ends in 1793 with the transformation of the estate and the lives of the more than 6,000 people comprising it, into a prosperous condition through the creative force of technological and social innovations which were on balance deliberately and carefully imposed. Crucial decisions in this process were at first made by visionary proprietors, but authority was later delegated to professional administrators and eventually to the larger community.

Decisions have been firmly placed within the context of the larger world. Chapter two presents the evolution of national and regional conditions favorable to a spirit of improvement. Chapter three analyzes the estate's organization as though it were a contemporary corporate entity. Chapter four explores changing corporate attitudes towards innovation resulting in diversification of capital investment and in new architectural forms. Chapter Five examines the impact of innovative land use policies upon the 20,000 acres immediately surrounding the estate nucleus at Cullen. Chapters six and seven provide a detailed stylistic analysis of Cullen House as a corporate headquarters; the chapters are divided between the stylistic objectives achieved over a long term and those attempted by the last Earl.

The effectiveness of the estate's long term management is evaluated within the final chapter. Although it will be argued that a strategic plan existed, it was not explicitly articulated as a document for public scrutiny, nor was it a conventional planning process. Much of the evidence of a strategic plan providing management continuity from one generation to the next is apparent only as assumed personal confidence between father and son, and husband and wife, unrecorded, but strongly inferred by the details of the estate records.

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Born on a frontier where structures built prior to 1939 are legislated candidates for historic preservation, and where vast areas of wilderness are the subject of initial entrepreneurial pressures, I contradictorily developed a compulsion to write environmental history from a longer perspective than that available in Canada.

Dr. John Byrom, and Dr. Malcolm Higgs of the Department of Architecture have provided the penetrating criticism which has moulded compulsion to the recognizable boundaries of a discipline. Dr. Byrom, as principal advisor, was particularly responsible for ensuring that the work crossed the Atlantic coherently.

Dr. Ian H. Adams, Department of Geography focused research to the Findlater Estate. Catherine Cruft, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, James Holloway, National Gallery of Scotland, and the staff of the Scottish Record Office were always helpful in answering questions of their considerable resources. Colin McWilliam, Heriot Watt College, commented upon the outline. Dr. Alan Tait, Department of Fine Arts, Glasgow University, gave several hours of his time prior to the publication of his garden history. Sir John Summerson introduced the Adam Collection and impressed me to remember that Cullen was part of a larger Georgian world.

Rewarding discussions were shared with David Monro, who separately, but concurrently, researched the nineteenth century Grant portion of the Seafield Estate for a doctoral thesis in historical geography. George Dixon, a local historian and reporter, gave a uniquely northeastern perspective. Dr. Ian Grant, Scottish Record Office, read the first draft, and corrected the most glaring historical errors; Grant's doctorate on estate management in Northeast Scotland 1750-1850, provides the regional setting for this study.

Several conferences and seminars were attended including the Scottish Georgian Society's November 1980 conference on Landscape Conservation. In July 1981, I attended the International Federation of Landscape Architects' congress in Vancouver, where many papers dealing with the

historical landscape were read. A number of lectures at the Scottish Museum proved worthwhile. The National Gallery of Scotland's exceptional exhibition entitled: "The Discovery of Scotland" influenced this work.

Preparatory work included a similiar Master of Architecture thesis on the Lower Fraser Valley of Western Canada, several architectural pilgrimages through Europe, and a field trip through the Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Washington in conjunction with Oxford University, during the summer of 1974, when a number of relevant historic resources were visited.

A series of interviews relative to twentieth century organizations were conducted, and this became the subject of a separate sabbatical paper provided for my employer, Parks Canada. These included: John Foster, Tom Huxley and David Cameron (director and assistant directors respectively, Countryside Commission for Scotland), Duncan Campbell (landscape architect, Forestry Commission), Edward Taylor (planner, Scottish Tourist Board), Professor Terry Coppock (director, Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, Edinburgh University), James McCarthy (deputy-director, Nature Conservancy), Jeff Londsdale (landscape architect, Scottish Development Agency) and Rodney Beaumont (chairman, Scottish Chapter of the Landscape Architect's Institute). The most striking difference between Parks Canada and the various Scottish agencies with similar mandates, is that environmental quality in Scotland is achieved only through a complex understanding between the private sector (which owns most land and historic resources) and the various public and private agencies. This careful cooperation probably will have increasing relevance for Parks Canada's future.

I am grateful to Parks Canada for the opportunity to undertake and complete this work. I am grateful to the Earl of Seafield for the opportunity to consult and reproduce portions of his family muniments.

Notwithstanding the sacrifices made by my parents, wife and children, I declare that this thesis has been entirely composed by myself, from my own research.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Long Term Management Defined

'Long term management' is used in this thesis to refer to estate planning projected ahead by one generation for the benefit of those following: such planning being 'corporate' in the sense that it attempted a comprehensive management of the total resources of the estate examined; and 'strategic' in the sense that it required distant forecasting well beyond immediate need and return.[1] The subject of the thesis, the estate of an enlightened Scottish Earldom, demonstrates the initial exercise of these skills.

The evidence for continuity and for a strategic corporate approach to management, during the period studied (1707-1793), is assembled here as clearly as possible from a close study of the estate papers; but for the most part without the reassurance of annual audit reports and regular forecasts of the kind taken for granted in modern corporate planning.[2] Nevertheless, sufficient evidence will be presented to confirm that individual engineering and architectural design and management decisions were not

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1. For instance: B. Taylor and J.R. Sparks, Corporate Strategy and Planning, p. 4: "Planning systematically the total resources of the company for the achievement of quantified objectives within a specified period of time", or P. Drucker: "A continuous process of making entrepreneurial decisions systematically, and the best possible knowledge of their futurity; organizing systematically the effort needed to carry out these decisions; and measuring the results against expectations through organized systematic feedback; or J. Argenti, Systematic Corporate Planning, Chapter 2 and 9; and P. Lorange, Corporate Planning: An Executive Viewpoint, Chapter 1: Comprehensive Planning of the Process of Innovation and Change.
2. Perhaps the only coherent statement of policy was the 06-1771 memorial to the Commissioners of the seventh Earl of Findlater concerning the management decisions which the sixth Earl had been in the process of implementing before his death, written by his chief factor, William Robertson. SRO GD 248-948.

necessarily arbitrary responses to capricious taste, but rather were more likely to be calculated investments towards attaining some long term objective.[3]

Five essential systematic principles appear throughout the discussion including: the definition of objectives, the development of strategy, the techniques of forecasting and planning, the coordination of alternatives and methods for monitoring and evaluating plans against results.

The estate's objectives were in a period of transition from a feudal to a capitalistic society. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Earl paternalistically dominated all social, economic, religious and political decisions. Such absolute leadership altered by the end of the century as the corporate objectives turned towards the pursuit of optimum profits from resource development.[4]

As the development of strategy shifted towards the achievement of economic goals, innovations were increasingly exploited to diversify the estate's income into multiple lines of resource based businesses such as forestry, fishing, scientific agriculture, as well as some urban and small scale industrial development.[5]

With regard to forecasting, the eighteenth century was a period of experimentation with unqualified faith in the benefits of man's intervention in

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3. The value of understanding corporate planning is not an entirely new idea to architectural theory; refer to the R.I.B.A.'s Architectural Practice and Management, pp. 106-109.
4. The twentieth century "revolution" in recognizing the role of business as a social institution rings rather shallow by comparison. Refer to B. Lowes "The Changing Role of Business in Society" in Corporate Strategy and Planning, p. 14-27 and B. Taylor, "Strategic Planning for Social and Political Change", ibid p. 28-41. Also, Richard Normann, Management for Growth, Chapter 1.
5. P. Lorange, Corporate Planning: An Executive Viewpoint, Chapter 6 and W.G. Byrnes and B.K. Chesterton, Decisions, Strategies and New Ventures; Modern Tools for Top Management, Chapter 2.

natural processes to build a profitable future. Formal techniques such as sensitivity and risk analysis, and the Delphi method did not exist, and yet intuitive visions of future reality continually appear in the correspondence, as does evidence of systematic planning. The acquisition and development of underutilized upland property at a time when it was vastly undervalued, and the activities of the Forfeited Estates Commission in transforming highland resources according to a deliberate strategic plan, illustrate this understanding.[6]

The principle of coordination of alternatives also existed. The work of Peter May in surveying, valuing and planning alternative improvements, and the 1709 alternative plans for Cullen House designed by the architectural firm of Smith and McGill are two cogent examples.[7]

Methods of comparing plans against results also tentatively appeared. The annual fiscal reports of Commissioner Ross evaluated economic performance, while the 1765 report by the estate forester, identified the results of a lifetime's work, traces of which survive.[8]

The thesis falls within a general area of scholarship which advocates long term environmental monitoring.[9]

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6. Taylor and Sparks (1977) op.cit., p. 45-60, and p. 96-117; also Byrnes and Chesterton (1973) op.cit., Chapter 3.
7. Lorange (1980) op.cit., Chapter 2, Argenti (1974) op.cit., Chapter 7, and L.E. Rockley, Capital Investment Decisions: A Manual for Profit Planning, Chapter 1.
8. Lorange (1980) op.cit., Chapter 4.
9. M.M. McCarthy and C.B. Deans, "Long Term Landscape Monitoring: A Review", in Landscape Journal (1983) p. 61: "Monitoring studies with a minimum of twenty-five years, or a time frame consistent with the natural variability of the subject promises to increase the credibility of landscape decisions significantly. It is the very phenomena of 'time' that forces recognition of long term management as a design, planning and management function."

2. Literature Review

Watkin's The Rise of Architectural History, Colvin's second edition of A Bibliographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840, and Kamen's British and Irish Architectural History: A Bibliography and Guide to Sources of Information have proven invaluable critical surveys to the composition of this work.

References to the work of British architectural historians such as Bolton, Allsopp, Summerson, Hussey, Clarke, Mordaunt Crook, Wittkower, Pevsner and Harris appear throughout the text. Both Kamen (in Bibliography) and Wodehouse (in British Architects 1840-1976) have rightly noted the relative absence of Scottish material, and that has fueled this thesis' drive.

If Scottish material is modest in quantity, it certainly has masterly works, such as: Rowan's lectures on the Adams, Macauley's treatise on the Gothic Revival and Dunbar's survey of Scottish architecture, while the earlier work by Billings, McGibbon and Ross and Douglas Simpson have been useful. Tait's The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835, and Watkin's The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design have helped place the estate's policies within a larger design context.

Three guides to source material, the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain's Research Register, 1980, Colvin's English Architectural History: A Guide to Source, and the parallel essay by Dunbar on Scottish sources were followed. G.L. Pride's Glossary of Scottish Building and C.M. Harris' Historic Architecture Source Book have been companions to an architect educated to consciously disregard style.

The interdisciplinary approach advocated by certain historical geographers such as Hoskins' classic, The Making of the English Landscape, and Glacken's Traces on the Rhodian Shore; Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century proved

influential. Appleton's apologia in The Experience of Landscape[10] is perhaps the most reasoned arguement justifying interdisciplinary studies of this sort.

Plumb's The Death of the Past, Carr's What is History?, Clark's The Critical Historian, Collingwood's The Idea of History and several works by Toynbee have influenced the philosophical basis of this work. Coherence and structure has been guided by R.J. Shafer's A Guide to Historical Method and N.F. Cantor and R.I. Schneider's How To Study History.

Reference has been made to the research of Scottish social historians such as T.C. Smout, G.S. Pride and R. Mitchison. Scottish industrial archaeology, archaeology, historical geography and economic history have been addressed by numerous authors.

The review of all published material has confirmed the thesis' originality, for there is no comparable work which concentrates upon the decision taking processes of strategic planning relative to environmental history.

3. Strategic Planning and the Client's Role

Effective strategic planning requires literate senior managers capable of taking decisions, based upon rational options, to guide corporate long term growth. Continuity is a prerequisite. Seldom in twentieth century finance, does the opportunity of having a family dynasty who successively served as owners and chief executives present itself as does the neo-feudal Earls of Findlaters. Major differences in culture, technology, and so on, prevent a comparative analysis, and yet the example of the Findlater Estate does offer some relevance, if only to illustrate the fact that corporations have long term strategies regarding capital investments to which architectural consultants must sensitively consider.

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10. Appleton, The Experience of Landscape, p. 16.

To the eighteenth century market place, commissions were an individual matter between a client and an architect. The client frequently had an exacting programme, and more occasionally than has been assumed, exercised critical control over the design process through cash, approvals and vision. Burlington and Pembroke were not isolated phenomena. Eighteenth century landowners, even those who were architectural "poseurs" were a relatively literate group: "The library of a person of quality invariably contained standard works which would have assisted him in architectural undertakings".[11] That, combined with a carefully planned grand tour, discretionary wealth and the will to build[12] meant that many architects faced formidable clients in whose hands the architect became executant.[13] In fact, until the formation of the Architects Club in 1791, the designation "Architect" lacked professional recognition.[14]

All of the Findlaters had architectural pretensions and all employed specialists who termed themselves architects. The remarkable thing was, that there was a sense of continuity in the plans of each generation. Sometimes a design would wait two generations before it was taken off the shelf and executed; the later generation architect would provide stylistic changes to the earlier's concept. Taste was important, but the underlying strategic plan dominated with the exception of the last Findlater, who fell within a pattern of free spending where every whim was satisfied regardless of cost.[15]

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11. Jenkins, Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England from the 16th Century to the Present Day.
12. Jenkins (1961) op.cit., p. 77 and Allsopp, The Study of Architectural History, p. 103.
13. Barrington Kaye, The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Socialogical Study, Chapter 4.
14. Spiro Kostof; The Architect, Chapters in the History of the Profession, Chapter 7 and Jenkins (1961) op.cit., Chapter 6.
15. Joseph L. Thorndike, The Very Rich: A History of Wealth, Chapter 1.

4. Research Limitations

The archival riches of plans, drawings, maps, sketches, paintings, photographs, correspondence, financial reports, contracts, leases, court documents, petitions, and other written records were mined from the following sources: The Scottish Record Office, The National Gallery of Scotland, The Scottish Arts Council Gallery, West Register House (Scottish Record Office), The Royal Commission of the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh City Library, Glasgow University Library, The University of Edinburgh Libraries, The National Gallery of Britain, The British Museum Library, The Bodleian Library, Sir John Soane's Museum, Heriot-Watt University Architecture Library, The Scottish National Portrait Gallery, The Royal Institute of British Architect's Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art (R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection), and The National Register of Archives (Scotland). Field mud, game keepers' guns and the touch of the stones of surviving constructions during several site tours, sharpened the understanding of those archives.[16]

Despite the richness of the archival and extant detail, there are frustrating weaknesses in the data. For instance, the first surviving map dates from 1736, and that was merely a sketch for a boundary dispute; the first competent surveys and descriptions did not appear until mid-century. Since these maps were often plans for future improvements, they cannot be interpreted as entirely accurate records of existing conditions. Above all, the failure of one plan identifying estate holdings to survive, impaired the comprehensive understanding of the landowner's strategy.

Architectural records are equally frustrating. For instance, the plans of Cullen House executed between 1719-1726 appear to have been mislaid, probably during the rough and tumble conditions of construction. It is left to

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16. H.M. Colvin, English Architectural History: A Guide to Sources, Introduction: Colvin challenges the architectural historian to master the techniques of finding, reading, and interpreting documents, and the techniques of analyzing the style and structure of buildings.

this study to reconstruct what had gone before, from one 1709 as found drawing, a 1787 measured drawing and the 1858-63 Bryce renovation plans. The accuracy of all other plans and data has been evaluated relative to these.

Smith, McGill, William Adam and John Adam remain elusive architectural practices. Much of the evidence of their work on the estate is conjectural. It has been impossible to place their Findlater commissions within the context of their professional careers, since no monographs exist beyond Colvin's Biography... and some isolated scholarly references. How many architectural historians have tried to go through John Adam's enigmatic records? Nothing of consequence survives at Blair Adam.[17] It has been said that his practice will only be described from assembling fragments from a great many sources. If this experience with the SRO Seafield muniments is representative, that will indeed be laborious. John Adam had a very active involvement on the estate from 1749 to 1770 but there is precious little to show exactly what he accomplished.

Chapter Two's description is incomplete because of a lack of a painterly vision or even a topographical watercolour of the estate. Before and after pictures were not made, or if they were made, they have been effectively concealed. John Harris' index to country views published between 1715-1872 and Country House guides 1726-1880,[18] lists Gordon Castle and Duff House, but not Cullen House. The Grants commissioned William Tompkins to paint a number of landscapes about their estate, as did almost all other landowners of substance commission the work of one or more artists except the Findlaters; or at least that is what the absence of some reference or invoice would suggest. Why? It is possible the fifth or sixth Earls commissioned landscapes of their improvements and the seventh Earl took them into his Dresden exile. If so, the Second World War annihilation of Dresden, effectively ended that trail.

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17. National Register of Archives (Scotland) 0063 Adam of Blair Adam Muniments.
18. Harris, A Country House Index.

Other trails proved dead ended: the Cullen House auction catalogue[19] does not identify estate landscapes, nor is there any reference in the National Gallery of Scotland's collection. Descendents do not appear to possess Findlater Landscapes.

Financial audit limitations make an exacting comparison of the effectiveness of the improvements difficult. The financial records are excellent in eighteenth century terms, but twentieth century audit techniques are more sophisticated. Also, all of the factory records have not survived. The missing data confounds neat conclusions.

Perhaps an even stronger research limitation than missing data is that of biased data. The archives were compiled by or for the landowners for the efficient and effective management of their property. They had a secure belief in the aristocratic imperative that tenants were meant to be manipulated in a constructive, paternalistic manner to achieve material prosperity. The few voices of dissent which have survived, take the form of trials in courts appointed, or at least controlled by the Findlaters, or in the form of the increasing silent desperate protest of emigration. The dominant fact of this society, was that an extremely small elite in possession of property successfully imposed their will upon the majority.[20] It is easy to be seduced by the brilliance of say the Adam interiors, and to forget that that corporate inner sanctum remained impenetrable for 99.9% of the people whose sweat created the gold, glass and sugary garlands. Since this is not a study of vernacular construction, nor is it a socialist's sermonette, how to be objective?

A personal bias must be identified:[21] intrinsic regional solutions do not provide a complete means of understanding local actions. Studies in local

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19. Christie's Catalogue, Cullen House, Banffshire, Monday, September 22, 1975. Both sales and auction catalogues were consulted.
20. Williams, The Country and the City, Chapter 7.
21. E.H. Carr, What Is History? P. 38: "Before you study the history, study the historian ... before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment".

history must recognize that the pressures of the outside world are the dominant forces shaping regions. Innovations or aesthetic philosophies were rapidly distributed past geopolitical boundaries long before the expression "Global Village" appeared.[22] To this environmental historian, the compelling element is adaptation to particular circumstances.[23] This preconception has proven controversial within a subject of special interest to Scottish nationalists, although the recent publication of Whittington and Whyte's A Historical Geography of Scotland is an indicator that the cycle has returned towards broader interpretations.[24]

5. Findlater Estate Description

The structure of landholding in Scotland is remarkable in that presently 76% of the land mass is owned by 1,739 individuals, institutions or the Crown in units larger than 1,000 acres.[25] This aggregation has been relatively stable since the Reformation.[26] The result has been the accumulation of massive

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22. Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, Chpater 54-5, Thorsten Hagerstrand, Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process, Chapter two, and C.D.W. Goodwin and I.B. Hollet ed. The Transfer of Ideas: Historical Ideas.
23. Sylvia L. Thrupp, "The Pedigree and Prospects of Local History", in Society and History, pp. 256-268 and "Comparative Studies in Society and History", pp. 332-345.
24. G. Whittington and I.D. Whyte, An Historical Geography of Scotland, Preface.
25. John McEwan, Who Owns Scotland?, of a total land mass of 19,068,807 acres, 12,000,000 acres is held in private estates larger than 1,000 acres, 4,500,000 is held in private estates smaller than 1,000 acres and 2,500,000 acres is held by the Crown through departments such as the Forestry Commission or the example in England where one half of the land was owned by aristocrats in 1873, Thorndike (1976) op.cit., Chapter 2. The Select Committee on Scottish Affairs: "Land Resource Use".
26. L. Timperly, "Land Ownership in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century", the trend in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was for the great landlords to gain at the expense of others, with the trend only reversing in the twentieth century. For instance in 1700 there were 9,500 landowners registered for voting, in 1740 there were 8,500, while in 1800 there were only 8,000 (refer also to Table 8).

archival records from which changing environmental conditions can be traced.[27]

The choice of an examination of one geographically finite area, rather than a comparative or systematic survey of ideas implemented over a greater expanse, narrowed the research from the seventeen hundred estates to a short list of only several dozens. These are the estates with suitable muniments in the public domain.

Determination to study a remote area preferable "in the highlands", which would resemble the landscape first encountered by Scottish fur traders and settlers to Western Canada, precluded most of these.[28] Dr. Ian Adams suggested the one area with challenging archives, architectural merit, and the interest of the academic community, corresponding to the specifications, was the Seafield Estate. With sixteen tonnes of plans, correspondence and documents, it is one of the largest collections secured in the Scottish Record Office.

The Seafield Estate was the product of merger through inheritance, of approximately eighty thousand acres[29] of the Ogilvys of Findlater with approximately one hundred eighty thousand acres of Grant of Grant Estates, upon the death of the last Earl of Findlater in 1811. Boundaries have varied over subsequent years; it presently comprises one hundred eighty thousand acres throughout Grampian Region of Northeastern Scotland.

Findlater territorial boundaries are somewhat difficult to determine.

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27. Michael Flinn, ed., Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930's, Chapter 2, pp. 43-106 for a comprehensive list of sources.
28. For early Scottish contact in Western Canada refer to Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, or John Norris, Strangers Entertained.
29. The 80,000 acre figure dates from a 1776 inventory by Peter May SRO GD 248-965-2, with the additional property acquired between 1776-1793.

Besides the inheritance merger of 1811, portions were bought and sold continuously for centuries. Tracing land ownership is also complicated by the continuous changes in the administrative structures and boundaries of the United Kingdom. Throughout the eighteenth century, the estate records were listed in Banffshire, Invernesshire, Aberdeenshire and Morayshire within about twenty parishes. Direct comparison of property registers for that period with contemporary references is not an easy task, since the 1974 reorganization of the northeast into Grampian Region, with sub-units such as Moray and Inverness districts. Counties such as Banff no longer exist.[30]

Presentation of the boundaries is further complicated by the fact that there is no surviving map inventorying the entire estate. However, surveys were compiled throughout the century for specific portions for the specific purposes of improvement. A map of the estate has been extrapolated by a comparison of old writs, original plans and existing Ordnance Survey maps. (Refer to Figure One). Figure Two plots the extant surveys. The numeric codes on Figure Two refer to the inventory in Appendix A. A list of each parcel of land along with the mapping methodology is contained in Appendix B.

The estate's first legal record was the early fifteenth century inheritance by the Ogilvys of Airlie to the Barony of Deskford and Findlater founded by Anglo-Norman colonists. From this nucleus of approximately two thousand acres, the family flourished.

In the sixteenth century, the estate expanded along the coast;[31] seventeenth century development saw the end of the forest of Boyne with settlement throughout that area. The land was, however, only held through

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30. R.G. Cant, "The Middle Ages" pp. 125-126, for the origins of local government boundaries.
31. SRO GD 248-1160 Charter by James V to Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Deskford 22-05-1517. This surprizingly also included highland property such as Glenfiddich.
32. L. Timperly, "Landownership in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century" and Timperly, A Directory of Landownership in Scotland c. 1770.

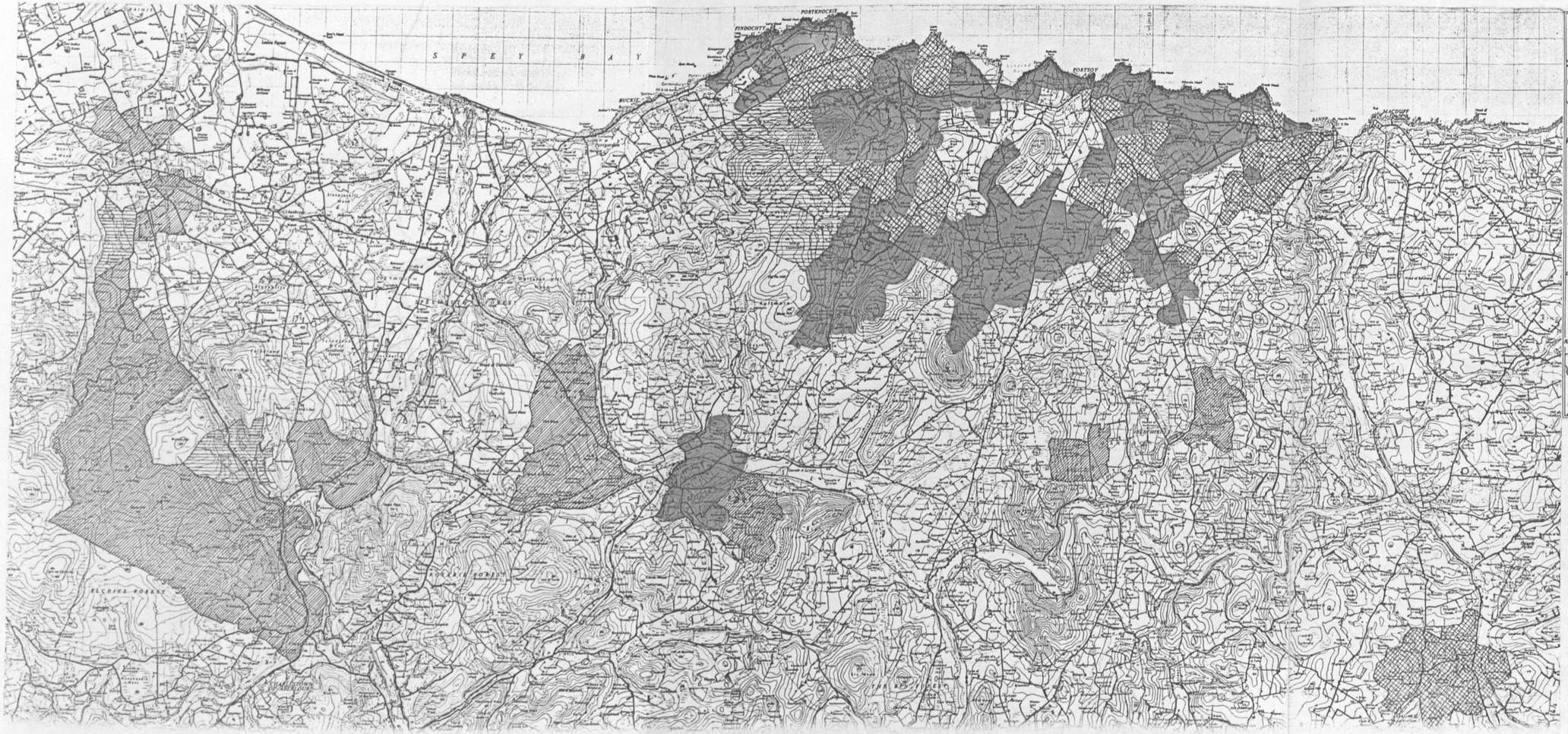

FIGURE 1
FINDLATER ESTATE
With Locational Map

- 1707 - 1730
- 1730 - 1750
- 1750 - 1770
- 1770 - 1793

Refer to Appendix B

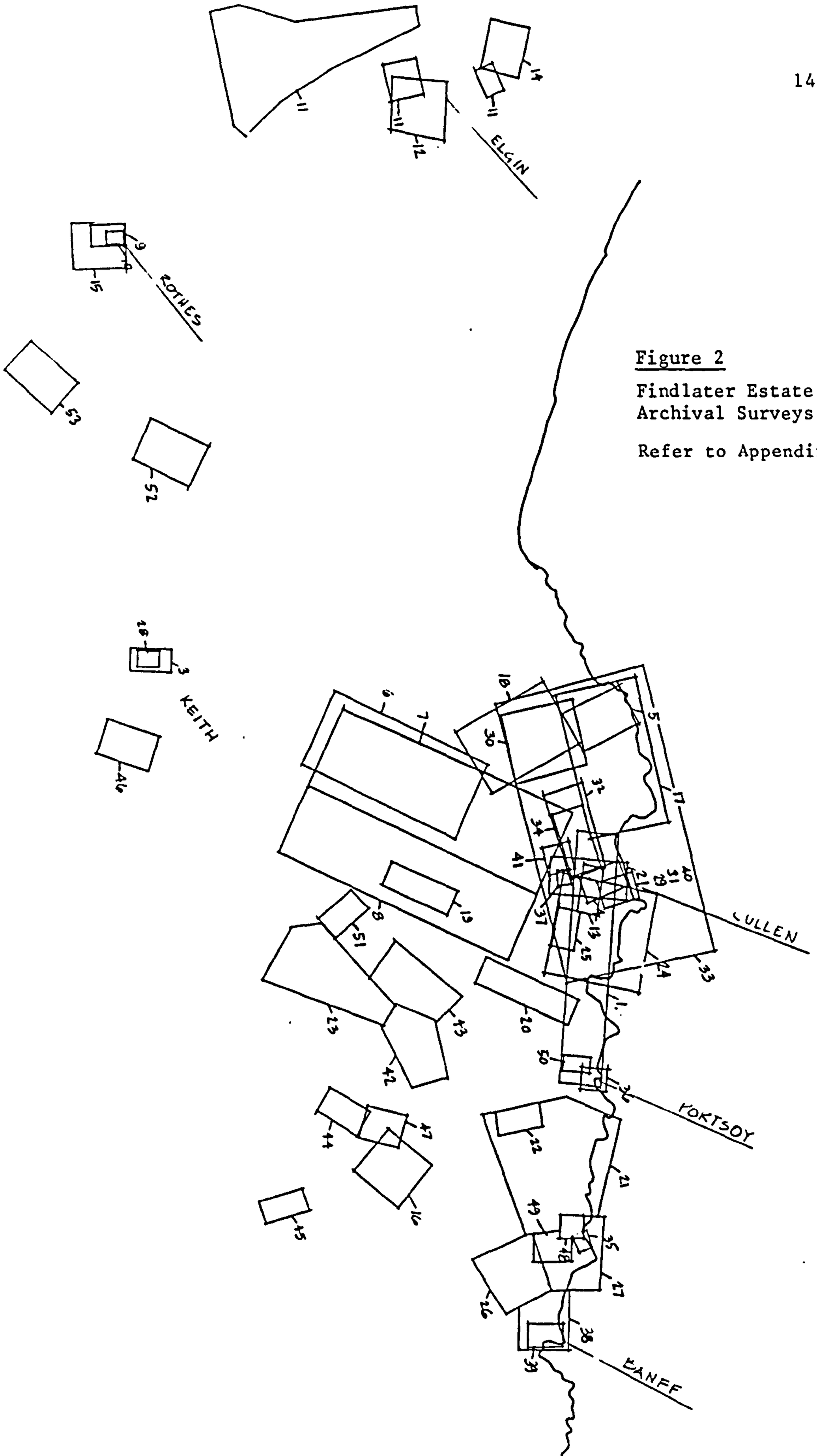

Figure 2

Findlater Estate
Archival Surveys

Refer to Appendix A

complicated feudal jurisdications, heritable tenures and wadsets. It was not until the eighteenth century that title was cleared of incumbrances and the pace of acquisition was increased.

The eighteenth century expansions pushed the estate boundaries into the highland borders of Strathbogie and Strathspey. When the estate was absorbed into the Grant Estate by inheritance in 1811, the annual income of the combined estate was only about fifty percent higher, but the total land area was tripled. Most of that was located in unproductive highland terrain, which through shrewd management became prosperous forestry and hunting land. By 1874 the estate had reached its zenith with 305,700 acres in Aberdeen, Banff, Fife, Inverness, Moray and Nairn. It was one of the largest and wealthiest estates in Scotland.

The estate's financial statement can also be compiled. The starting point is Timperly's survey of valuation rolls;[32] from the 1766 rentals for use in taxation (based upon 1656 values) the following income was estimated:

TABLE 1

Estate Income Related to Parish Ownership

County	Parish	Findlater Rental	Parish Rental	Findlater Ownership Of Parish Expressed As A A Percentage
Aberdeen	Auchterless	£595.15.2	£3151.0.0	18.8%
	Turriff	217.4.0	5,157.0.0	4.2
	Fyvie	150.0.0	5961.0.0	2.5
Banff	Banff	533.0.0	4353.0.0	12.2
	Boyndie	150.0.0	3370.0.0	4.4
	Cullen and Fordyce	5000.0.0	8287.0.0	60.3
	Deskford	1400.0.0	1580.0.0	88.6
	Rathven	1705.0.0	6572.0.0	25.9
Moray	Birnie	252.2.2	731.0.0	34.4
	Elgin	169.11.4	6324.0.0	2.6
	Knockando	314.1.6	1986.0.0	15.8
	Rothes	1479.17.4	2594.0.0	57.0
	St. Andrews - Laahabryd	244.10.8	4218.0.0	5.7
	Spynie	282.4.0	3051.0.0	9.2
	Total	£ 12,490.0.0	Stirling	

A cross check of Table Two can be made from the 1690 valuation rolls listed in Grant (1922),[33] from specific inventories of the estate indentified in Chapter Six, or from the financial records of the estate summarized in Appendix C. Reference is complicated by missing data, by the fact that the records are generally expressed in terms of goods or in Scots money until 1763, as well as other variables such as inflation, increased yields from improvements, grain demand, and the state of the harvest.

Nevertheless, the data's essence can provide clues as to the Findlater financial position. Timperly describes relative income in 1788 of £300 a year as a "Middling estate", while £6,000 a year was a fortune.[34] Jane Austen's description of Mr. Darcy's £10,000 a year drove Mrs. Bennett to maternal distraction.[35] By eighteenth century standards, the Earl of Findlater well exceeded the definition of wealthy. Converting 1784 rental income to 1984 values, gives an annual figure of about £ 2 million. Income from other sources provided variable additional revenue.

In terms of position to influence regional affairs, Findlater was a powerful force whose interest had to be respected by the other two major northeast landowners: Earl Fife and the Duke of Gordon.[36] The estate in 1770 ranked thirty-first in Scotland while the Grant of Grant Estate ranked thirty-seventh, out of a list of over 400 major landlords,[37] and this was at a time when land remained the dominant measure of wealth. A £ 4 million annual turnover corporation today with assets of several hundreds of millions of pounds, remains consequential.

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33. Grant (1922) op.cit., pp. 269-280.
34. Timperly (1977) op.cit., pp. 149-150.
35. Jane Austen, Pride and Prejudice, p. 275
36. Timperly (1977) op.cit., pp. 241-259: In 1770 there were only four landowners in Banffshire with incomes greater than £ 2,000.
37. Ibid., pp. 154-157, Table 4.4 landed aristocracy in 1770.

6. Nomenclature

Spelling has been selected for consistency, and may not be historically accurate. For instance, Deskford, the town and parish in Banffshire, was part of the original twelfth century estate. The spelling in the early eighteenth century was Deskfoord, but this altered to a single "o" by mid-century. The title "Lord Deskford" was patented in 1615, and gradually became a style the Earl of Findlater by courtesy gave to his eldest son.

Another example is the evolution of the family name of the Earldom, Ogilvy. The spelling appears to have been interchangeable between a "y" and "ie" suffix; the "y" was constant for most of the eighteenth century;[38] it seems only to have changed around 1881 on the roll of the House of Lords, and was continued as such by the eleventh Earl of Seafield. The reason for the change appears to have been an affectation to make it closer to the original medieval spelling (the meaning of which was "a yew wood hill"). The cadet branch of the Findlater Ogilvys, Boyne, has been spelt Boynd, Boynde, Boyn, Boyndie and Boyne; the latter was the form that stabilized mid-century, and is used.

Banff too has been evolutionary. It was a gaelic derivative of Banbh, "a fallow field", which is first recorded as Banef in 1136, then Bamphe in 1290, Banffe in 1291, Banf in 1654[39] and appears to have been commonly known as Banfe in the early eighteenth century. The Banff form linguistically stabilized during the fifth Earl of Findlater's lifetime. Tight editing does not allow space for word origins, meanings, and evolutions, so standard etymological references should be consulted for further information.[40]

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38. The Peerage in Scotland, 1815.
39. The latter date from Blaeu's Great Atlas (1654) based on Straloch's earlier map.
40. J.B. Johnston, Place Names of Scotland, W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place Names: Their Study and Significance, D. Matheson, The Place Names of Elginshire, James MacDonald, Place Names in Strathbogie, W.C. Mackenzie, Scottish Place Names.

7. Study Period

Selection of a time span is dependent upon the research material.[41] Late Medieval and Reformation records do exist; however, these require a Latin scholar or Scots linguist to decipher. Seventeenth century records begin to be comprehensible, however they are sporadic,[42] and would have required studying a regional grouping to make sense; that was counter to the objective of observing detailed change upon one landscape.

Although councilled to avoid 1700-1750 for a similar reason, this did not entirely appear convincing, for the index to the records, as well as the abundant secondary sources suggested patterns could be assembed. From 1750 onward, detailed records improve to the point of excess - an opposite problem exists in that the data is overwhelming. The selection of span covering the whole century appeared rational, since a theme in recent research points strongly that the improvement age was an evolutionary process rather than a revolutionary one.[43] A more balanced understanding of a landscape in transition must at least attempt to understand the infrastructure existing prior to accelerated development.[44]

The selection of a datum line had two contradictory choices: to reflect the precise rate of change locally experienced, or to reflect universal issues.

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41. For instance: Timperly (1977) selected one year, 1770, for her comparative analysis; while Grant (1978) abritrarily chose 1750-1850 as a period for studying regional agrarian change.
42. Ian Adams, Descriptive list of Plans in the Scottish Record Office, Chapter One, prior to 1707 there are only 35 estate plans in West Register House for the whole of Scotland.
43. I.D. Whyte, "a Review", pp. 4-18, This article provides a complete inventory of recent research in Scottish historical geography.
44. W. R. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth; this conforms to Rostow's theory of the stages required for economic growth including: traditional society, preconditions, take-off, drive to maturity and mass consumption.

The fact was, that there did not appear to be any significant starting point, like a gold rush. For instance, 1711 could have been chosen since it was the inheritance date by the fourth Earl, but he was in effective control much earlier. Instead 1707 was chosen as the datum line, with the Union of the two Parliaments of the United Kingdom, being the casual factor.

Selection of a termination date was seemingly irresolvable, for it could end with the 1811 merger, or even with the 1821 sod turning for Cullen new town, or 1791 when the seventh Earl departed for the continent for the last time. 1793 was not entirely arbitrarily selected, since that was the year of the Vancouver-Mackenzie explorations of New Caledonia on the Western Canadian frontier. The connector is that their journals discuss the potential for improvement of the wilderness using terms and objectives generically evolved on estates like Findlater.[45]

The Scottish factorial system was an extremely attractive corporate model at the end of the eighteenth century. Investors, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, applied certain of its features on the remote Canadian frontier, but ultimately a very different economic order emerged there; nevertheless, the factorial system's influence extended well beyond the boundaries of the Findlater estate and that fact assists in placing this work within the broader context.

Choice of the 1707-1793 period had the immediate benefit of reducing the amount of material to be searched, for it presented an option of either studying the geographically larger highland Grant portion, or the wealthier lowland (with some intermediate) Findlater portion. The latter was selected since the policies of improvement evolved for it dominated what would later happen throughout the northeast.[46]

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45. George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World in which the Coast of North-West American has been Carefully Examined and Accurately Surveyed, for instance: pp. XIV-XV. Also, G.P.V. Akrigg and H.B. Akrigg, British Columbia Chronical 1778-1846: Adventurers by Land and Sea, pp. 82-90.
46. Barbara Tuchman, Practicing History: the essence of history is selection.

The material to be researched proved so expansive, that subperiods had to be formulated. Three methods of achieving these groupings were identified: first, a chronological sequence based on yearly reports; this proved too cumbersome for analytical work. Second, to select further major events similar to the process of defining the 1707-1793 boundaries; this proved to place the entire thesis on a too arbitrarily selected basis to justify the general inquiry proposed. Third, a sequence stemming from local experience. The third was selected, and patterns soon began to emerge.

Each generation of Findlaters had different goals which they set about implementing. The fourth Earl had effective control of the estate from 1705-1730, the fifth from 1730-1750, the sixth from 1750-1770, and the seventh through Commissioners from 1770-1811.

Trimming the boundaries to conform with the broader pattern gave four periods: 1707-1730, 1730-1750, 1750-1770, and 1770-1793. After analysing the records, it became possible to apply a label which characterized the general trend of each period thus: acquisition 1707-1730, consolidation 1730-1750, improvement 1750-1770, and delegation 1770-1793.

In the acquisition period (1707-1730), land was accumulated and the legal right to manipulate land was affirmed. Wadsets (or mortgages) were redeemed, new holdings were purchased adjacent to or within the estate perimeter, and the traditional debt load was reduced to enable new funding for capital improvements. Improvements were begun but they appear to have been limited to manor parks and to home farms. Manor parks were laid out in rigid geometry, and home farm enclosed fields would be laid out to mirror the natural outlines of the surrounding medieval fields. Architecture took the form of major renovations rather than new construction.

In the consolidation period (1730-1750), the process of clearing titles and of centralizing territorial authority was continued. Boundaries were expanded through careful purchases and through inheritance. Improvements to Cullen House park resulted in substantial additions of arboretums and natural walks;

policies were begun. As the style of the parks changed to an irregular, natural design, the home farm and environs began conversely to take on a geometrical pattern as the open fields were enclosed with ditches and dykes. Some nineteen year leases, forestry, and enclosure of Cullen and Deskford parish moors and commonties were begun. Architecture was limited to minor renovations to complete the work of the previous generation.

In the improvement period (1750-1770), the pace of enclosing and draining was increased throughout the lowland parts of the estate. The wasteland which had previously served to buffer neighbouring baronies and landlords was rapidly improved so that boundaries came into dispute and had to be resolved. New towns, linen manufacture, forestry and new crops were introduced. The sixth Earl saw the potential for improvement of the highlands through afforestation and other industries, and so large land purchases around Rothes were made, and the process of improvement was begun. Architectural expression converted to Classicism.

In the delegation period (1770-1793), the prudent expansion and improvement of the estate progressed. Profits from the earlier development started to be realized and the portion that was not squandered by the seventh Earl's indulgent habits, was ploughed back into capital improvements. More afforestation, more enclosures, better roads and bridges, more additions to towns and industries, were undertaken upon the advice of his professional staff. Architectural designs were commissioned which would have radically obliterated all trace of Cullen's past.

8. Procedure

The second chapter begins with a description of the biophysical resources available for future exploitation - terrain, soils, climate, vegetation, and fauna. Once the stage is set, the early settlement is described including a summary of development which occurred to 1707. The records are thin; however, an educated guess of the estate at the threshold of the study period

is presented. The general pattern of improvement over the course of the century follows, to complete the overview. The stimulus to dramatic change was contained within the spirited philosophies of the Enlightenment, rather than within the specific technological innovations.

The third chapter describes the estate's organization including the landowner's objectives, administration, major events, and context within the northeast economy. A pattern of development unique to each generation is presented in a manner that allows comparison over the century.

The fourth chapter connects seemingly episodic passages in the archives as logical and strategically planned efforts to diversify capital investment in new ventures. The resulting wealth created new architectural expressions. The fifth chapter provides a detailed description of environmental change surrounding the estate's corporate headquarters at Cullen. Improvements began randomly by the fourth Earl, with several 100 acre or so enclosures; the fifth Earl increased the scale of improvement to achieve the Cullen policies grid and several plantations, each in excess of 500 acres; the sixth Earl's improvements were conceived on a regional scale; and the seventh Earl planned the obliteration of all that had gone before.

The sixth chapter analyses stylistic alterations and additions to Cullen House over several centuries. Chapter seven explains how the seventh Earl's strategic plan of demolishing Cullen House originated, and how the plan was defeated, not as the result of public resistance, but as the result of his heir's intrigue.

The eighth and final chapter discusses the evidence that an extraordinary transformation had taken place. Was this the result of a consistent strategic plan, or capriciousness, or of changing cultural forces which the Findlaters were helpless to control? Who or what determined estate decision taking over the long term?

CHAPTER TWO - CONTEXT

1. Physical Geography

This section describes the development potential inherent in the resource base of terrain, climate, soils and vegetation.[1] This is followed by a description of social history relative to the estate.[2]

The geologically ancient Scottish highland system is part of the Scandinavian fold (or Caledonian geosyncline) stretching from Norway through Ireland. The lowlands relate to the great German plain, with the continental connection being interrupted in the Boreal Atlantic period, by the North Sea depression.[3]

The Northeast section of the Grampian region, is characterized by gently folded Upper Palaeozoic rock, gently folded post Carboniferous rock, granite, strongly folded pre-Cambrian rock and pretertiary basic igneous rock.[4] (Refer to Figure 3 "Lithological Divisions".) Although there are two mountain ranges, the Monadhliath and Cairngorms, the upland is in fact plateaux of between 600 to 900 metres elevation.[5] (Refer to Figure 4 "Topographical Relief".) The lowlands relief is composed of palaeozoic sediments and associated lava flows.

Geomorphology was severely affected during various glacial periods and advances.[6] The highlands were eroded and vast amounts of material from the

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1. E. H. Graham, Natural Principles of Land Use, pp. 3-4: "To think wisely of the future of land, we must first look carefully at its past, for a knowledge of what has caused a landscape helps materially in judging its future."
2. Both geography and history for the northeast are described in excellent detail for the purposes of this thesis in Nuttgens' 1959 thesis "The Planning and Architecture of the Settlements of the Northeast Lowlands of Scotland: A Regional Study", Vol. 1, Part 1.
3. J.W. Watson, The British Isles, chapter one.
4. W. E. Fraser, "The Geology and Structure", pp. 3-15 and G. T. Warwick, "Relief and Structure", pp. 91-109.
5. G. S. Johnstone, British Regional Geology: The Grampian Highlands, table one, p. 6.
6. D. L. Linton, "Tertiary Landscape Evolution", pp. 110-130 and S. Ross. "The Physical Background", pp. 3-27.

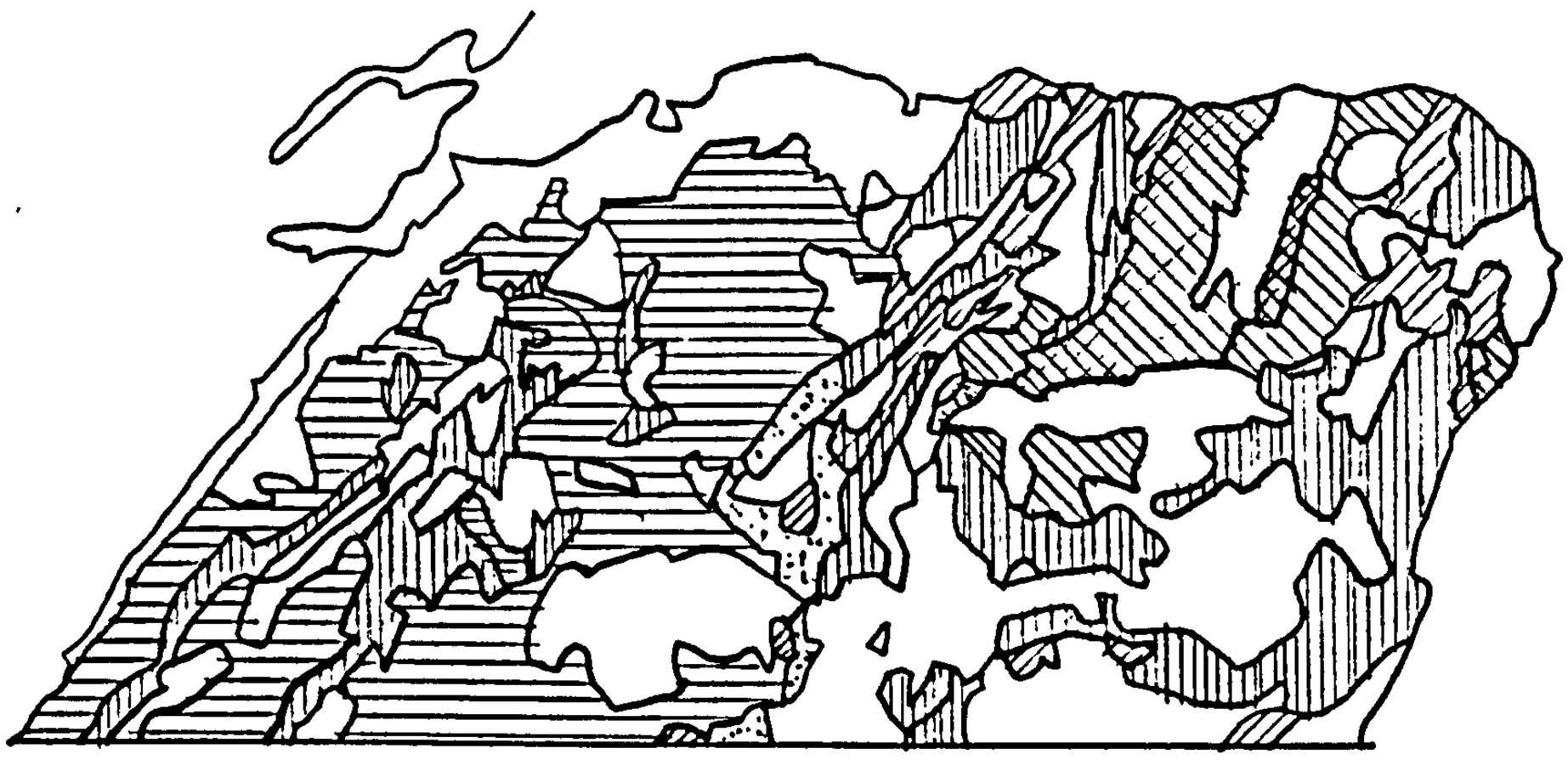

Figure 3 - Lithological Divisions of Moinian & Dalradian Rock in Northeast Scotland, adapted from G.S. Johnstone, The Grampian Highlands, plate vi

Dalradian.....Quartzite & Schistose Grits

" .....Limestone

" .....Graphite Schist & Black Schist

" .....Banffshire Slate

" .....Andolusite-Cordisrite-Schists.

" .....Slates, Phyllites, Mica-Schist

" ....."Green Beds"

Moinian.....Quartzo-Feldspathic Granulite

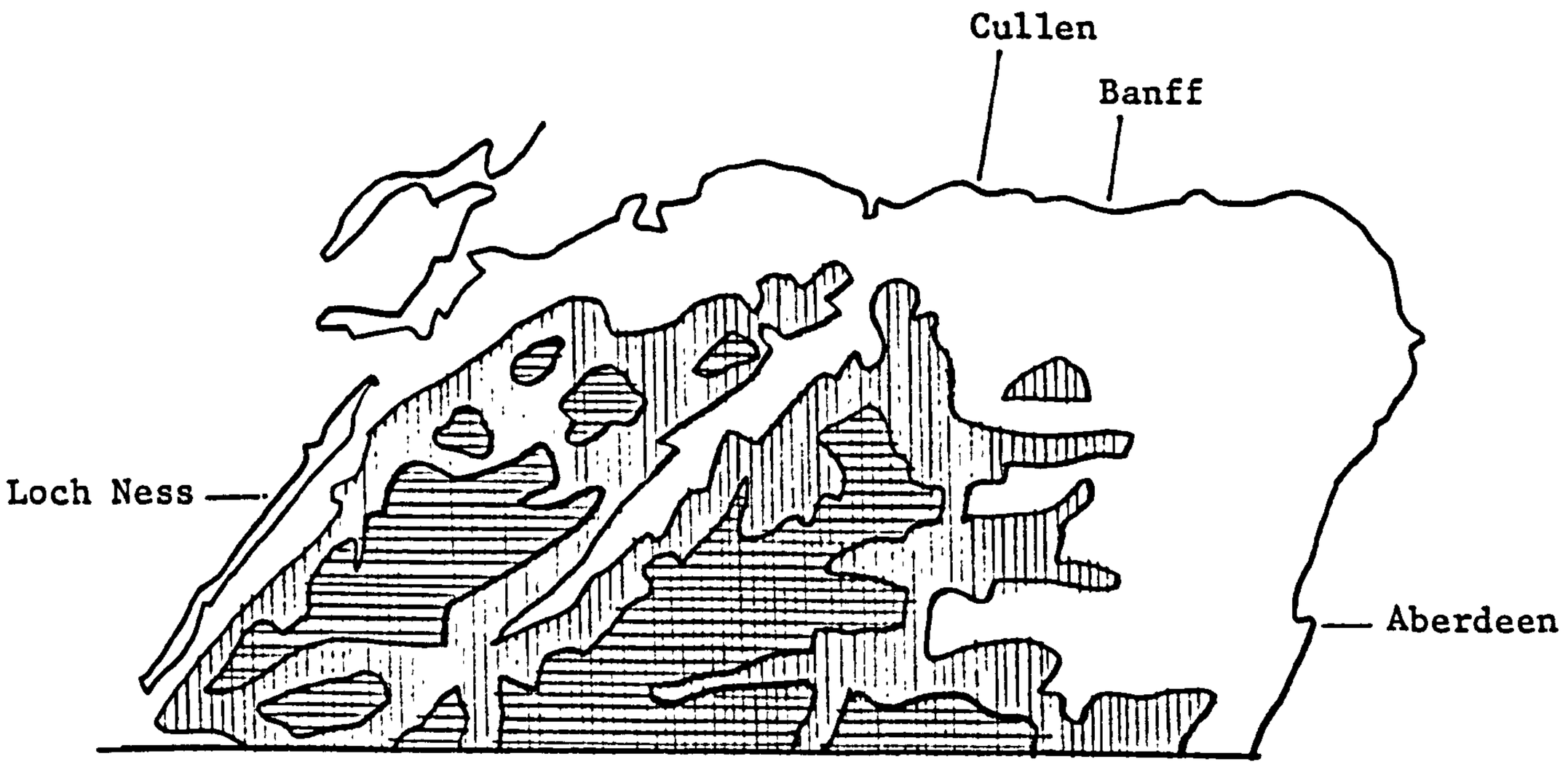

Figure 4 - Structure & Relief

Above 460.0 m 460.0 - 240.0 m 0 - 240.0 m

combined effects of glacial drift with associated kettles and kames and fluvioglacial deposits were relocated in a mantle on the glen bottoms and throughout the lowlands.[7] Changes in sea level produced anomolies such as deposits of shingle ridges, while rebounding from isostatic pressures produced the Moray Firth raised beaches.[8]

Ancient drainage patterns of downwarping to the Moray Firth depression, and tilting due east to the North Sea Basin, gradually formalized into the river valleys of the Dee, Don, Ugie, Deveron and Spey. Alluvium from the glen formation added to the lowland's fertility. Poor localized drainage combined with a damp, intemperate climate, produced widespread deposits of peat bogs.

The land has a good balance of useful minerals, with extensive deposits of limestone (especially at Boyne), sand and gravel, brick clay, (at Cullen) roadstone, feldspar and serpentine (at Portsoy), flurospar, peat and slate, all of which proved to be valuable local building materials.[9] The absence of coal constrained the eventual development of heavy industry, and exploitation of the vast North Sea oil reservoirs was beyond eighteenth century technological competence.[10]

From the end of the last glacial period 10,000 BP, there was one major warming period, termed the post glacial optimum, from 5,000-3,000 BC. This was followed by the subarctic glacial advance 600-500 BC, and eventually a period of recovery with a warming trend from 1,000-1,300 AD, when the great monasteries flourished in Moray. Climatic deterioration again occurred from 1550-1700. The present moderate climate stabilized about 1700.[11]

With such a northerly latitude, which is identical to the Canadian Northwest Territories, (the estate lies between 57-58 degrees North)[12] and

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7. K. Walton, "Geomorphology", pp. 16-31.
8. B. Sissons, The Geomorphology of the British Isles: Scotland, chapter 9.
9. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., Vol. 1 Part 2: Description of building materials available on Estate.
10. Johnstone, op.cit., chapter 16.
11. H.H. Lamb, The Changing Climate, chapter 6, pp. 157-169.
12. This is equivalent to Yellowknife in the Canadian Northwest Territories.

high elevations (the estate extends up to 660 metres), climatic variations are common and proved disastrous to a marginal economy. Poor weather coupled with a limited agricultural technology, led to famines in 1693-1700, 1709, 1740, 1760 and 1782,[13] however, in general, climatic limitations on agriculture for most of the estate are moderate.[14]

The dominant influence is from the North Atlantic drift originating in the Caribbean. The higher mountains of the northwest condense moisture, while the descending leeward air is dried and warmed by the föhn effect (or chinook).[15] The result is a generally moderate climate. However, the varied relief has led to considerable microclimatic variation throughout the estate, and so specific data must be consulted for each location; the average annual rainfall ranges between 700-1,100 mm, with Cullen House reporting 780 mm. Very real drought conditions are created by drying winds in the spring and early summer.

Temperature patterns vary with exposure. Gordon Castle reports a low for the year of -8.7 degrees and a high of 26.2 degrees celcius. The mean temperature is 2.9 degrees celcius in January and 14.1 degrees celcius in July. Sunlight is dependent upon exposure; the north side of hills in excess of an eight degree slope will not have sun at mid-winter, and has less sun year round; consequently crops are infrequently grown under such conditions.

Prevailing winds are from the southwest. Northwesterlies and polar air can be expected in winter, cold easterlies in spring, and light northeasterlies in summer. There are only 12.7 days per year with gales, so the area is not classified as windy.[16] Snowfall can be expected with the northwesterlies; Banff averages 14.4 days with morning snow accumulations, while Glenlivet averages 49.5 days of snow. Subarctic blizzards are common on the higher plateau elevations. Seafogs or "haar" occur in spring and summer.

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13. H.G. Graham (1928), op.cit., pp. 146-153 and estate records.
14. J. Tivy, Land Use in Scotland, figure 7.
15. K. Walton, "Climate", pp. 32-37.
16. Sinclair Ross, "Climate", p. 29, figure 7; p. 31, table 1a; p. 34, table 2b, p. 33, table 2a; also pp. 38-42.

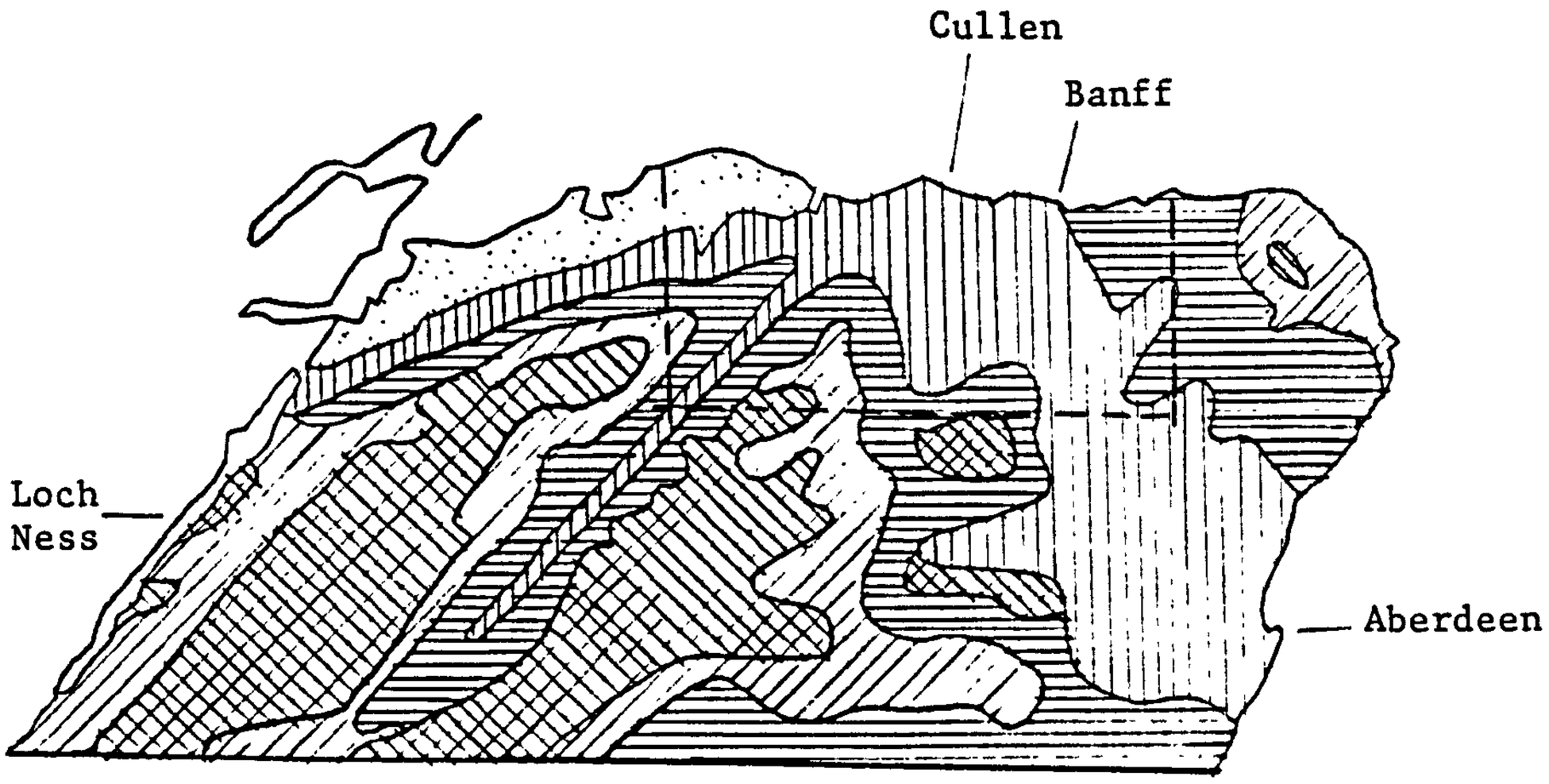

Figure 5

Climatic Limitations on the Agricultural Use of Land in Northeast Scotland, from Tivy, Land Use in Scotland (1973)

None

Slight

Moderate

Severe

Very Severe

ESTATE BOUNDARIES

The estate does have agriculturally marginal land as illustrated on Figure 5, "Climatic Limitations to Agriculture". The eighteenth century was a period of experimentation to extend the limits of cultivation; on occasion this proved appropriate, however there is evidence of abandoned fields and shielings. Other experiments resulted in hardier crop species and extensive shelterbelt planting.

By 8,000 BC most soils had begun to reform after the glacial devastation. A combination of climate, lithology, topography, plants, animals, and the new factor of the influence of man, gradually created a soils profile[17] (refer to Figure 6 "Genetic Soil Groups"). The Macauley Institute has recently classified this as Class II, of moderate fertility, with land use capability suitable for agriculture over most of the lowland portion of the estate.[18] (Refer to Figure 7 "Land Classification") The highland section is predominatly bedrock or hardpan swept clean by glaciation and which presented infinite difficulty to the former horse and plough technology.

Much of the lowland soil which the eighteenth century improvers experienced was anthropogenic; that is, its fertility had been exhausted by continued over use over centuries. One of the greatest problems faced, was soil enrichment through application of various fertilizers and by innovative rotation. Another great problem was that of improving drainage.[19] The area is rough, with the hill flanks having free drainage, however the lower slopes were imperfect, the foot was poor, and depressions were almost unimprovable.[20]

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17. J. Tivy, The Organic Resources of Scotland: Their Nature and Evaluation, pp. 41-50.
18. Specific work must be consulted for detailed analysis of each portion of the estate, such as: R. Glentworth, "The Soils of the Country around Banff, Huntly, and Turiff" or J. D. Peacock, N.S. Berridge, A. L. Harris and F. May, "The Geology of the Elgin District".
19. R. Glentworth (1954), op.cit., pp. 38-45.
20. Tivy (1973), op.cit., chapter 9 for the difficulties with peat bogs.

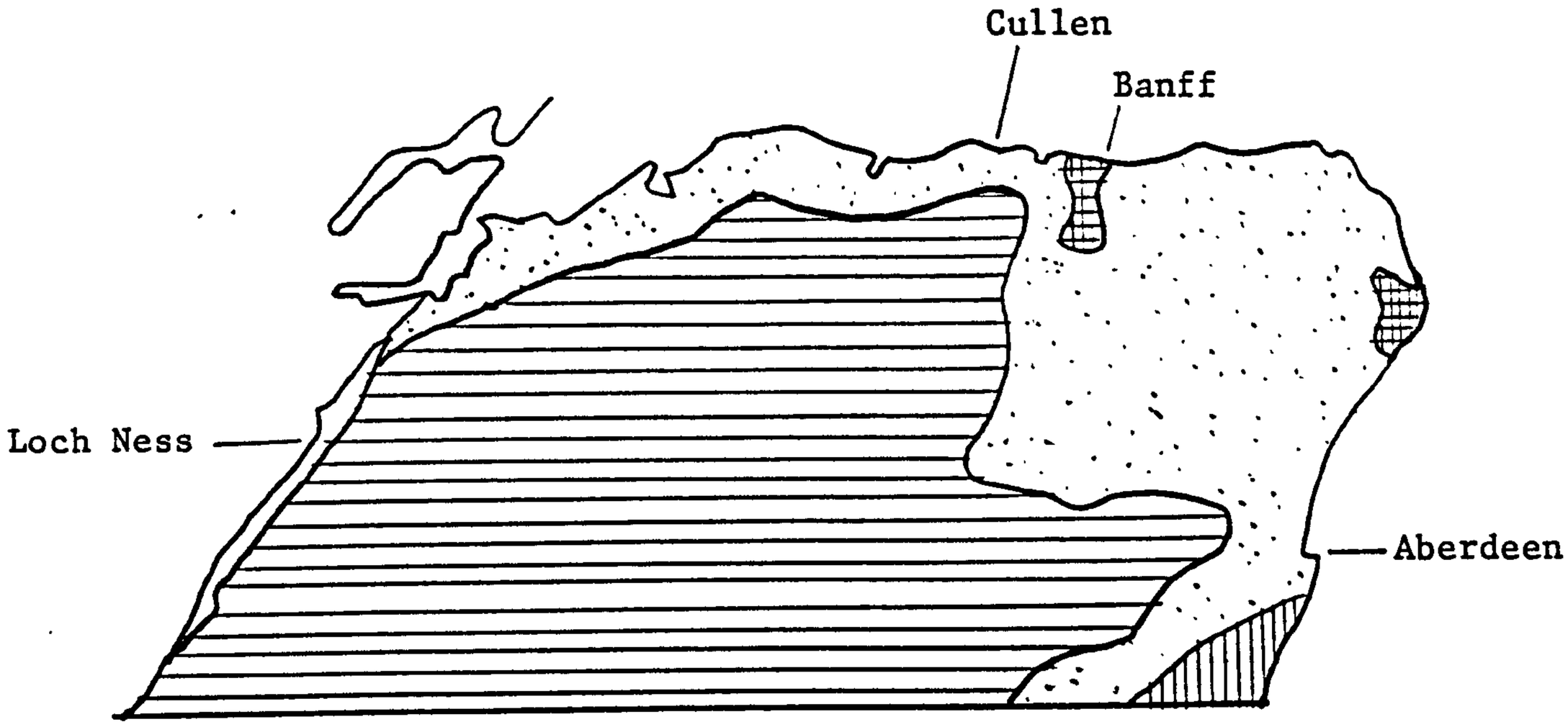

Figure 6 - Genetic Soil Groups

Podzols, acid brown soils & ground water gleys

Brown forest soils

Surface water gleys & gleyed brown forest soils

Peat, organic soils & rock

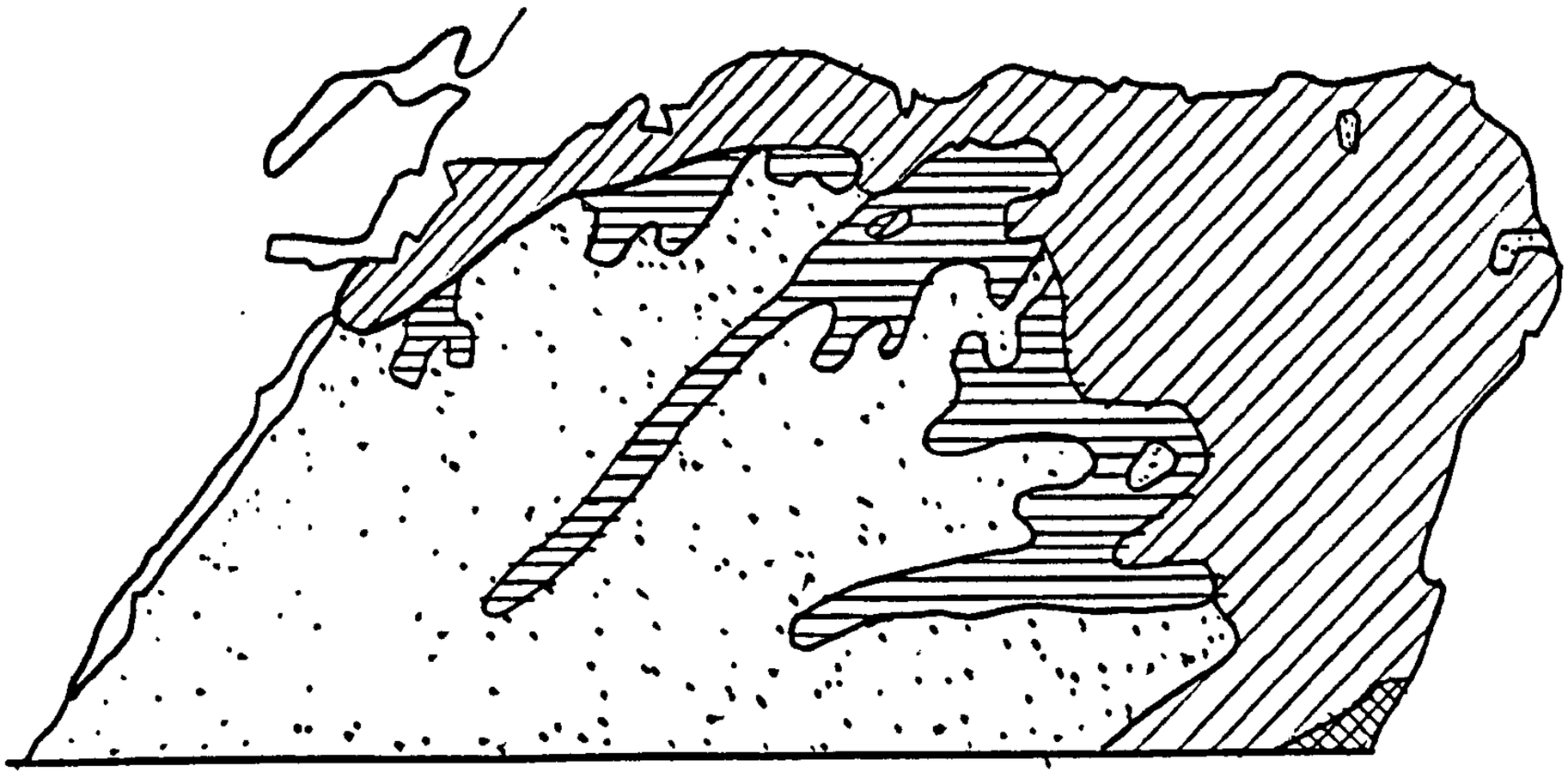

Figure 7 - Land Classification
From T. Coppock, Agricultural Atlas for Scotland, figures 3-6: "the Physical Basis for Agriculture"

First Class

Predominantly Good

Medium

Poor

The readvance of plant life was accelerated about 5,000 BP, with the onset of a warming trend. Scots pine appears to have covered the Cairngorms, while the lowlands were dominated by broadleaf oak, ash and elm. There were large areas of mixed forest climax. The eventual climatic deterioration merely reduced the extent of growth to below 600 m.

Much of the evidence for the primeval Caledonian forests first encountered by humans, has been exposed in peat bog excavations. Improvers were astonished to encounter petrified remains of enormous windthrows. Modern techniques of radio-carbon dating of pollen samples in the bogs have given a fairly clear impression of the extent and composition of these forests.[21]

Their clearing by human settlement is a fascinating story, largely reconstructed by forestry historians Steven and Carlyle and M.L. Anderson. As the primeval forests were removed, intensive forms of farming and pasturage appeared. The list of 850 native species of plants and trees became supplemented then dominated by 300 introduced species.[22] By the sixteenth century, most of the forests were removed in the lowlands, and all but a few isolated stands of Pinus silvestris[23] were removed by 1750. The landscape at that time was one of cereal crops, grasses, moorland and preliminary attempts at reforestation.[24] The contemporary landscape is one predominantly of prosperous lowland farms, highland grouse moors and interspersed forest. The tree line is roughly 550 metres elevation, however replanting is rare above 450 metres.[25]

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21. M. L. Anderson, A History of Scottish Forestry from the Ice Age to the French Revolution, vol. one.
22. Herbert L. Edlin ed., Forests of Northeast Scotland, M. McCallum Webster, "Plant Life" , pp. 49-66, and J. Grant Rogers, "Flora", pp. 46-53, for a complete list of plant life.
23. Steven and Carlyle, Native Pinewoods of Scotland.
24. T. Coppock, Agricultural Atlas for Scotland, describes the present domestic flora.
25. Peck (1981), op.cit., chapter one.

Deforestation and the extinction of the native fauna through a combination of slaughter, domestication, and gradual recession were linked. Lynx and reindeer were extinct by the late neolithic period, brown bear by the seventeenth century, wildcat by 1830 in the lowlands, wild boar by the seventeenth century, beaver in the sixteenth century, red squirrel by the late eighteenth century but was then reintroduced. The last wolf was documented in Banffshire in 1644. The golden eagle was all but extinct in the eighteenth century, but today there are some twenty-five remaining. Fox survived due to the fashion of fox hunting.[26]

The nineteenth century management of vast stretches of highland property for grouse moors, deer hunting and finishing resulted in the reintroduction of large numbers of stock.[27] The revenue from sport now exceeds that of agriculture on the estate. Lists of contemporary fauna are available.[28]

2. Early Cultural Influences

The end of the Ice Age permitted mesolithic settlement to reappear from c. 8,000-3,000 BC.[29] Mesolithic man was severely restricted by natural conditions, and so hunting settlements were confined to coastlines or to major rivers and lakes, where defensible natural clearings could be reinforced, and transportation was simple. Negligible environmental impact occurred on what would become the estate; traces survive in middens such as Culbin sands. Cullen beach would have provided ideal conditions.

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26. James Richie, The Influence of Man of Animal Life in Scotland: A Study in Faunal Evolution. pp. 108-196.
27. Adam Watson, "Eighteenth Century Deer Numbers and Regeneration Near Braemar, Scotland". pp. 289-305. Describes the effect on regeneration of the native pine forests of the 1783-92 management decisions to increase red deer for hunting by the Earl of Fife.
28. Steven and Carlyle (1959), op.cit., chapter 3, G.M. Dunnet and A. Watson, "Fauna", pp. 54-69, John Edelsten, "Bird Life", chapter 4, and R. Richter, "Other Wildlife", chapter 5.
29. E. E. Evans, "Prehistoric Geography", pp. 177-197.

A prolonged period of immigration from c.3,000-1,700 BC, imposed a new culture from the north European plain, France, Iberia and Brittany. The new technology was one of stone or flint implements, with introduction of cereal crops of wheat and barley and simple animal husbandry. Neolithic tribes were again attracted to beaches along the Moray Firth such as Culbin sands, and penetrated the interior along rivers to elevations of up to 300 metres at Rothiemay and Tomintoul.[30] Environmental impact was restricted to small forest clearings and organic structures.

Celtic invasion from Central Europe brought bronze age technology and subsequently copper age "Beaker People" from c. 1,700-500 BC. Settlement patterns were again restricted to the natural advantages of the coastline and rivers like the Deveron and Spey, however the more potent technology and the increased population resulted in the opening assault in the natural landscape. Major clearances in the Caledonian forest were aided by the bronze axe and by slash and burn clearance techniques.[31]

Inferential palaeological techniques of pollen and land snail analysis, coupled with pedological work on buried palaeosols, have begun to provide a clearer picture of the impact of early settlement. Edward's study of a site on Braeroddach Loch, river Dee, has proven that early neolithic settlement had little impact, only delaying woodland expansion; maximum timber cover occurred long after neolithic arrival in 2450 BC. After 1820 BC a massive clearing phase began which was sustained throughout the bronze age.[32] The great Caledonian forests were removed slowly over period of several thousand years. This is in almost incomprehensible contrast to Canadian frontier experience of permanent clearings of massive areas of wilderness within one generation.

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30. A. Henshall, "The Early Peoples", chapter 6.
31. W. Douglas Simpson, "The Region before 1700", pp. 70-86, and Steven and Carlyle (1959), op.cit., pp. 41-45.
32. K. J. Edwards, "Environmental Impact in the Prehistoric Period", in Scottish Archaeologicial Forum, No. 9. pp. 27-42.

The pace of frontier expansion in bronze age Scotland, was infintesimally slower. Bronze age farmers used a surface ox plough to create small rectangular fields. These were cultivated to exhaustion, and then the settlement moved on. Grazing animals discouraged reforestation. Towards the end of the age, the climate deteriorated and upland marginal lands were either abandoned or converted to pastorage.[33]

Notable monuments survive, such as 70-80 stone circles (an excellent example is at the Mains of Rothiemay), caves (such as Findochty and Cullen, surmissed to be places of refuge),[34] to round burial mounds, barrows, henges (at Quarry Wood near Elgin), a large oval hill fort on Durn Hill, promontory forts (at Cullykhan Point, Pennan, and Craithie Point), and cairns.[35] The cairns were monuments to the dead, and were constructed on the crest of hills such as Binn Hill (10-15 m dia. and 1.5 m high), Bishops Croft, and Culvie Hill. There is evidence that these cairns served as boundary markers from at least the medieval period.

The deteriorating European climate brought a new wave of Celtic refugees during 500 BD - 80 AD, this time with iron implements. New crops of rye and oats were planted, with the latter becoming the dominant Scottish crop. It is estimated that there were more sheep, pigs and cattle than indigenous animals.

Deforestation from iron axes and ploughs, coupled with promiscuous grazing, made substantial clearings along the lowlands. Settlement patterns became more substantial, with nucleated villages around broches and forts, with massive defensive earthworks with timberwork; Burghead is the most representative example.[36] The less substantial Greencastle promontory fort near Cullen, has been dated from 685 AD.

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33. Henshall (1976), op.cit., p. 107
34. W. Douglas Simpson, "The Barony, Castle, and Church of Rothiemay. Reference to symbolic stones on grounds.
35. Henshall, Chambered Tombs of Scotland
36. A. Small, "Iron Age and Pictish Moray", pp. 115-116.

Roman penetration of the northeast was restricted to punitive raids.[37] Between the time of the 80 AD establishment of forts on the Forth and Clyde, and Constantius' last expedition of 305 AD, settlement and Latin influence was confined to the lowlands south of the Hadrian-Antonine walls. Air reconnaissance has given evidence of two temporary camps, each of twenty-five acres near Keith at Bellie and Auchinhove[38] These date from the Flavian period. One other of one hundred nine acres dating from the early third century, exists at Muiryfold.[39]

The archaelogical evidence suggests that this part of Scotland was beyond the sustained influence of Pax Romana, to the point where environmental impact was limited to that of resistance to Roman occupation.[40] Although overland campaigns were hampered by difficult terrain and hostile natives, it appears the Roman fleets and privateers aggressively harassed the Moray Firth settlements. This may account for the coin of Claudius Gothicus (AD 268-70) found at Cullen; the denarius of Hadrian (c. 393 AD) and the sestertius of Antoninus Pius (c. 320) found at Culbin Sands.[41]

The accepted schema of a Europe plunged into barbarism following the collapse of the Roman Empire, does not apply to what would become the estate. The population were proudly barbarian, and they continued developing an intrinsic regional culture; a culture which the Romans had termed Pict.[42] In time, a Pictish regional grouping of tribes emerged in the northeast called Alba, and in 860 AD Alba joined Dalriada under Irish-Scots leadership. Strathclyde joined the union in 945 AD. The effect upon the landscape was a continuation of the iron age patterns.

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37. Steven and Carlyle (1959) op.cit., p. 73: In 235 years of occupation the Romans were estimated to have cleared one million acres of forest mostly the borders.
38. E. Peck, North East Scotland, chapter 2.
39. A. Small (1976), op.cit., p. 119.
40. Anderson (1967), op.cit., p. 83.
41. A. S. Robertson, "Roman Coins Found in Scotland", pp. 141-43 in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1952)
42. A. Small (1976), op.cit., p. 120.

The victory of Malcolm Canmore over Macbeth in 1057 AD, began a period of centralization which would revolutionize northeast Scotland. Anglo-Norman infiltration through intermarriage, land grants plus the creation of a feudal order was proposed and implemented by the Crown.[43] The environmental consequence was the creation of great estates held in fief from the Crown, and the establishment of royal burgs such as Elgin, Forres, Cullen and Banff which were populated by Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Flemish merchants and artisans. The new aristocracy, like the Gordons of Huntly, set about dominating their Celtic territory from fortified castles, and later established burgs of baron such as Fordyce in 1499.

The result was a century of peace when the great monasteries flourished. Deer 1218, Fyvie 1179, Beauly 1135, Kinloss 1151, Pluscarden 1230 and Elgin cathedral 1224, as the seat of the bishopric, created architecturally distinguished stone structures, while large tracts of Church land such as Pluscarden became model farms.[44] The monasteries flourished at the expense of the majority. Hence local communities such as Cullen, could not afford to construct any church beyond a simple chapel; tithe revenue had to be redirected to Elgin. Such inequities would be redressed in the Reformation.

While the monasteries and castles were under construction, the forests were rapidly disappearing in the lowlands. By the end of the thirteenth century, Baltic timber had to be imported. The landscape was radically changed from the vast Caledonian forest of mesolithic times to a prairie with a few isolated remaining stands of timber.[45] These "islands" were generally protected as royal forests for hunting.

The intense acculturation of the fertile lowlands over several centuries, while the highlands remained relatively static, had the effect of creating a distinct socio-economic boundary between the lowland-highland peoples. By 1380 John of Fordun, the Aberdeen Chronicler, wrote of urbane, peaceable

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43. H. C. Darby, "Historical Geography from the Coming of the Anglo-Saxons to the Industrial Revolution", pp. 198-220.
44. Ronald G. Cant, "The Middle Ages", pp. 133-134.
45. W. D. Simpson, "History and Antiquities", pp. 92-105.

lowlanders and highland savages.[46] The boundary was roughly the upland topography of over 500 m elevation. The resulting tension between two cultures, erupted into major insurrection twice in the eighteenth century.

The impression of feudal lowland prosperity was relative and was confined to a narrow sector. The claims of property upon the rights and duties of ordinary people extended to the regulation of personal time and even diet. The majority were dependent upon the direction of the few heritors.[47]

The Findlater estate first entered historical records in the late fourteenth century with the inheritance of a Richard of St. Clair to the Regality of Cullen. Within two generations, this was acquired through marriage by a second son of the Ogilvys of Airlie. Throughout the Medieval period, the estate was not a strong economic unit, but rather, a middling one, owing fealty to the Gordons and to the Airley Clan Chief. The Findlater Ogilvys did hold some influence over lowland Banff local affairs. Successive Findlaters made shrewd investments and consistently served the Crown's interest, so that by 1707 the estate had grown from a 2,000 acre nucleus to perhaps 20,000 acres of prime real estate, although the land carried a very high rate of mortage and remained relatively underdeveloped.

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46. T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830, p. 42-43: "The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish and the Teutonic: the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast are of domestic and civilized habits, trusty, patient and urbane, decent in their attire, affable and peaceful, devout in Divine worship yet always prone to resist a wrong at the hand of their enemies. The highlanders and people of the islands, on the other hand, are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, easy-living, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language and owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel."
47. Mitchieson (1978), op.cit., chapter one: a summary of the structure of feudal society.

3. "Third World" Conditions in 1707

By 1707, the European community had developed a complex, although uncoordinated economy, which relied upon the exchange of regional agrarian surpluses. London, Brussels, Venice and Paris became commodity centres as the distribution points of various raw, manufactured and luxury goods. Supporting this was a network of colonial and intra-colonial markets. Trade was not entirely divorced from political and military ascendancy.[48]

Within the overall pattern, Scotland was a poor and underdeveloped country with relatively minor contact with the international economy.[49] It was not for lack of trying. Blunders in foreign policy, such as the Darien scheme,[50] the colonization of Nova Scotia while it was French territory[51] and ill advised competition with England, hampered development.[52] The limited export revenue of hides, furs, wool, salmon and grain varied with the state of the harvest.[53] Relative to the rest of northern Europe, Scotland was a have not, and isolated[54] - a member of the "third world" of the late seventeenth century.

The position of Banff in this economy was even more tenuous. Without

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48. Rich and Wilson, The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe, and Habakkuk and Postan, The Industrial Revolution and After: Incomes, Populations and Technological Change.
49. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, pp. ix-xxvi: until 1550 lack of information of Scotland resulted in it being shown on maps as an island - it was "terra incognita".
50. J. Prebble, The Darien Disaster
51. G. Insh, Scottish Colonial Schemes 1620-1666 and D. Laing, Royal Letters, Charters and Tracts Relating to the Colonization of New Scotland and the Institution of the Order of Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia 1621-1638.
52. W. L. Mathieson, Scotland and the Union: A History of Scotland from 1695-1747, Chapter one.
53. T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830., p. 110.
54. I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North Amercia 1707-1783, pp. 4-5: England's population was six times that of Scotland, but the gross national revenue was thirty-five times greater. Also Mitchieson, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745, p. 2: Comparisons with the less developed parts of Europe are more relevant.

proper roads, transportation over the Cairngorms was hazardous. North Sea travel was restricted to small craft.[55] Larger ships which could have served to connect the area, required investments beyond the limited capital resources. The principal regional distribution centre, Aberdeen,[56] acted as a node inspite of the absence of a regularly interconnecting transportation system.[57]

Life in this economy was predicated upon self-sufficiency.[58] Each farm, each parish, each county, was to produce or to extract from the earth under it, all of its requirements. Even though there were many instances of external trading patterns emerging, the principle was considered inviolate, and the Scots Parliament invoked acts to prevent imports. The result was poverty.[59]

The estate in 1707 was an infield-outfield runrig system of small tenant holdings riddled with tacks and wadsets. Fragmentation led to inefficient land use and extraction of meagre profits from tenants and labourers, by a middle class whose limited management skills actually inhibited progress. Another problem was that harvesting was confined to relatively fertile land. A substantial portion of potential arable land was left as waste, fit only for promiscuous grazing, or for peat cutting. The infield was fertilized, but this zone depended upon the distance needed to cart manure; most of the land was commonty or outfield, which was underutilized due to repetitive cropping. The field pattern was amorphic, with ownership lines accepted by custom.

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55. H. G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 39-48: towns were connected by pack roads.
56. William Watt, A History of Aberdeen and Banff, pp. 309-339.
57. A. R. B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland.
58. G. S. Pryde, Scotland: From 1603 to the Present Day, pp. 24-25. "Each region, each estate, each farm . . . should grow, raise or make all that its occupants needed in order to eat, to drink, to clothe themselves and to render their homes habitable."
59. W. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 to the Present Day, Chapters 2 and 3: This was evident also in the British Parliament; in 1713 Findlater moved in Parliament to dissolve union as a result of hostile taxation. Poverty did not change until mid-century.

Custom, even if recognized, was sometimes violated. For instance the court book of the Regality of Ogilvy on 16 August 1731, noted a typical example of the tension of the run-rig system in a marginal economy: one man gave another man a severe beating and a shearing hook in the back, for the crime of cutting grain from his rig.[60]

There were few walls, hedges, ditches or trees. It was an open prairie of runrig, peat bogs and wasteland. It was open to wind and moisture erosion, it was open to gorging animals who could destroy an entire crop, then starve to death in the winter from malnutrition; it left too much land to waste as boundaries between field or as access paths. In short, the agrarian system was marginal.[61] The disastrous effects of the "seven ill years" of poor crops from 1695-1702 left an indelible "depression" image upon the memories of the Scottish people.

Conditions were appalling for most people.[62] The death rate from disease such as smallpox was high.[63] Forty percent of the population were treated in law as if they did not exist. These were subsistence laborers, cottars and beggars.[64] A relatively small middle class of minor landowners, tenant farmers, burgesses, clerics and professionals managed a degree of affluence.[65]

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60. SRO GD 248-1072-1
61. H. G. Graham (1928) op.cit., pp. 152-153; Pryde (1963) op.cit. pp. 67-70 and Campbell, Scotland Since 1707, pp. 19-23.
62. Mitchison, Life In Scotland, pp. 61-74.
63. Campbell (1965), op.cit., pp. 14-17.
64. Adams, The Making of Urban Scotland pp. 58-59. One third of the population was composed of aristocrats, substantial landowners, the middle class, small landowners, and 2-5 hectare tenantry, while two thirds of the population were crofters, servants, cottagers, cottars, and welfare dependants.
65. Smout (1969), op.cit., and Graham (1928) op.cit., However, Grant (1978) suggests this middle class was smaller and more affluent than has been generally imagined consisting of clergy, larger tenants, professions (lawyers, architects, surveyors, engineers, doctors etc) military officers, merchants, tradespeople, small landowners, relatives of the aristocracy with settlements, estate factors and clerks.

Vernacular construction was predominantly a skill practiced by each man whenever new shelters were required. Construction materials included sod, rocks, peat and timber rafters for thatched roofs. The form generally was low to the ground without windows. It was customary to keep livestock in the croft, but the earthen floor was regularly cleaned, and the refuse heaped upon the dunghill by each door for later application to the infield.[66]

The middle class managed stone construction of modest proportion. Such a house was an investment which would serve for centuries. Wealthier lairds and the great landlords, such as the Ogilvys, had already imported various creature comforts by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and a slow process of modifying tower-houses or building fresh was begun. Landscape as a thing of contemplation was confined behind garden walls.[67]

Landscape description of Scotland has reflected the socio-political biases of writers since early times. Travellers such as Burt,[68] were either unconscious of their prejudices against all but urbane conditions, or were willing propagandists promoting their particular reforms. Even artists, such as Paul Sandby, could be vicious in their satirical cartoons.[69] Agrarian reformers were particularly susceptible to vehemence in their opposition to perceived inefficiencies. The eighteenth century attitude that the north of Scotland was inhabited by barbarians, was replaced by the nineteenth century's perhaps equally excessive belief in the area's merits. Contemporary historians find it extremely difficult to separate tourist board propaganda from fact.

Perhaps the most persuasive argument of the late seventeenth century economy is that of I.D. Whyte.[70] His thesis is that the conditions which led to

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66. R. H. Campbell (1965), op.cit., pp. 12-14.
67. John Sleazer, Theatrum Scothecum.
68. R. Jamieson ed., Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland: Letter 3 describes houses, letter 15 describes the differences between highlander and lowlander.
69. Paul Sandby, "A Highland Laird Writing His Will", British Museum Collection LB89b.
70. I. D. Whyte, "Agrarian Change in Lowland Scotland in the Seventeenth Century." G. Whittington, "Was there a Scottish Agricultural Revolution?", pp. 204-206.

the "improvement age" were well in place in the lowlands by the seventeenth century; his is a model of land use change which is evolutionary,[71] rather than revolutionary.

4. "First World" Conditions in 1793

Vast changes occurred over the four generations.[72] Europe was moving closer towards a global trading system which encompassed North America, Africa, India and the Orient. Scotland had become a part of British imperial aspirations and opportunities, and benefited from exploration of Canada and the other dominions.[73] Raw materials such as tobacco and furs flowed into ports like Glasgow to be processed, then distributed. Profits stimulated a more complex and more specialized economic organization, which helped to foster increased industrial output and increased capital. Modern banking stabilized,[74] with the incorporation of the Bank of Scotland in 1695, the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1727 and the British Linen Company in 1742.

Exports were not longer limited to surplus resources. Massive changes in production had begun to reorganize all aspects of society.[75] The self sufficient economy advocated by successive Medieval Parliaments collapsed, as the more complex capitalistic economy, characterized by specialization, emerged.[76]

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71. I. H. Adams, "The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland, A Contribution to the Debate", pp. 198-203.
72. Phillipson and Mitchison, Scotland in the Age of Improvement, p. 1: "A period of economic growth little short of miraculous for its speed and intensity."
73. Campbell (1965) op.cit. pp. 78-83: A wider economy was opened.
74. ibid, pp. 68-75 and pp. 134-137.
75. T. C. Smout; "Sir John Clerk's Observations on the Present Circumstances of Scotland, 1730" pp. 174-212 Clerk was a founding member of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures.
76. Campbell, "The Union and Economic Growth", pp. 58-74.

Estates experienced rapid change. Improvers like Lord Deskford, with the assistance of surveyor-factors like Peter May, forced the agrarian revolution upon conservative tenants.[77] Enclosure of open fields and commons progressed with infrequent recourse to court arbitration of boundaries, and no recourse to Parliamentary Acts as required by law in England.[78] For the first time, regularly scheduled overland transportation could be implemented as a result of a road building programme.[79] Technological innovations in agriculture were implemented.[80] Although most of the indigeneous forests had been removed, an ambitious programme of reforestation had begun. Famine relief made starvation during a period of crop failure, such as 1782-3, unneccessary for organized estates.

The great landowners stimulated this accelerated development through application of new methods discussed at such meetings as the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufacturers and Agriculture founded 1755, The Society for Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture founded 1723, the Highland Society founded 1784, and the National Board of Trade founded 1783. A series of committees and government agencies headed by influential landlords also served as a focus for improvements including: The Board of Trustees for Manufacturers founded 1727 and the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates founded 1752.[81]

Often the improving zeal of landlords resulted in social upheaval, and the displacement of tenants. Part of the surplus was absorbed by the new factor-

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77. Campbell, (1965) op.cit., pp. 27-29, List of Early Improvers.
78. I. H. Adams, "Division of Commonty in Scotland; The Use of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Estate Plans Held by the Scottish Record Office in a Study of Historical Geography."
79. J. B. Salmond, Wade in Scotland, and Graham (1928) op.cit. p. 39-48: The first regular state coach service between Edinburgh and Glasgow was in 1749.
80. J. E. Handley, The Agricultural Revolution in Scotland and James Donaldson, General View of the Agriculture of the Country of Banff.
81. L. R. Timperley, "Land Ownership in Scotland Around the Year 1770". pp. 59-65.

ies, and the new towns, but a large population took to the seas.[82] Forced and voluntary emigration gave new beginnings in new countries.[83]

Living conditions for the majority reflected tangible progress. The once communal farm touns discriminated into separate houses for separate families and with separate barns for their livestock. Urban developments on estates were influenced by Craig's Edinburgh new town.[84] The orderly results such as at Keith, Rothes, and Grantown, stongly resemble the grid patterns of North America settlements which were concurrently developing. Although Cullen new town was actually not constructed until 1822, its planning dates from 1790. The construction boom meant that landowners came increasingly to rely upon the specialized professions of architects, engineers and surveyors.

Many landowners such as Findlater and Grant of Grant, led in creating new enterprises and improvements, which would provide employment at home for the increasing populations. Many of the tenants encouraged to implement long term improvements with 19 year leases, were given renewals for generations, and this fact allowed an increasing number of professional tenant farmers to prosper.[85] The modern network of middle class professionals and enterpreneurs, who made fortunes from new industries such as linen,[86] emerged. The class society with its inflationary expectations for growing

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82. Graham, Colonists from Scotland 1707-1783 Various factors were at work ranging from expulsion to personal ambition. Malcolm Gray, Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands 1795-1875.
83. M. I. Adam, "Eighteenth Century Highland Lords and the Poverty Problem", pp. 161-179.
84. D. G. Lockhart, "The Evolution of the Planned Villages of North-east Scotland, Studies in Settlement Geography".
85. Campbell (1965), op.cit., pp. 31-32.
86. Ibid, pp. 58-63 In 1728 production totalled 2.2 Million Yards; by 1770 production totalled 13.0 Million Yards.

middle incomes took hold.[87] It was an unprecedented age of upper class ascendancy, middle class affluence and lower class acquience. The estate had become absorbed into the "first world" prosperity.

5. The Spirit of Improvement

Between 1707 and 1793, science, management, law, transportation, agriculture, finance, religion, education and the arts were revolutionized. The impetus towards improvement was not altogether motivated by atavistic aristocrats desiring greater profits and power, all extracted from the honest toil of their tenants.[88] Rather, the philosophy of Enlightenment elaborated by leading intellectuals such as Adam Smith and David Hume,[89] served as a positive force to humanize those in authority to use creative technological improvements for the material improvement of society as a whole.

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87. Mitchison (1978) op.cit., chapters 5 and 7.
88. Two contraditory interpretations of motivation are presented by Mitchieson (1978), op.cit., p. 80: "To the real 'improver', it meant to develop: to exploit more intensively and efficiently the resources of an estate, to reorganize production, and to invest capital in expectation of higher yields". And the contradiction is presented by Timperly (1977), op.cit., p. 71: "Despite their position of power, they clearly felt a responsibility for the well being of their tennants and dependents", or P. 74: "The first improvers were motivated primarily by fashion, patriotism and the admiration of the English system, which was seen to be, so much more profitable. Later improvers were motivated more by the promise of high incomes coupled with the availability of capital".
89. Jane Rendall, The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment 1707-1776, p. 24, such as Hume's Of The Standard of Taste. Refer also to G.P. Morice, ed. David Hume; Bicenteniary Papers, Chapters 3, 5 and 7.

In architecture this material improvement was expressed at a time of changing taste; and as late mediaeval vernacular and copybook classicism were increasingly rejected in favour of English Paladianism. However the purity and simple strength of this Pall.adianism did not for long hold back the inventive genius of men like Robert Adam. As Wittkower has remarked,[90] Adam and his contemporaries, prompted by the liberal patronage and deep pockets of the Grand Whiggery and its conservative successor, developed and practised a well-informed stylistic eclecticism wider and more various than any that had gone before.

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90. Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism, p. 177, and Chapter 18. "Thus the eighteenth century has no coherent stylistic physiognomy; it is pre-eminently a century of stylistic revivals and even to a certain extent of stylistic chaos".

CHAPTER THREE: ESTATE ORGANIZATION

1. The Concentration of Power

Although Scotland was not a feudal state by the eighteenth century, an individual was not as free as theory said he was. As long as a landlord obeyed the law and remained solvent, he held comprehensive authority over the use of that land. In a basically agrarian economy, that translated as absolute control over the manner and distribution of all aspects of the economic life of his tenants and dependents.[1]

Further, responsibility for the collection and expenditure of all public commitments was delegated by various agencies to the heritors of each parish. Patronage was controlled by the landowners over appointments and the direction of events through the Commissioners of Supply (for roads, harbours and schools), the Commissioners of Tiends (for churches), the Commissioners of Excise (for taxes) and through the Commissioners for Police (for law enforcement). Educational and religious ideology also had, in large measure, to conform to the majority landowner's judgement,[2] since he paid the stipends and maintained the property. Kirk sessions had had some control over nominating ministers for a brief period, however in 1712 this privilege was restored to patrons. Although a compromise was reached in 1752 to allow the session to review the patron's nominee's resume, patronage did not formally end until the late nineteenth century. The fifth Earl of Findlater even wrote the sermons.

Justice also lay with the landowners. Article 20 of the 1707 Act of Union preserved feudal rights to heritable judicial offices of Regality and Barony, and these courts remained active until 1747. A Regality had total power to try all civil and criminal cases, although by the eighteenth century,

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1. Alexander Murdoch, The People Above: Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth Century Scotland, chapter one.
2. Grant (1922), op.cit., Chapter II

major cases were held in the Sheriff courts. Baron courts held the right to settle minor quarrels amongst tenants and to collect fines. The 1747 Act of Parliament abolishing heritable jurisdictions[3] permitted compensation. Findlater claimed £ 5,500 compensation for loss of his rights as Lord of the Regality of Ogilvy, Heritable Constable of Cullen and Baron of Strathilay.[4] His claim was upheld, although he only received £ 1,084 compensation and that was delayed until 1752. He was one of the 75 successful claimants.

After 1747, judicial power still remained with the few powerful landowners, but power had to be exercised more subtly through quiet intimidation, exchange of spheres of influence,[5] blockvoting, purchasing votes, patronage and by political savvy.[6] All regional court functions were assumed by the Sheriff courts, with the limited administrative functions being assigned to the Lords of Police.[7]

Central to the discussion of concentration of county power was the Office of Sheriff. Scottish county government after the 1707 union, remained distinctly different from England, so that Scottish Sheriffs were the leading officials in county government, while in England this was only a minor position.[8]

By virtue of their leadership qualities,[9] the fourth and fifth Findlaters held the office of Sheriff of Banff from 1693 to 1764, and in that position exercised dominant authority in the county over revenue collections, judicial proceedings, police, and public expenditures, and served as the national government's administrative representative.[10]

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3. 20 Geo. II (1747), c. 43
4. SRO GD 248-572-3
5. For descriptions of spheres of interest governing Banffshire, see Grant (1922) op.cit., pp. 33-94.
6. Timperly (1977), op.cit., pp. 113-123 and p. 247. At mid-century, there were 177 individuals, 2 institutions and 3 groups with votes in Banffshire. By 1800 this had been reduced to 43 landowners.
7. Murray (1974), op.cit., pp. 30-57.
8. Ann E. Whitstone, Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centures, Chapter One.
9. Ibid, Chapter One: in 1700, 21 of 33 Sheriffdoms were held by heriditary right.
10. James Grant, Records of the County of Banff 1660-1760, Banff did not have an hereditary Sheriffdom.

The actual duties of the Sheriff were assigned to Sheriff-Deputes. Prior to 1747, the Sheriff appointed his depute. The fourth Earl for instance, appointed Nicolas Dunbar and subsequently William Syme. After 1747, deputes were nominated by the Lord Justice Clerk and appointed by the Home Secretary in an attempt to raise legal standards and apply a uniform system of justice. Still, the great landowners who retained the Office of Sheriff maintained a degree of control, as witnessed by the Home Office's request to Sheriff Findlater in 1754 to allow the nomination of Lord Bracco (later second Earl Fife) to stand as depute.[11]

Scottish Sheriff courts dominated legal and administrative functions of local government corresponding to the Justices of the Peace in England. J.P.'s in Scotland shared minor responsibilities for local road maintenance, collecting special taxes, recruiting forces, administering the poor laws, and as a notary public.[12]

Second only to the Sheriff in importance at the county level, were the Commissioners of Supply. This body was established in 1667 with the sole purpose of collecting the cess (National Land Tax); it later acquired extensive authority in areas of fiscal responsibility. In the words of Whetstone: "In the course of the eighteenth century, the Commissioners of Supply became both an important institution of local government, and the most important single body for expressing the views of the landholders in Scotland."[13] They were in effect county councils prior to the latters' creation in 1889.

After 1750, the central government came to rely upon the Commissioners to delegate authority for valuations, road construction, and tax collection. By the 1780's meetings were occasions for instructing MP's on how to vote. The convener of the Commissioners of Supply was the third ranking official in County affairs, after the sheriff deputy.

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11. SRO GD 248-562-55 Dupplin to Deskford 12-11 1754.
12. Whitstone, (1981) op. cit., chapter 2
13. Ibid. p. 61

The other office in county government was that of Lord Lieutenant. Sir James Grant of Grant filled that role during the Napoleonic wars. The mandate was to raise and direct the militia during a time of emergency.[14]

Political power beyond Banff was especially concentrated with landowners. Voting was restricted to landowners with £100 Scots valued rent in land tax. The number who qualified varied between 177 voters about 1750 to 43 in 1800 for all Banff. As late as 1831, the Banff population of 48,604 residents were represented by one MP who was elected by only 120 electors![15] As major landowners during a period of limited sufferage, the Findlaters had a significant role in influencing the election of the four County MP's and the Elgin Burghs MP in the north east.[16] Also, as one of the few Banff peers, they were eligible to vote in the election of the sixteen representative peers sent to the House of Lords, and the fourth and fifth Earls were almost invariably elected.

Thus through well calculated oligarchies and personal merit of several Earls, power was extended to the whole of Scotland. Government service in key posts gave an opportunity to influence the shape of events, and gave income supplements which could be invested in the estate.[17]

As an indicator of the relative distribution of wealth, the chief factor to the seventh Earl during his minority in 1770, William Robertson, who was responsible for the full administration of the estate, received an income of £70 plus a house. A ploughman in the same year grossed £4 without specific benefits.[18] Lord Findlater's income from rentals alone, exceeded £10,000. Against such a concentration of wealth and such inequalities, an individual had, of course, full right to dissent, but without powerful friends emigration would usually result.

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14. Ibid, Chapter 4
15. Cook and Stevenson, British Historical Facts 1760-1830, p. 58.
16. Riley, "The Structure of Scottish Politics and the Union of 1707", pp. 25-26. Creation of spheres of influence of the leading families resulted in politics and aministration being interwoven with patronage and intrigue.
17. J.M. Simpson, "Who Steered the Gravy Train 1707-1766", pp. 47-72.
18. Pryde (1962) op.cit., p. 143.

This is the context of the estate's organization. Secure land tenure meant secure personal influence over administrative, legislative and judicial functions.[19] The right to control events gave the Earls a sense of confidence that their judgement would continue to be honoured and be unchallenged over the long term.

2. Executive Profile

This profile has been compiled as a means of explaining how "James Ogilvy, Earl of Findlater", appears in the archives as landowner for about two hundred years, and to attach a personality to the authority who governed decision taking on the estate.

It has been said that there was never quite as awesome a being as a solvent Scottish Earl,[20] and in the case of most of the eighteenth century Findlaters, this was true. They were the focus of economic and political life within their territory, and many of their congregation were firmly convinced the Earls received the right and obligations of leadership directly from God; to them, Louis XIV must have seemed rather remote by comparison.

On the whole, the Findlaters were capable and conscientious; their determination to bring a better way of life to the people that God had placed under their care was genuine. Arguments can be made that for an agrarian society at the edge of a frontier, no better institution could have been devised for the organization and functioning of that particular society at that particular time.

Each Findlater was carefully groomed to take charge. The education of the heir was a very solemn undertaking - the very best education the

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19. Douglas Sutherland, The Landowners, chapter one; land was the cornerstone of power.
20. Graham (1956) op.cit., Chapter one

eighteenth century could offer was cautiously obtained, and every opportunity was given absorbing cosmopolitan developments in law, philosophy, the sciences and the arts. Many of the family responded to this opportunity by excelling and becoming leaders or patrons of the new developments.[21] It was a dynamic process, and they were expected to repay the system that presented privilege.

Scottish society is a composite of multi-cultural origins, which time has moulded into a distinctive national identity. The cultural mosaic origins are reflected in the Ogilvy pedigree. The Ogilvys were a long line of aristocrats ethnically descended from the opportunistic Scots who colonized the north of Britain from Ireland around 500 AD. The family was a cadet branch of the Ogilvy Earls of Airlie, with Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchleven being a second son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen (High-Treasurer of Scotland 1437). Sir Walter inherited the baronetcy of Deskford from his wife's father, Sir John Sinclair c. 1411-38 (who was of Anglo-Norman origins) and came to the Moray Firth to live. His grandson added the baronetcy of Findlater, while the fifth generation became first Lord Deskford in 1616. The sixth became first Earl of Findlater in 1638.

The Grants were also descended from noble lineage. Ethnically, they were Norwegians by the name of Groot, who also stopped "raping and pillaging" long enough to see the advantages of permanent settlement about 800 AD. It is through the Grants that the baronetcies in Strathspey and Nova Scotia were added, though with succession through the matriarchial line, the Earldom of Findlater became extinct.[22] (Refer to Appendix D)

The fourth Earl was not necessarily the most ambitious, but he was the most successful. Seafield was assisted in achieving national leadership by a variety of relatives, who felt he could be trusted to give them preferential

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21. Timperly (1977), op.cit., chapter one
22. SRO GD 248-801-1 family tree notes.

EX BIBL. UNIV. EDINBURGEN.

treatment. This extended family of Seafield on his father's side was: The Earls of Airlie, Huntley, Sutherland, Morton, Rothes, Glencairne, Buchan, Breathalbane, The Lords Saltoun, Livingston, Elphinstone, Forbes of Pitsligo, Grey, Crowmarty, Banff, Boyne, Forglen, and the Baronets Grant, Dunbar and Abercrombie. His mother's side added stronger links to some of the above and to the Dukes of Hamilton and of Rothes, the Earls of Eglington, Crawford-Lindsay, Haddington, Northesk, Southesk, Selkirk, Winton, Loudon, and Lord Balmerino.[23] The immediate Ogilvy-Grant geneology is traced on Figure 8, Kinship Structure.

An incompetent, imprudent or dissolute Scottish noble, if left to his own course, had full ability to destroy an estate of however great a fortune, and in the process inflict great hardship on his tenants. But in reality, none of the Findlaters were permitted such foolishness. There were checks and balances; a son was tested, and if he failed, such as Walter, fifth Lord Deskford, or Lewis Alexander, fifth Earl of Seafield, the land would be placed in trust or settled on another member of the family; all he would inherit was the empty title. If he grew to be incapable of exercising the leadership demanded, like the seventh Earl of Findlater, he would find it prudent to leave management with Commissioners, and travel. The Scottish laws of perpetual entail 1684 and the Entail Act 1685 provided the legal means for ensuring the rights of heirs.

During the progress of the century, the Earls came to increasingly rely upon an array of specialized professionals such as solicitors, accountants, factors, architects and surveyors, to whom authority was delegated. These professionals offered advice, and it was rare that the advice was not taken. If the servant proved unworthy of the trust, such as Alexander Wilson, proved, the matter generally resolved itself.

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23. Grant (1912), op.cit. p. vii, see also p. xiii for portrait.

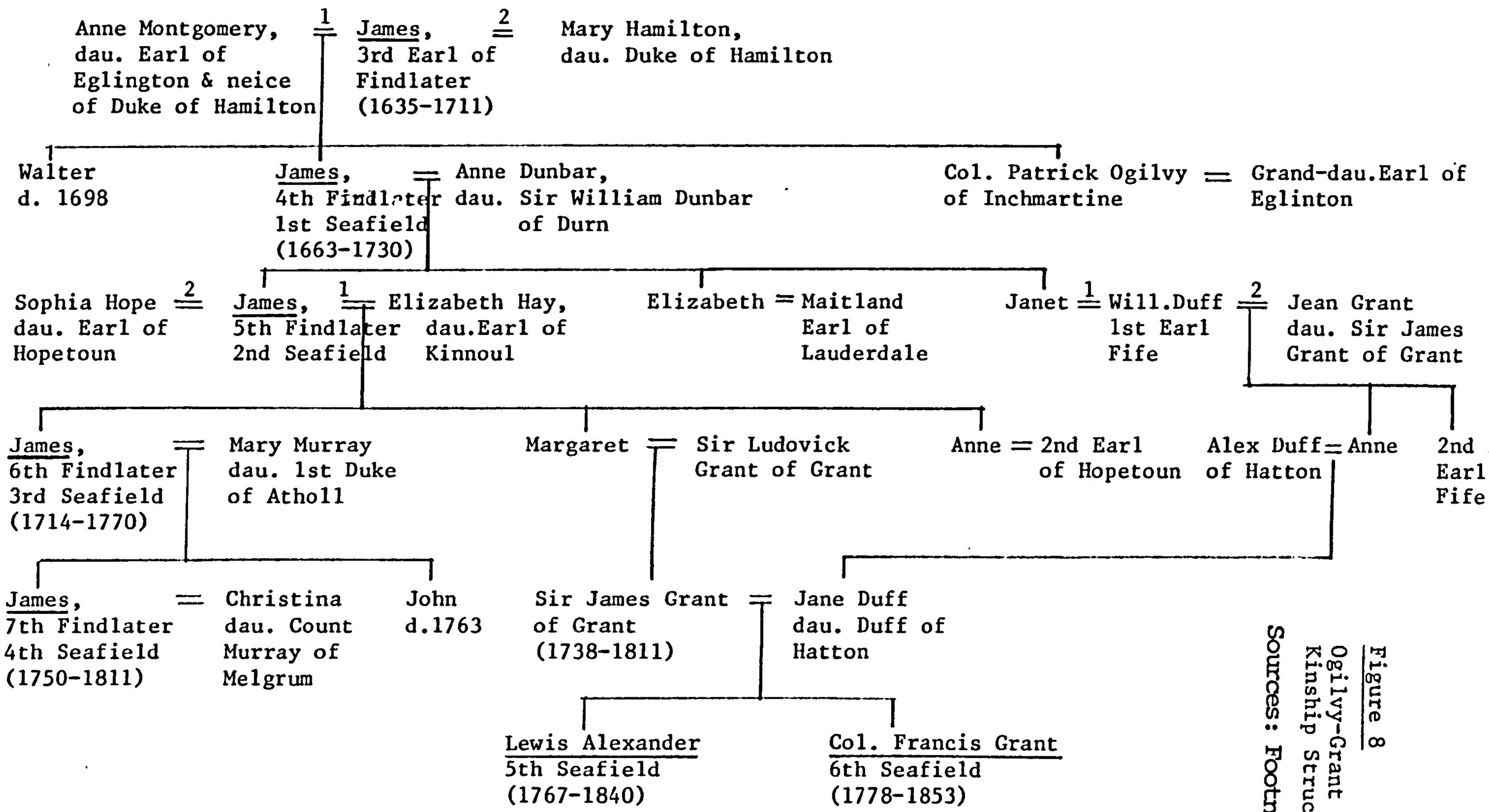

Figure 8
Ogilvy-Grant
Kinship Structure
Sources: Footnote 24

An apology for confining the executive profile to the Earls, and to their heir designate, Sir James Grant should be made. Such is the nature of the records of Scottish patriarchal society. Mary, sixth Countess of Findlater, should have been included, but not enough data was allowed to survive to write it. She was careful in executing her wishes, not to stress the male dominated world in which she found herself. It also would have seemed to be appropriate to have included an analysis of the major professional contributors, but they served at the pleasure of the Earl, and until the last Earl, they only provided administrative services and not the direction.

Basic data for the following profiles have been compiled from standard biographies, and rather than footnote each reference, the combined material is listed below.[24]

James, third Earl of Findlater (1635-1711)[25]

Born 1635, educated Aberdeen University. By his first wife Anne Montgomery, the daughter and heir of Hugh, Seventh Earl of Eglington, Findlater had twelve children. By his second wife Mary, third daughter of William, Second Duke of Hamilton, he had no issue. The eldest, Walter, fifth Lord Deskford, became a Jacobite and Roman Catholic by 1693, and was disinherited in 1696 in favour of the second son, James. Walter died in 1698, and James became heir to both estate and title. The third son was Colonel Patrick of Lonmay and

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24. Lee, Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XVI (1909), Balfour-Paul, The Scots Peerage Vol. IV (1907), Doubleday, White and de Walden, The Complete Peerage, vol. V & XI (1945), Burkes Peerage and Baronetage, Douglas, The Peerage of Scotland (1813), Douglas, The Baronetage of Scotland, (1798), and Burke's Landed Gentry.
25. Portrait B3533, National Galleries of Scotland (Portrait Gallery).

Inchmartine.[26]

The third Earl played a relatively minor role in local county politics, serving as one of the Commissioners of Excise and Justice of the Peace for Banffshire. As a Scots peer, he automatically was a member of the Edinburgh Parliament and participated for several sessions; he proved a loyal supporter of the Crown.

Based on an index of the Cullen House library in 1708,[27] James Grant and others have claimed that he was well read,[28] but it is possible that much ofthe library was collected by Seafield, since there is a preponderance of history and law books, and the records of Seafield sending his books in stages to the house exist. It is not surprising to find Bacon's Essay's, Locke's On Education and Civil Government and Macheavelli's The Prince on the list.

The most frequent reference in contemporary accounts of Findlater was to his impoverishment. Granting the estate to his son in 1705 altered that. He died in 1711.

James, fourth Earl of Findlater (1663-1730)[29]

Born, 1663, educated Aberdeen University (Kings), placed in the army in 1682 and served in Holland. Returned by his own choice to study law in Edinburgh in 1683. In 1685 he was admitted as an advocate and began a successful practice. His legal education served to great advantage during his

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26. This third son was first a sea captain who provided the estate's link with the Edinburgh grain markets. He became M.P. for the Burgh of Cullen 1702-08, and Elgin Burghs 1708-10. In 1717, he acquired the ancestral estate of Inchmartine. He died 1737.
27. SRO GD 248-800-2, index dated 3-12-1708.
28. Grant (1912), op.cit., pp. xiii-xiv.
29. Portrait B3527 National Galleries of Scotland (Portrait Gallery) Attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller.

career.[30] Married in 1688 to Anne, daughter of Sir William Dunbar of Durn, by whom he had five children: James, fifth Earl, William, George (died 1732), Elizabeth (married sixth Earl of Lauderdale), and Janet (married first, Hugh Forbes of Craigievar and second, William Duff of Bracco, first Earl Fife). Anne died 1708.

James began public service as MP for Banffshire 1681-2 and for the burgh of Cullen from 1689-1695. In 1693 he was appointed Solicitor-General and Sheriff of Banff. He also was knighted as Sir James Ogilvy of Churchhill. The style was a calculated choice, for the King's most influential adviser in Britain at that time was John Churchill. After spending most of 1695 in London at Court, James returned to Scotland to become Joint Secretary of State 1696. In the 1698 civil list, he was elevated as Viscount Seafield and Lord Ogilvy of Cullen, and with the death of his brother, he became heir to the Findlater Earldom. In 1698, he also served as President of Parliament.

He was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for 1700, 1703, 1724 and 1727. In 1701 he was created the first Earl of Seafield, Viscount Reidhaven and Lord Ogilvy of Deskford and Cullen. He inherited the Findlater Earldom and estate in 1711, becoming fourth Earl of Findlater and first Earl of Seafield.

From 1702-04 and 1705-08 he was Lord High Chancellor. He was Joint Secretary of State 1702, 1704 and Lord Chief Baron in the Court of Exchequer 1708-09.[31] He was Keeper of the Great Seal 1713-14. He served in all three positions as Secretary, Commissioner and Chancellor many times during his long career. After being principally involved with negotiating Union, (as Commissioner of Union) he was almost invariably elected as a representative

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30. J.S. Shaw, The Management of Scottish Society, 1707 - 1764, pp. 30-31.
31. Lord Chief Baron was one of the few influencial positions created by the Union, in this capacity, he managed crown lands, dispursed minor patronage, supervised collectors of revenue, and issued warrants of payment. Refer to Murray (1974), op.cit., pp. 34-57.

peer (1707-10, 1712-15, 1722-30). He was Privy Councillor 1707-14 and 1723-27 and Chancellor of Court of Session 1713. From 1721 he was a special adviser to George I on Scottish Affairs, and resided for part of the year at the London Court. The change in administration in 1727 forced retirement from all but the House of Lords. The remainder of his life was spent between Edinburgh and Cullen House.

Opinions of Seafield's contribution to Scottish history are controversial. Hume Brown's assessment seems the most balanced;[32] he was an administrator who survived the continuous change of early eighteenth century politics[33] by astutely judging the political climate of the day, and then supporting the majority.[34] Although he began his career with a defence of Tory Jacobitism, he ended as a Hanoverian Whig.[35] Mathieson pointed out that all parties had absolute trust in him, as long as they maintained their majority.[36] Recent opinion such as Ferguson[37] and Lockhart (1977), has been highly critical, viewing him as an amoral scoundrel.[38] Since Seafield's major contribution was the Act of Union of 1707, and the subsequent intermeshing of the two cultures, it is understandable that Scottish nationalistic sympathies in the 1970's would regard Seafield with resentment for drawing the country into the larger world. P.W.J. Riley's recent assessment of Seafield as a political manager intent upon

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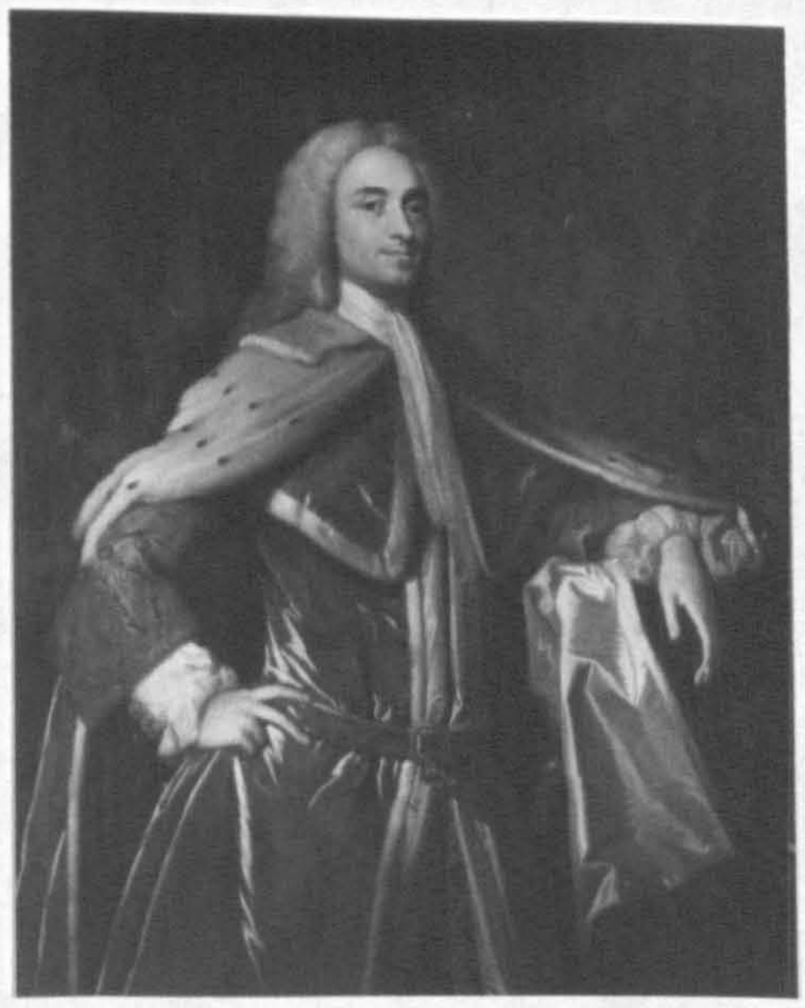
32. Hume Brown (1915) op.cit. Introduction.
33. Mathieson (1905) op.cit., excellent account of the political wheeling and dealing of Seafield's generation.
34. For Seafield's shrewd judgement in treading carefully through the various domains of the four territorial magnates (Hamilton, Queensberry, Atholl and Argyll), attempting to dominate central power, refer to P.W.J. Riley "Battle of the Magnates" in Rae (1974) op.cit. especially p. 7 and p. 16.
35. Sir George Clark, The Later Stuarts 1660-1714. Political history related to the estate's development primarily in shaping the amount of time the Fourth Earl had to spend away from it, plus the income received from government salaries.
36. Mathieson (1905) op.cit., pp. 160-163.
37. Ferguson (1968) op. cit., pp. 36-69 for a description of union and for an "exposé" of Seafield. also Scotland's Relations with England: A History to 1707.
38. Lockhart (1977), op.cit., p. 924 "He seldom or never consulted his own inclinations, but was a blank sheet of paper which the court might fill up with what they pleased."

service to the public good, may be the lasting impression.[39]



James, fifth Earl of Findlater (1689-1764)[40]

James was educated at Oxford, and first married Elizabeth Hay, second daughter of the Earl of Kinnoul, by whom he had three children: James (Lord Deskford), Margaret (who married Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant) and Anne (married second Earl of Hopetoun). His second wife was Sophia Hope, first daughter of the first Earl of Hopetoun (m. 1723) by whom he had no issue.

James appears to have been his father's executive assistant from an early age. In 1715 he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle on charges of treason, but evidence proved he had not been involved in the rebellion, and so he was released. He later proved a solid government supporter throughout Walpole's administration. As early as 1718, Findlater recognized the economic and military value of a stable road network in the north of Britain, and became a key figure in developing county and national policies of road improvements.[41] He was closely connected with General Wade.

Upon his father's death in 1730, he assumed full control of the estate, and was appointed Sheriff of Banff, filling the political vacuum ably. He served frequently (1734-64) as a representative peer (Whig). From 1734-1742 Findlater served as Lord of Police of Scotland, and 1737-64 served as Vice-

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39. Riley (1974) p. 16 "Seafield was unusual in making it perfectly clear that he supported the court whoever it was."
40. Photograph B8256 National Galleries of Scotland. (Portrait Gallery) by Allan Ramsay.
41. Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff (1847) Vol. II pp 135-142.

Admiral of Scotland.[42] State affairs absorbed an increasing amount of his time, and he gradually turned over the estate's management to his son. He conducted his Edinburgh business from Hopetoun House, and was frequently in London for Parliament.

The fifth Findlater was a well educated and gifted scholar, who was acquainted and maintained correspondence with the great intellectuals of the early Enlightenment in Scotland, England, Holland and France. His interest in theology and philosophy resulted in his direct control of sermons and educational policy.

Politically, although he was a member of the Squadrone,[43] he was a loyal Hanoverian Whig and he seems to have abstained from areas of controversy. His one exceptional political contribution was that he was instrumental[44] in bringing about the various Parliamentary Acts which "civilized" the highlands after the '45. General Bland, Milton and Findlater wrote critical reports of the annexed estates' management by the Barons of Exchequer, which influenced the result of establishing a separate board.[45] The new board was given a parliamentary mandate to effect advanced improvement throughout the highlands.[46] In the process, he managed to alienate the Duke of Argyll's interest and thereby block both his own and his son's future chances for advancement.[47]

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42. The family customarily held deputy right of Admiralty to the coastline between the east end of Rannes and the lands of Findochy to the east side of the Deveron River GD 248-678 however the vice-Admiralty was for all of Scotland along with the other Admiral, the Duke of Argyll. The position was concerned with "coast guard duty" rather than naval deployment.
43. Shaw (1983), op.cit., pp. 48-49.
44. Ibid, pp. 171-186: The principal influence in creating and shaping the commission was Lord Milton, and not Findlater.
45. Board established 1753 (25 Geo II c.41) Parliament authorized survey of estates, site analyses, and advice on improvements as well as improvements to be implemented and administered.
46. Murdock (1980), op.cit., p. 74
47. For an appreciation of the power of the second and third Dukes of Argyll, see P.W.J. Riley (1974), op.cit., pp. 26-29, and also Murdoch (1980), op.cit., p. 38 and p. 98-99. Findlater was left out of Parliament by order of Argyll in 1761.

James, sixth Earl of Findlater (1714-1770)[48]

Born 1714, educated at Winchester, Oxford and on the Grand Tour.[49] By his wife Mary, second daughter of the first Duke of Atholl,[50] he had two sons, James, the seventh Earl, and John, who died 1763. Deskford was an active part of the intellectual group who brought about the Enlightenment in Scotland. Friends included: David Hume, Adam Smith, Dr. Cullen and Lord Kames. Although interested in education, becoming Chancellor of Kings College, Aberdeen University, 1761-70, his principal contribution was in land use reform applying the principles of improvement to the family estate from mid-century.

Appointments began as a trustee for Manufactures in 1749,[51] this was followed in 1754 when he became a Commissioner of Customs (resigning under pressure in 1761).[52] This was a difficult post to fill, since it was responsible for enforcing control of economic strategy authorized by Parliament. Through export and import duties, Scottish industrial expansion was promoted; however, some of their policies would come into conflict with the American colonies in the next generation. Deskford continued to serve on the influential Board of Trustees of Fisheries and Manufactures[53] and on the Commission for the Annexed and Forfeited Estates from 1755. In the latter capacity, he appears to have been the dominant voice in management at the time of its initiation, signing the annual reports and audit, and initiating the terms

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48. Portrait B3532 National Galleries of Scotland. (Portrait Gallery) Sixth Earl of Findlater (Lord Deskford) by Agostino Massucci
49. S.R.O. GD 248-(565-82-5) Deskford to Findlater 10/8/1734; GD 248 (565-82-11) Deskford to Findlater 20.6.1734.
50. S.R.O. GD 248-802-2 Marriage contract 26.6.1749.
51. Shaw (1983), op.cit., pp. 68-69.
52. SRO GD 248-588 Letter patent from George II, 29-07-1754.
53. Board of Trustees established 1727 to encourage public works, see Athol L. Murray (1974) and Campbell (1974) op.cit., pp. 58-74.

of reference for surveyors and factors. Through this Commission, the highlands underwent a dramatic change.[54]

Hopetoun, Deskford and candidates of the Duke of Argyll were about the same age and were all intelligent and ambitious. Between the years 1754-56, they came into open competition to succeed to the most influential positions. The Duke of Newcastle, the political operator with national interests, assumed Deskford as his protégé and councilled him to cooperate fully with the third Duke of Argyll. Deskford headstrongly refused, and as a result he was "hurled into political oblivion".[55] By the end of 1755, he was ordered removed from the Board of Customs by Argyll,[56] and by 1756, he effectively abandoned influence over the forfeited estates;[57] thus a brilliant political career came to a swift conclusion. He returned to the estate and devoted his ambition to improvements; apparently he found these satisfying compensation.

With the death of his father in 1764, James became sixth Earl of Findlater. The next year saw him appointed one of the Lords of Police (1765-70).[58] In 1768 he made a move to be appointed Admiral of Scotland and one of the representative peers.[59] He was blocked by the Tory government, but intended to press forward in the next election. By 1769 he began to have medical problems, and in June of 1770 he placed managment of the estate in the care of Commissioners.

In November, 1770 his apparent brain tumour with uncharacteristic fits of violence became unbearable, and he committed suicide. The obituaries throughout Britain praised his leadership in promoting improvements.[60]

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54. By 1761, he only reluctantly accepted reappointment because he felt the commission was dominated by others, refer to Mure of Caldwell papers.
55. Murdock (1980), op.cit., pp. 47, 52, 83 and 102.
56. Shaw (1983), op.cit., pp. 77-79.
57. Ibid., p. 81: "Formerly when I attended ... I had not influence to do any good, as some people possessed of more power had very different plans in view than mine ..."
58. Murdoch (1980) op.cit., pp. 119-120.
59. SRO GD 248- 572-4-50 Findlater to (-), c. 1768, and also SRO GD 248-592-3-1, Duke of Newcastle to Findlater 7-12-1768.
60. Aberdeen Journal, 26-11-1770, p. 2, cols. 1 & 2: Reproduced from The London Chronicle: "On the third instant died at his seat of Cullen. House

Deskford was viewed in his day as one of the dominant influences for bringing about the Scottish agrarian revolution.[61] His widow, Mary, Countess Dowager[62] was instrumental in ensuring continuity of this positive influence until her death at Banff Castle in December 1795.

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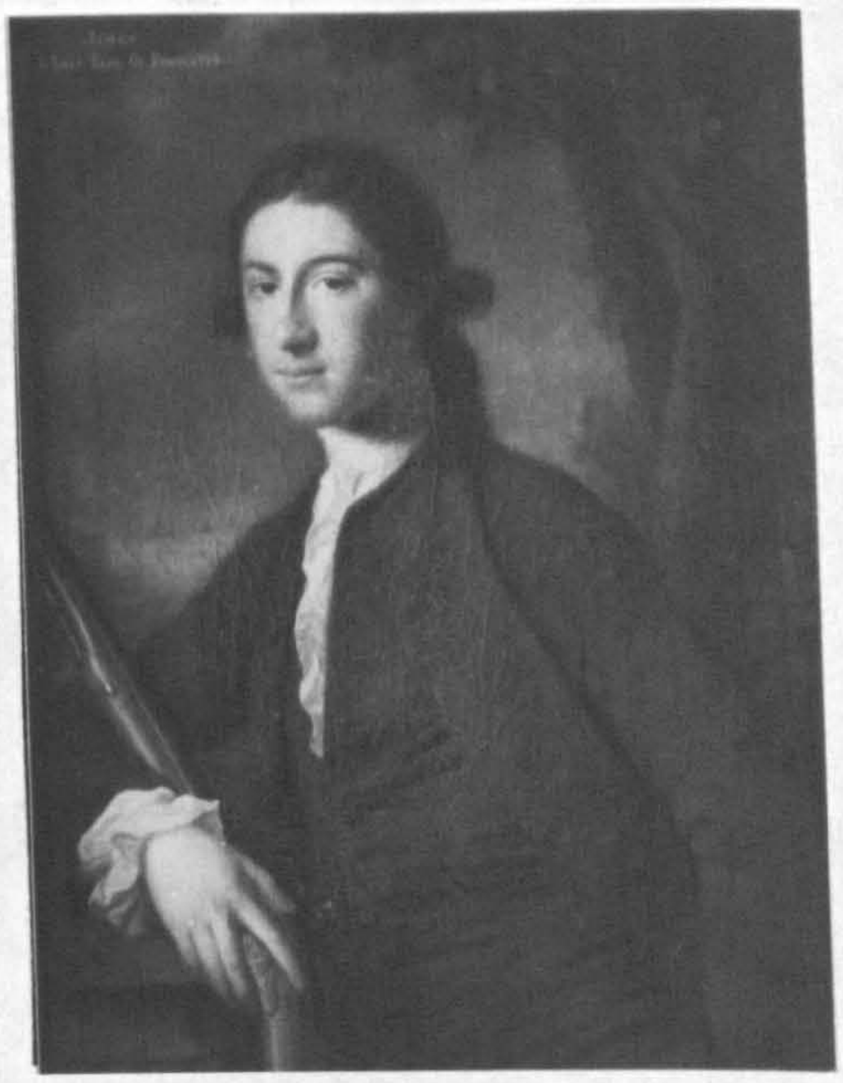
in Scotland, James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, a nobleman of very singular and extraordinary merit. His Lordship was one of the Trustees, for improving manufactures, fisheries, and for managing the annexed forfeited estates in that part of the United Kingdom, and attended the business of these boards with a truly patriotic zeal and assiduity. For many years past he had resided almost constantly on his own estate, and employed his ample fortune in promoting trade, manufactures, agriculture, and all kinds of industry. Ever solicitous to fill his high station with real dignity, and further to qualify himself to be more extensively useful to society, (the sole object of his ambition) he conversed much with and greatly honoured men of letters, and persons of ingenuity in almost every profession, always endeavouring to convert whatever knowledge he by this means acquired, to the benefit and improvement of his country. His natural disposition was calm, placid, and serene, his sentiments generous and enlarged, his understanding solid and manly, and his integrity of heart such as could not be shaken; being ever a fixed and persevering enemy to jobbing, cabal, and every species of faction either in public or in private life. As a friend and a companion, those who had the honour of his Lordship's acquaintance well knew, and will long remember, the pleasing, the sensible, and the amiable figure he made in that capacity. To the rest of his fellow-subjects suffice it to say, that in him they have lost one of the most honest, most intelligent, and most public-spirited of our nobility, whose example as it gave life and vigour to national improvements of every sort within the sphere of his influence, so will his loss be sincerely felt, and deeply and universally lamented."

61. Watt (1900) op.cit., chapter 13: Deskford effected the agricultural revolution in Banffshire according to Watt. Refer also to a similar interpretation in The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. 13 (1845), pp. 323-325.
62. Portrait B3504 National Galleries of Scotland (Portrait Gallery).



James, seventh Earl of Findlater (1750-1811)[63]

The last Findlater was also educated at Winchester and Oxford (Ch.Ch. 1769), and on the grand tour.[64] Born 1750, he was twenty when his father died;[65] he chose to continue most of the Commissioners selected by his father. He married in 1779, Christina Theresa, daughter of Count Joseph Murray of Melgund, Baronet of Nova Scotia, Councellor of State, Lieutenant-General and Captain General of the Austrian Netherlands (1781-89). The marriage ended with legal separation in 1788 without issue.[66]

James had scarlet fever in 1768, and almost died.[67] He spent the rest of his life periodically in severe pain from migraines along with other complications such as gout, indigestion and obesity.[68] According to twentieth century medical opinion, one of the complications was sterility and coupled with periodic impotency. The seventh Earl was, not surprisingly, a hypocondriac taking the "cures" at all the fashionable springs such as Bath and Spa. From 1775, the family recognized that he probably would be incapable of producing an heir, and so Sir James Grant as heir under the terms of the fifth and sixth Earl's will (plus premogeniture), was groomed for eventual control. By 1791

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63. Portrait B3417 National Galleries of Scotland (Portrait Gallery)
64. S.R.O. GD 248-565-83-20 Kinnoul to Findlater 17.12.1768; GD 248-590-3-111 Findlater to Deskford 23.10 (1769); GD 248-590-3-16 Findlater to Colin Morrison 30.3.1770, S.R.O. GD 248-570-2 Sir Mitchell to Findlater 22.2.1770; GD 248-589-2-6 John Ross to Findlater 30-9-1770.
65. Seventh Earl served as heir male of tailzie and provision special 1-11-1771.
66. S.R.O. GD 248-589-2-39 C. Findlater to Findlater 17 (-) 1785; GD 248-591-2-5 Findlater to (-) c. 1786.
67. S.R.O. GD 248-982-1.
68. S.R.O. GD 248-590-4 Medical opinion on Findlater case c. 1788.

this had become assured, and so Findlater named Grant as chairman of his Commissioners. In this capacity Grant was informed of decisions which could have long range significance.

During his 1771-75 grand tour, Findlater was introduced to the most influential continental aristocrats.[69] He did not apply this education and advantage to any useful purpose. He evaded public service and confined life to overseeing the estate by"remote control" and to self-indulgence. He was not entirely a "fop",[70] for although he was idle and extravant, he did retain an awareness of the obligations of his birth. He made some attempt to become involved with his estate, but the dissipated atmosphere of his circle made it virtually impossible to recognize what could benefit the tenant's welfare. He was as much a creature trapped by negative circumstances as his great-grandfather Seafield was by positive circumstances.

Findlater's one chance to break the mould came with the June 1788 constitutional crisis. Pitt held power from appointment by George III and the risk of declaring him mad was that the Regency Bill would have given control of appointments to the Prince of Wales. The Prince was firmly opposed to Pitt and to the Tories, and would have called for Pitt's resignation. The subsequent election seemed assured to go to the Whigs.[71]

Pitt had to stop the Regency Bill to remain in control, and to that end, he set about adding new peers to the House of Lords to defeat the Bill. Findlater's name appeared on a short list of potential supporters, and therefore Pitt offered him a United Kingdom Peerage. With that tempting prospect, Findlater returned to Banff and became actively involved with the estate's management and local politics. To mirror his promised status, Findlater

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69. S.R.O. GD 248-567-94 Collection of letters from Findlater to Countess-dowager 1773-75; GD 248-59-2-64 Rev. Norton Nicholls to Countess-dowager 5.12.1773.
70. Margetson (1970), op.cit., chapter 2.
71. S. Ayling, George III, chapters 21 and 22.

commissioned extravagant plans from Playfair, White and Adam.

The constitutional crisis came and went (with the King's recovery February 1789) and Findlater was not needed after all. By late 1790, Pitt was forced to state there had been a re-evaluation of the situation, and the Peerage offer was withdrawn. The implication was that Findlater was not suitable. He had not taken politics seriously prior to the offer, was too closely associated with the Whig circle (such as his friendship with the Duke of Portland); the government was uncertain how he would vote during the stressful debate on the conduct of the Napoleonic wars.[72]

The creation of new peers was not exclusively restricted to the Regency debate, for the nature of emergence of political parties required a secure base of power in the House of Lords. The Tories could not depend upon the variability of the great magnates, and so a new class of voting peers were created.[73] From May 1788, to his defeat in 1801, Pitt stocked the Lords with 92 new peers to maintain power through patronage.[74] When Findlater was struck from the list, Pitt offered the peerage to Findlater's heir, James Grant. Although Grant had entered the House as a Whig MP early in his political career, he had become a sound Tory supporter with two sons as Tory MP's, and was trusted to vote with the government. Findlater took this as the personal insult it was also meant to be, declined the Peerage for Grant, and packed his bags. He left for the German Spas never to return.

Sir James Grant of Grant[75]

The heir-designate to the Findlater estate was the fifth Earl's grandson.[76] He was born 1738, educated Cambridge and on the Grand Tour 1761-68; returning, he successfully ran as Whig MP for the Elgin Bourghs.

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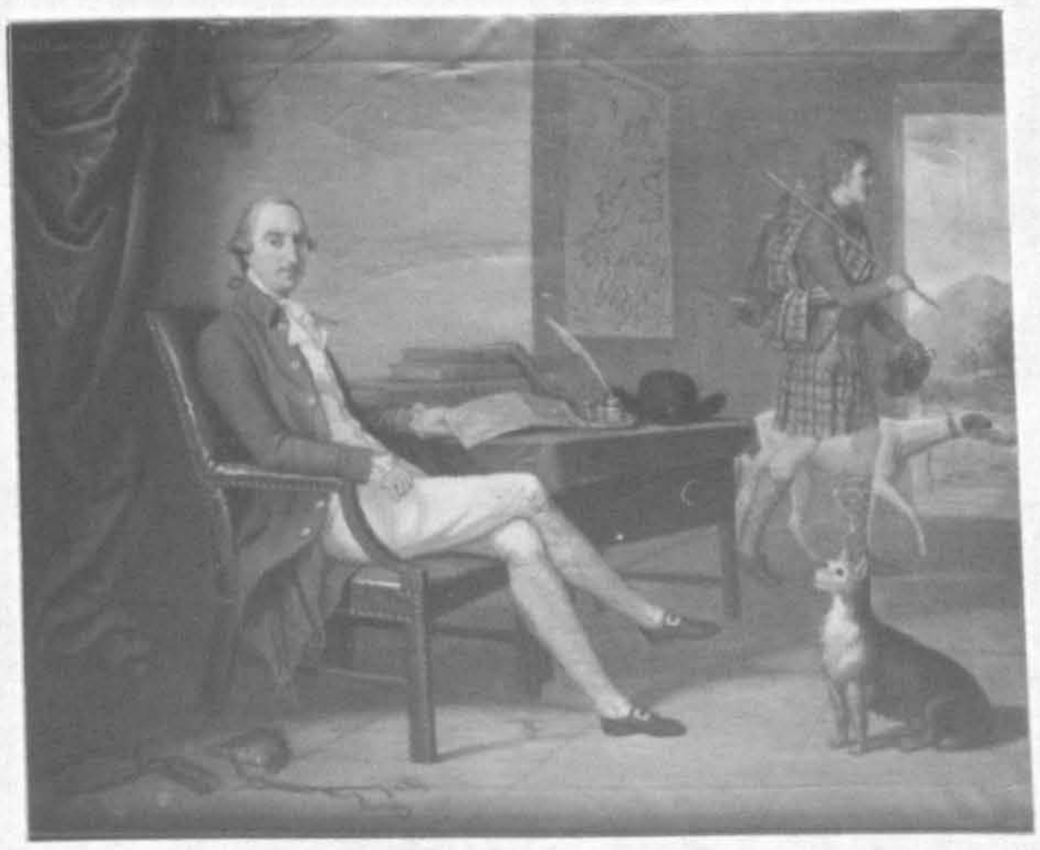
72. Herbert van Thal, ed., The Prime Ministers: From Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel. Also, Pryde (1962) op.cit., pp. 117-126.
73. Jarrett, Britain 1688-1815, p. 400.
74. Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement 1783-1867, p. 111



Married Jane Duff, granddaughter of the first Earl Fife, by whom he had a large family. In 1763 his father passed management of the Strathspey estate to him, and he began a life- time programme of attempting to clear it from massive debts. In his improvement programme, his mentors were Lord Deskford, Grant of Monymusk, Lord Kames[77] and William Lorimer. Since most of the estate was marginal highland terrain, he concentrated on large scale afforestation, but also much of the alluvial soils of the various glens were enclosed. He is well remembered for founding the new town of Grantown-on-Spey around 1765, at the gates of Castle Grant.

In 1773, Sir James succeeded as eighth Baronet Grant of Grant and of Nova Scotia; and became chief of clan Grant. He filled a fairly important role in north-east public service, taking a paternal interest in his tenants' welfare, and in serving on a variety of local committees. On the wider sphere, Grant continued as MP for Banffshire 1790-95, and rose to become General Cashier of the Excise and Lord Lieutenant of Invernesshire. He was vice-president of the Highlands Agricultural Society of Scotland, an organization largely formed to create good will after the repeal of the Annexed Estates Commission.[78]

Grand died a few months before Findlater, and both estates devolved to

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75. Portrait B3414 National Galleries of Scotland (Portrait Gallery) by David Allan c.1780.
76. SRO GD 248-672-4 Deskford to Grant 10-07-1764: Suggested that he will inherit under terms of 5th and 6th Earl's wills.
77. SRO GD 248-672-5 Kames to Grant 14-03-1763. Refer also to SRO GD 248-672-4, several letters from Deskford to Grant.
78. Grant's career is outlined in Namier and Brook, House of Commons. Refer also to SRO GD 248-952-3 Grant to Findlater 8-04-1784 encouraging Findlater to join the Highlands Agricultural Society.

his first son, Lewis Alexander Ogilvy-Grant as fifth Earl of Seafield.[79] Unfortunately he was legally insane from self medication with mercury for syphilis (by 1791) so control of the estate passed into Commissioners with the immediately younger of his surviving brothers, Col. Francis William Ogilvy-Grant, as chairman. Col. Ogilvy-Grant inherited both the title and estate upon the fifth Earl's death in 1840. Capital investment for improvement primarily initiated by the landowner in the highland portion of the estate ceased at this time.[80]

Since the Findlater title could only be inherited through the male line, the Earldom became extinct. A great-great grandson of the fourth Earl's younger brother, Col. Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine attempted to revive the title, but the case was judged unsuccessful in 1818.[81]

3. Corporate Structure and Functioning

The concentration of corporate authority with a solitary owner, coupled with political demands, and the relatively vast scale of operations determined that authority would be delegated. Section one has discussed the delegation of political, judicial and ecclessiastical power; this section will discuss the estate's corporate structure.

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79. The fifth Earl of Seafield inherited 5-10-1811, but due to legal complications, he was not named as heir of Taillie and provision special until 14-03-1814.
80. The estate cashier in 1874 said of the period 1811-1853 that "little or no money had been expended in improving or embellishing the estate, and that any improvements that had taken place were largely done at the expense of the tenants themselves." in David M. Monroe, "Land Use on a Highland Estate: Strathspey 1747-1870". This is only true of this part of the estate, for Grant (1883), chapter XIX writes of the 8223 acres with 31.6 million trees planted plus improvements to Cullen by Col. Ogilvy-Grant for which he received the gold medal of the Highlands Agricultural Society. The fifth Earl of Seafield followed this achievement with an investment of one half million pounds for plantations and roads.
81. Advocates Mss. 5268: Case to revive the Earldom of Findlater and Lord Banff.

The extent of responsibilites delegated and the growth of commercial management techniques varied during the course of the eighteenth century. At the top of the organizational chart was a managing director known variably as the steward, chamberlain or chief factor. Cullen stewards, such as William Lorimer, proved competent and enjoyed long tenure, with members of their families becoming extensively involved with the estate's operation. Prior to the 1760's, their duties included supervision of about four factors, the surveyors, gardener's, housekeeper, clerks, other staff and their own factory. The steward was authorized to act on the Earl's behalf on a limited range of operational matters, including convening Baron courts and supervising construction, in the Earl's absence.[82] The changing scope of responsibilities can be detected in the salaries paid to the steward: William Lorimer was paid £22 in 1707, Alexander Grant in Tochieneal was paid £25 in 1750, John Wilson was paid £260 in 1789 and Alexander Fraser was paid £600 in 1850.

Delegation was not without a system of control. Except for the seventh Earl, the owner personally attended the Martinmas term settlement of accounts, and lease renewals, or was present shortly thereafter.[83] When absent, the steward was expected to remain in constant written communication. He was to follow the landowner's specific direction. When a new steward was installed, authority was fragmented until the steward proved reliable; the fourth Findlater had the estate clerk (accountant) report directly to him for over a year, when William Whyte assumed the stewardship position, as a means of ensuring the precaution of checks and balances.

The factors were next in the hierarchy. Prior to 1760 factors generally were limited to collecting and disposing of produce and arranging leases.[84] Gradually as factors became employed full time and rents were paid

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82. Adams (1979) op.cit., p. xvi, and Grant (1978) op.cit., vol. 4, Appendix 30.
83. This was common with all landowners, see Taylor (1925), op.cit. p. 119, 26-11-1779: "At present we settle all private business on our estates". Martinmas was Nov. 28.
84. Grant, (1978) op.cit., p. 96

in cash, they assumed new duties such as implementing improvements,[85] constructing enclosures, and valuing woods. Ground officers, and farm grieves reported to the factors.[86]

Implementation of strict accounting and audit procedures, and of more efficient management techniques during the period of accelerated improvement, was not exclusively limited to the Findlater estate. The third Duke of Argyll was active from 1743-61 in implementing commercial management. Even Deskford would advise Sir James Grant: "You should talk to the Duke of Argile about trees, for in that matter he must be allowed to have merit, even by those who might think it indecent for them to allow his merit as a statesman.[87] The fifth Duke was even more progressive; he retained a steward or receiver general by the name of James Ferrier who managed his estate from 1778.[88]

The Duke of Gordon relied upon the advice of his Edinburgh accountant for reorganizing his estate operations. Francis Farquharson recommended dividing the records into: rentals, factors accounts, cashbook, ledgers, records of bonds and bills, registers of factory accounts, state of accounts, cartularies and registers of leases, letter books, sederunt books, household books and surveying records.[89] Such an extensive division of record books were also kept at Cullen House. Figure 9 shows the factor's filing system c. 1774, designed for methodical business practices before the age of computers.

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85. GD 248 -3408-6 James Stuart McKenzie, Lord Privy Seal to the sixth Earl 16-08-1769: thanking Findlater for recommending an estate Steward with abilities similiar to an English Steward.
86. I.D. Whyte (1979) op.cit., pp 41-51 for a detailed explanation of seventeenth century estate management.
87. GD 248-672-4 Deskford to Grant, 22-03-1761.
88. Eric R. Cregeen, Argyll Estate Instructions p. xxx
89. SRO GD 44-51-405 Memorial April 1766; Refer also to Grant (1978) op.cit., Vol. 2, pp. 194-201.

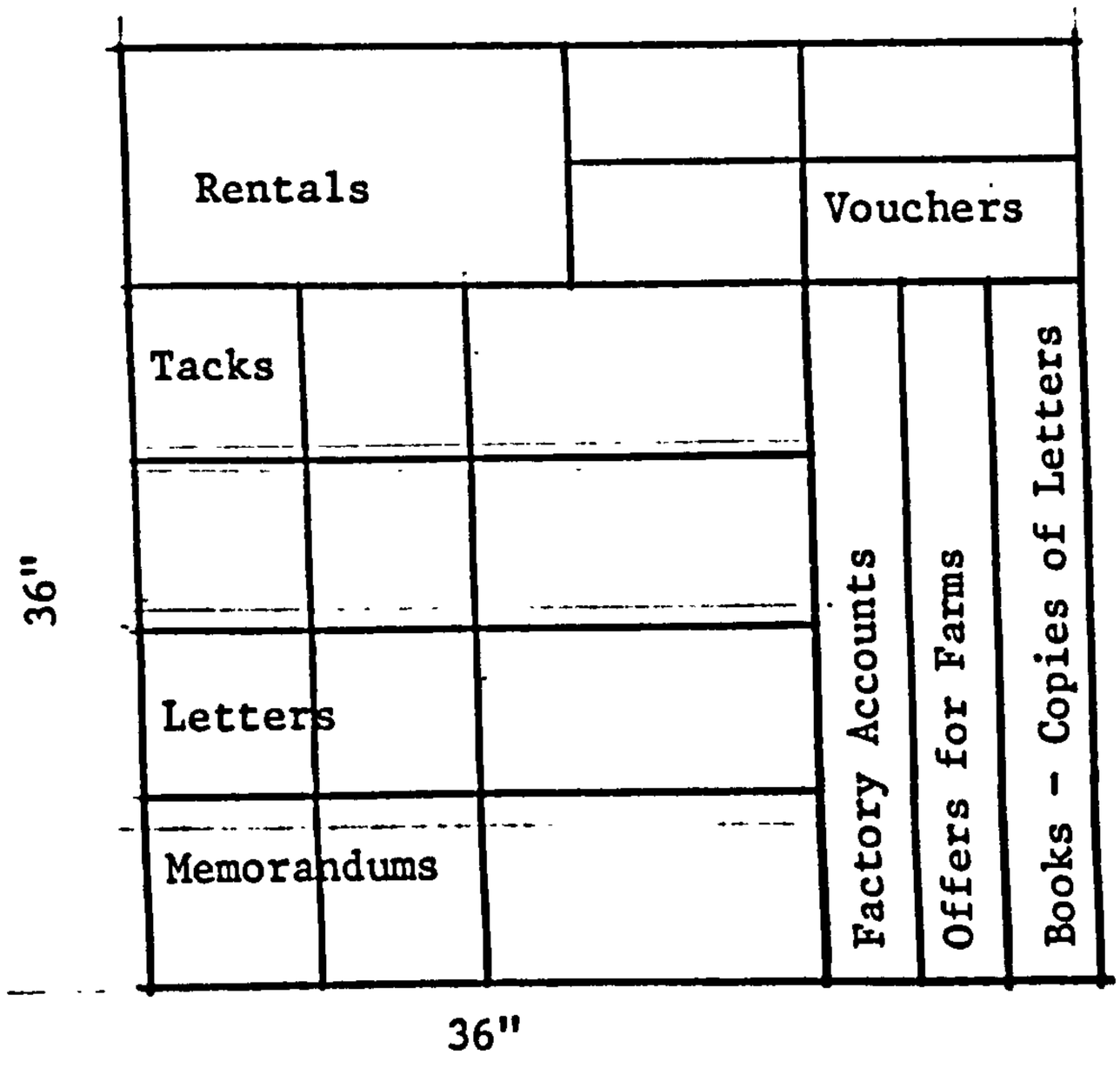

Figure 9

Factors' Filing System c. 1774

Other figures who contributed to the Estate's management included the Edinburgh Writer to the Signet who received cash for grain shipments and who acted as the family law agent. The family banker, Andrew Drummond then later Thomas Coutts, served an important role in lending capital for land acquisitions. Various architectural consultants, such as the Adam family, made contributions towards functional improvement and embellishment of the estate.

A systematic means of presenting the four generations of landowners' corporate actions is required to begin the process of revealing continuity or contrasts in direction over the long term. The method selected is similar to an annual corporate report, but in this case, it is a tenure report. The format provides for a statement of goals and objectives, of the management team, of annual reports prepared during tenure, of aquisitions, and of land and architectural improvements.

The tenure report is a synthesis of records. Although there was no full statement of corporate position issued at year end in the manner of a contemporary annual report, the chief factor, accountant or commissioner did provide an exacting annual financial statement. This coupled with other reports produced the detailed record of the estate's functioning presented in the balance of this chapter.

4. Acquisition period (1707-30)

a) Goals and objectives: Lord Chancellor Seafield (James, fourth Earl of Findlater) was deponed heir in 1696,[90] and assisted his father in clearing the estate from the crippling debt that had accumulated over the centuries of poor harvests and war.[91] By 1705, the third Earl had retired and granted full control of the estate to Seafield in return for a nominal payment of £4,000 Scots.[92] The fourth Earl's management policy was characterized by the acquisition and consolidation of land holdings. Through a substantial and fairly regular income from positions in the national government, Seafield was able to redeem outstanding wadsets and repay many of the debts encumbering the estate.

Several writers have implied that this prosperity was due to unethical

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90. This was a gradual process of assigning. As second son, he was not in line to inherit, however his father settled a disposition of a portion of Deskford parish to him in 1689 to provide an income, followed by the lands of Findlater in 1694 (Grant 1912). With the disinheriting of his brother in 1696, James was named heir. See SRO GD 248-572-3 for this will.

91. Seafield was active in buying up the debts throughout his career. The earliest record is in 19.9.1693 when he acquired some of the debts of the baronies of Ogilvie, Strathisla and Boyne.

92. S.R.O. GD 248-803-2-34 Findlater to Seafield, 18/1/1705: resignation of estate. Even then Seafield was cautious in keeping Findlater apprised of major decisions and in not giving offence, this was especially true of Deskford who was continually advised by his father (Seafield) to take special care with his grandfather (Findlater); for instance S.R.O. GD 248-560-45-38 Deskford to Wm. Lorimer, 27.9.1710.

appropriations of public funds or bribes.[93] Contemporary opponents and critics could find no evidence, nor could later historians perceive corruption. The majority opinion of Seafield as one of the few honest, if sardonic politicians of his day, appears justified. The estate was placed on a sound footing by sound fiscal management. His salary from the government provided the capital, but it was not a source that was entirely reliable, as the numerous letters trying to recover arrears from the Treasury indicate.

Findlater's aggressive property acquisition objectives appear, from the correspondence, not to have been a compulsion without direction. He perceived the opportunity of bringing prosperity to his family in the long term, could only be accomplished by clearing the estate of fractionalized ownership, wadsets and subleases.[94] He was aware of the benefits of various innovations and he did experiment with enclosures, crops and longer leases. His obsession with profits suggests a fundamental and contradictory insecurity that the fortune he established could be lost to his heirs.

b) Management team: Although the fourth Findlater maintained direct control over all major decisions on the estate, he delegated day to day management to his chamberlain. From before 1707 to 1723, the chamberlain was William Lorimer. Lorimer was constantly directed to keep Findlater informed,[95] and when he was absent, Lorimer would regularly forward reports.[96] After 1711, a degree of trust appears to have developed, so that the frequency and nature of the reports altered. Lorimer retired in 1723,[97]

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93. Hume Brown (1915) op.cit. pp. ix-xii, and Mathieson (1905) op.cit. p. 145: "Scottish Politics were corrupt enough, but in this case (the act of Union), after all deductions are made, the sum available for direct bribery must have been exceedingly small."
94. Grant (1922) op.cit. p. 100. Seafield to Findlater 25-12-1693 regarding debt repayment policy.
95. S.R.O. GD 248-560-45-38 Seafield to Wm. Lorimer, 29.6.1709.
96. S.R.O. GD 248-560-43-1 Wm. Lorimer to Seafield, 28.12.1709.
97. Wm. Lorimer gradually pulled back from service, S.R.O. GD 248-562-60-11 Deskford to Lorimer, 7.12.1719; Lorimer retired from Boyne collection responsibilities recommending his assistant, George Mackie, to take his place. He continued as overall Chamberlain until 1723 when a stroke forced him into retirement.

and there was a transition period where several people shared the workload,[98] but by 1724 the new chamberlain, William Whyte, emerged as the central director with two factors reporting to him. Whyte too went through a period of initiation of several years before gaining trust and tenure. From the correspondence of Lorimer and Whyte with the Earl, much of the information of the estate structure emerges.

Other key managers included Lorimer's cousin, John Philp, an advocate who became Seafield's private secretary then Edinburgh agent (for political and financial matters), Lorimer's son John, who was the accountant (estate clerk) by 1718, Lorimer's other son Patrick, who was one of the factors 1730-42, Philp's son George, who was clerk at Cullen by 1724, James Lawtie (Lorimer's brother-in-law) the minister at Cullen by 1726, who kept a sharp eye on educational and ecclesiastical matters for the Earl,[99] Sherriff-deputy Nicolas Dunbar, the William Syme who acted on behalf of Findlater at the county level, and George Mackie who was factor from 1719-40 for the Banff collection.[1]

Although technically not part of the estate organization, Smith and McGill were retained as architectural consultants in 1709-10, for unexecuted designs of Cullen House, with McGill perhaps preparing designs for the later reconstruction of the gardens; Findlater appears to have acted as his own designer for the executed alterations to Cullen House.

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98. S.R.O. GD 248-563-66-39. Whyte to Findlater, 16.1.1723, GD 248-563-67-31 John Lorimer to Findlater, 18.1.1723, GD 248-563-71-26 Findlater to John (Lorimer), 23.1.1723, GD 248-563-67-15 Geo. Philp to Findlater 27.1.1723, GD 248-563-67-53 Wm. Whyte to Findlater 28.1.1723, GD 248-563-66-23 Pat. Lorimer to Findlater 28.1.1723, GD 248-563-66-59 John Philp to Findlater 31.1.1723.
99. SRO GD 248-564-72-5 Lawtie to Findlater, 17/1/1726. GD 248-564-72-51 Lawtie to (Findlater) 7.2.1726. GD 248-564-72-1 Lawtie to (Findlater) 14.2.1726. GD 248-564-72-2 Lawtie to (Deskford) 5.3.1726.
1. S.R.O. GD 248-563-65-1 Mackie to Deskford 20.3.1722.

c) Annual reports: Compiled records of income and expenditures are available for crop 1706, 1710[2], 1717[3], 1721[4], 1723.[5] Letters to Lorimer in 1710 and 1714[6] emphasize the need for frugality and retrenchment. These dates correspond to Seafield's dismissals from Court. Another interesting letter was the one to Lorimer in 1709, when Seafield gave Lorimer two weeks to improve the problem of allowing the estate to fall heavily in arrears;[7] this corresponds with a severe crop failure,[8] and correspondence later that year shows greater tolerance and concern for the tenants' welfare that saw them through the hard times.

Threat of insurrection and invasion was periodically a problem. The 1715 rebellion against the Hanoverian Succession, saw Highlanders and many of Findlater's neighbours and relations join the Jacobites. In a series of letters, Findlater issued directions to Lorimer to act peaceable and to give no cause for retribution.[9] Still, the rebellion did pass through the estate and inflict damages. The 1720 threatened invasion during the War of the Spanish Succession, also resulted in precautions ordered by Findlater.[10]

Other records which assist in gaining an understanding of the estate's operation are the 1708 estate instructions,[11] the 1713 cash flow accounts,[12] the account of lands and jurisdications of the estate c.1711,[13] the 1726-57

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2. S.R.O. GD 248-573-6 Lorimer to Findlater c. 1711.
3. SRO GD 248-1153-8
4. S.R.O. GD 24-1153 Lord Deskford's Rentals Crop 1721.
5. S.R.O. GD 248-1153 Findlater Rentals Crop 1723.
6. S.R.O. GD 248-561-50-7 Findlater to Lorimer 18.6.1714, GD 148-561-51-22 Findlater to Lorimer 5.10.1714.
7. S.R.O. GD 248-560-43-38 Seafield to Lorimer 10.6.1709.
8. For the effects of this failure on emigration to America refer to Graham (1956).
9. S.R.O. GD 248-561-53 (23) Findlater to Wm. Lorimer 16.7.1715, GD 248-561-53 (30) Findlater to Wm. Lorimer 24.8.1715, GD 248-562-54 (2) Findlater to Wm. Lorimer 8.2.1716, GD 248-562-54-4 Deskford to Lorimer 26.2.1716, GD 248-562-54-6 Lorimer to (Deskford) 12.3.1716.
10. S.R.O. GD 248-563-61-43 Findlater to (Wm. Syme) 5.7.1720.
11. S.R.O. GD 248-571-2 Seafield to Lorimer, 18.12.1708.
12. S.R.O. GD 248-561-48-39 Findlater to Wm. Lorimer 19.5.1713.
13. S.R.O. GD 248-560-45-24 Seafield to Lorimer, 6.4.1711.

Valuation Rolls,[14] family household accounts which show goods imported from around the world for a sophisticated household,[15] records of the Ogilvy Regality Court (1715-34),[16] and bank records from 1722.[17]

d) Land acquisition: The major land acquisitions the period was due to foreclosure on the contiguous Boyne estate. Lord Boyne was a cadet branch of the Findlater Ogilvy's, and had been a political assistant to Seafield during the early part of his career. Politics interfered; Boyne became a Jacobite, with his son, James, playing an active role in the 1715 rebellion.

Findlater had acquired some property in the "forest of Boynde" over which Lorimer was Steward by 1707, but the major acreage was gained when Seafield and the other creditors of Boyne foreclosed in 1708.[18] A long series of letters resulted until 1716, when the estranged Lady Boyne was evicted. The letters include negotiations with the other creditors by Findlater, by which he paid the debts and acquired free title (refer to Chapter four).

Some of the other purchases include: Arnbath 1719, Bogmuchals around 1698-1710,[19] Muldavat and Auchingall in 1717,[20] additions to the Baillery of Strathisla around 1728,[21] Kempcairn (at Keith) around 1721.[22] Birkenbog

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14. S.R.O. GD 248-982-3.
15. S.R.O. GD 248-561-49-12 Mitchell to Lorimer 19/3/1713, GD 248-563-69-34 Geo. Philp to Findlater 8.2.1724, GD 248-564-70-32 Whyte to Findlater 13/12/1725, GD 248-801-1 Account book for family 1713-19 Kept by John Lorimer, GD 248-801-1 Account book kept by John Philp 1707-31.
16. SRO GD 248-1071-15 for 1715-28, GD 248-1072 For 1718-34.
17. S.R.O. GD 248-563-64-45 Andrew Drummond to Findlater 31.5.1722.
18. S.R.O. GD 248-803-3 List of debts proving Boyne bankrupt £ 411,485 Scots owed c. 1709.
19. S.R.O. GD 248-560-45-24 Seafield to Lorimer 16.6.1710.
20. "Descriptive list of collection of letters and papers concerning William Duff of Bracco, first Earl Fife," Kings College, Aberdeen University, MSS 2727-3-8, Inventory of Writs and evidence delivered by John Hay of Muldavat to Findlater at the time of sale.
21. S.R.O. GD 248-784-1 William Duff of Dipple to Findlater c. 1728.
22. S.R.O. GD 248-784-1 Writs of Kempcairn 1701-21; See also Grant (1912) op.cit., p. xxv, Kempcairn was held by a cadet branch of the Findlater Ogilvys.

gave Disposition of Ordenhills in 1716,[23] and Findochie was expanded in 1724.[24] Pattenbringan and Tochineal were redeemed about 1710. Findlater was shrewd in acquisitions; when sellers would not negotiate within his price estimate, he would move on to another real estate offer.[25]

e) Architectural improvements: Cullen House was at the nerve centre of operations. It had an obscure beginning as a small prebendary tower-house attached to Cullen Collegiate church in 1543. In 1600-02, the first Lord Deskford moved his residence from Findlater Castle about 2 kilometers down the coast (Findlater Castle was build from 1445),[26] and greatly expanded Cullen House.

In 1709, the third Findlater or more probably his son, commissioned Smith and McGill to prepare substantial renovations to the House. The 1709-10 plans recommended demolition of the north and south court yard wings and replacing them with a doubling of the remaining west block. The result was to have been a classical fascade similar to Kinross, Dalkeith and Yester. Some work seems to have been begun in the spring of 1710, but the failing health of the third Findlater and the dismissal of Seafield from government resulted in the work being shelved.[27]

Later a new coach house was constructed in 1714 along with some minor work on the main house.[28] The house was saved from pillage during the '15

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23. S.R.O. GD 248-54-47 Birkenbog Disposition 21.11.1716.
24. S.R.O. GD 248-563-68-30 Findlater to John Philp 13.2.1724.
25. S.R.O. GD 248-561-48-36 Findlater to Lorimer 30.4.1713 Offer to purchase land and houses in Cullen too high.
26. Simpson (1931) gives 1445 as the date for construction, however the Scottish Historical Review vol. II, p. 101 lists 1455/6 as the date of the licence of fortifying the castle, so construction would have been around that date.
27. No record of the commission exists, but payment and plans (in West Register House) have survived. S.R.O. GD 248-560-43-8 Seafield to Findlater 6.12.1709 shows Seafield agreed with the plans. Other letters are: GD 248-560-44-16 Deskford to (Seafield) 6.1.1710, GD 248-560-45-10 Deskford to (Findlater) 23.2.1710, GD 248-560-45-18 Seafield to Findlater 18.4.1710, GD 248-560-45-30 Deskford to Findlater 3.7.1710.
28. S.R.O. GD 248-561-51-29 Findlater to Lorimer 23.10.1714, GD 248-561-50-21 Findlater to Deskford 9.3.1714, GD 248-562-55-1 Huntly to Findlater 16.1.1714.

rebellion through orders of the Duke of Argyll as commander-in-chief, to provide troops for its defence.[29]

The first major reconstruction which was to have transformed the house from a fortified manor towards a Palladian image was during 1719-26. There are contracts with James Ogilvie, mason at Elgin in 1719,[30] 1720,[31], 1721,[32] and 1724.[33] Work included new stables,[34] a third story on one wing, a new staircase, internal improvements, and enlargement of the major windows. No plan or indication of the architect appears to have survived, although the invoices, written description of work, and progress reports are available. Seafield's son-in-law William Duff, 1st Earl Fife, retained James Gibbs to design Balvenie new house[35] about the same time, but research has not proven Gibbs to have consulted on Cullen as well.[36]

General building work on the estate was somewhat limited. Perhaps the most interesting case is that of an Episcopalian non-jurant meeting house constructed in 1723 by tenants at Portsoy on Deskford's land. This was done without his permission, and several letters resulted with the incensed Lord

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29. S.R.O. GD 248-571-7-(2) Argyll orders 14.2.1716.
30. S.R.O. GD 248-562-60 contract between James Ogilvie, mason and the Earl of Findlater 1.2.1719, GD 248-562-60-39 Findlater to Lorimer 9.4.1719.
31. S.R.O. GD 248-539-3 contract between Ogilvie and Findlater 9.12.1720.
32. S.R.O. GD 248-563-65-5 Geo. Philp to Findlater 4.12.1722; GD 248-563-67-45 Findlater to John (Lorimer) 22.3.1723; (GD 248-563) receipt James Ogilvie to Findlater 13.7.1723.
33. S.R.O. GD 248-639 Cullen House construction accounts 1720-23; GD 248-564-73-37 Whyte to Findlater 28.2.1726; GD 248-565-80-36 Whyte to Findlater 20.4.1730; GD 248-576-2 invoice for plaster, c. 1725; GD 248-632, invoice for plastering staircase 28.6.1723 (04881) contract between Ogilvie and Findlater 28.11.1723; (04881) - invoice Innis to Findlater 21.2.1724; GD 248-56-68-41 Whyte to Findlater 23.2.1724; GD 248-564-71-15 Whyte to (Findlater) 31.1.1725; (04881) - Ogilvie to Findlater invoice 28.7.1724; GD 248-564- 74-35 Whyte to Findlater 16.1.1726; GD 248-564-74-45 Geo. Philp to (Findlater) 31.1.1726.
34. SRO GD 248-562-60-38 Findlater to Lorimer 13.4.1719.
35. Vitruvicus Scoticus plates 90 and 91 dated 1724; an Italianate Palladian Villa.
36. Bryan Little, The Life and Work of James Gibbs 1682-1754. contains no reference.

ordering demolition of the building, and having the people responsible brought to court.[37] The reason for such intolerance was the stiff penalties imposed on landlords who did not react otherwise, and since Findlater was soon to serve as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, the issue was politically sensitive. In fact, Deskford claimed the action was promoted by his adversaries to embarrass the Family's interest, and had little to do with religious freedom. Predictably, the Sheriff's court in Banff, found in Deskford's favour, and ordered extremely high damages, plus the removal of the meeting house.[38] There is some indication that the "offenders" emigrated to East New Jersey.

f) Land improvements: The fourth Findlater began constructing the "new" garden at Cullen House; the correspondence shows that he took personal care in issuing instructions for the work, and that it gave pleasure. This began in 1710, and there are records showing the transplanting of trees by horse and wagon.[39] The design is something of a mystery, it was possibly done by McGill but was more likely by Findlater himself. There may have been an emulating influence of one of the most famous gardens at that time, Hatton, for one of the Earl's daughters was married to the sixth Earl of Lauderdale.

Plant material included holly and yew trees sent from London in 1714-19.[40] William Millar of Edinburgh provided vegetable and shrub seeds from 1710. Invoices for work done in 1717-18, 1719, 1722-24, and 1726 are

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37. SRO GD 248-563-66-6 Deskford to hay of Mouberly 7-5-1723; GD 248-563-66-4 Deskford to Findlater 11-5-1723 and GD 248-563-66-8 Findlater to Deskford 18-5-1723.
38. SRO GD 248-563-66-7 Mackie to Deskford 29-05-1723.
39. S.R.O. GD 248-560-44-32 Seafield to Lorimer 6.6.1710, GD 248-560-45-4 Deskford to Lorimer 30/10/1710; GD 248-560-44-41 Deskford to Lorimer 14.11 (1710); GD 248-801-4 William Millar invoice for trees sent from Edinburgh 14.11.1710.
40. S.R.O. GD 248-561-50-2 Findlater to Lorimer 2.11.1714; GD 248-563-68-10 Findlater to (-) 25.10.1724; GD 248-564-74-37 John Philp to (Findlater) 17.2.1726.

available.[41] As built drawings were prepared fifty years later (1764 and 1766) by Peter May, revealing a series of walled formal gardens spreading along the top of Cullen Burn between the town and the west block of the house.[42]

Land improvements began on the estate earlier than is usually believed. Dyking and park wall construction records are available from at least 1708.[43] There is continuous reference to new projects in diverse parts of the estate thereafter,[44] therefore, this presents a major discrepancy in the implementation of farm improvements within the pattern of mid to late century development traditionally described by agrarian historians. In fact, the third Earl of Findlater was active in promoting improvements on his estate, and became one of the promoters of the 1695 Parliamentary Acts for division of commonty and runrig.[45]

Along with fields being enclosed, wasteland was beginning to be brought into production. Precise boundaries came to be important; marches were concluded privately with Abercrombie of Glassaugh in 1719,[46] and with the heritors of Deskford in 1725.[47] Bogmuchals and Edingight marches on that commonty in 1728 resulted in a fourteen page report precisely locating the boundaries of the parties based on precedent.[48]

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41. S.R.O. GD 248-575-9 Millar to Philp 17.9.1718; GD 248-564-76-36 Findlater to Deskford 21.3.1727; GD 248-597 Millar to Findlater c. 1722-24 with extensive list of seeds; GD 248-599 Millar to Findlater 14.10.1712 includes seeds and work 1709-12 at Edinburgh Garden as well.
42. Some letters concerning layout of walks and walls of this garden are S.R.O. GD 248-563-63-10 Seafield to Lorimer 22.4.1721; GD 248-564-76-30 John Philp to Findlater 5.1.1727.
43. S.R.O. GD 248-560-42-10 Seafield to Lorimer 25.2.1708; GD 248-560-45-54- Seafield to Lorimer 6.1.1709.
44. S.R.O. GD 248-560-46-36 Lorimer to Seafield 28.7.1711; GD 248-561-49-10 Lorimer to Findlater 7.1.1713; GD 248-561-48-31 Findlater to Lorimer 11.4.1713; GD 248-561-49-43 Lorimer to (Findlater) 13.10.1713.
45. Ian Whyte (1979) op.cit., p. 107
46. S.R.O. GD 248-561-60-31 Deskford to Findlater 13.10.1719.
47. S.R.O. GD 248-564-71-40 Whyte to (Findlater) 8.2.1725.
48. S.R.O. GD 248-799-4 Findlater agreement with John Innes of Edingight. 8.10.1728.

Most marches appear to have been resolved through mutual agreement or by the intercession of a third party. It was rare until mid-century that the rate and pressure to develop wasteland would generate hostilities which could only be resolved by Court action.

Other improvements included control measures taken in 1708 to prevent the flooding of Cullen burn,[49] improvements to the fishing villages and boats along Moray Firth,[50] and control of salmon fishing along the Findhorn.[51] Findlater was the principal supporter of the enlargement of Banff Harbour in 1714, and provided the capital for Portsoy Harbour to be expanded to plans prepared by McGill in 1719.[52] These harbours were important for the transportation of grain and other local products such as marble.[53] Cattle continued to be brought to southern markets by the drove roads.[54]

Resistance to the relatively minor improvements is documented in letters[55] and in the court books for the Barony of Strathisla 1707-43, for Regality of Ogilvy 1707-37, and the minutes of the Ogilvy Regality Court 1715-34. Such a case was held in the baron court of Deskford in 1729, where offenders who had contined casting turf and pasturing cattle in Ordenhills improvement were brought before Lord Deskford, who needless to say, found them guilty and imposed stiff fines.[56]

5. Consolidation Period 1730-50

a) Goals and objectives: James, fifth Earl of Findlater, was granted the Boyne portion of the estate in 1710, at the time of his wedding. Between that

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49. S.R.O. GD 248-560-42-40 Seafield to Deskford 19.9.1708.
50. S.R.O. GD 248-560-42-22 Dunbar to Lorimer 29.6.1708.
51. S.R.O. GD 248-565-80-45 Deskford to (Whyte) 27.1.1730.
52. S.R.O. GD 248-562-60-38 Findlater to Lorimer 13.4.1719.
53. S.R.O. GD 248-560-46-36 Lorimer to Seafield c. 1708; GD 248-560-42-10 Seafield to Lorimer 25.2.1708.
54. S.R.O. GD 248-564-79-13 Pat. Lorimer to Deskford 3.9.1729.
55. S.R.O. GD 248-560-44-36 Deskford to Lorimer 18.6.1710; GD 248-561-48-31 Findlater to Lorimer 11.4.1713.
56. S.R.O. GD 248-640-4 Baron Court of Deskford 4.5.1729.

time and 1730, he acted cautiously, confirming all major decisions with his father. He assisted with the estate's management and with Banff's Sheriffdom, by administering the fourth Earl's wishes. It was a difficult role to fill, but upon assuming full control of the estate with the death of his father in 1730, he was well prepared to continue the sound fiscal policies.[57]

There are relatively few letters on estate management between 1730-50, and since the fifth Earl was frequently required to travel to Edinburgh and London for Parliamentary business, an assumption may be drawn that management was conducted on a more personal basis, with Findlater reviewing the actions of his staff when he was resident, and issuing instructions for when he wasn't. Another interpretation, of course, is that this correspondence was permanently lost during the 1745 Rebels' sacking of Cullen House.

The fifth Earl's policy was one of continuity, he also recognized that the widespread introduction of agrarian reform could only occur with the assembly of managable units, free of encumbrances, and this became the objective to be worked towards. The other dominating policy was the desire for political stability. He had seen the effects of two wars, the '15 and '45, and did not wish to endure further hostilities with the highlanders. He proposed nothing less than the economic reform of the highlands to raise the standard of living to that of the lowlands.

Findlater's commitments as a representative peer, as well as his responsibilities to serve various committees, meant that he was frequently absent from Cullen. Both to secure the estate, and to provide a pragmatic education for his son, Findlater began to delegate responsibility for the estate's management to Lord Deskford when Deskford returned from his grand tour of the continent in 1742. In 1748, Deskford was named heir[58] and by 1750 the

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57. Fifth Earl was served as heir general 19-10-1731 over one year after his father's death.
58. SRO GD 248-798-5 Findlater Taillie 4.10.1748.

then 36 year old Deskford must have proven his ability, for the entire estate was assigned to him in a charter of resignation in return for an annual life payment.[59] This action does not appear to be merely a legal convention for the advance settlement of a will, but was meant to provide Deskford with legal control of and responsibility for the administration of the estate.

b) Management team: William Whyte continued through the period as chamberlain responsible for the day to day running of the estate. He was assisted by George Mackie as factor on one collection, until 1740, and by Patrick Lorimer on the other, until he too retired in 1742. William Dunbar succeeded Mackie. Whyte retired and was replaced by Alexander Grant around 1740 but his terms of reference were significantly reduced in later years as Lord Deskford assumed greater control. Correspondence is rather minimal, with a few letters form John Philp in the early period giving advice, and some of factor Mackie's reports.[60]

Consultants retained included William Adam 1743-45 for construction of the great bridge, and John Adam in 1749 for repairs to a small bridge and some landscape design work. John also prepared drawings for several utilitarian buildings on the estate. Thomas Winter may have acted as a surveyor, since he was employed on the Grant, Gordon, and Fife estates.

c) Annual reports: Compiled records of income and expenditures are available for crop 1744,[61] 1745,[62] and 1749.[63] Individual factory accounts have survived for George Mackie's collection 1727-40,[64] Patrick Lorimer's

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59. SRO GD 248-802-1 Charter of Resignation 12.2.1750.
60. SRO GD 248-565-81-30 Findlater to (-) 8.6.1732; GD 248-(565-82-4) Pat. Lorimer to Findlater 13.5.1734.
61. SRO GD 248-918 crop 1744.
62. SRO GD 248-900-1 Scroll of charge and discharge crop 1745
63. SRO GD 248-902, Alex. Grant's accounts crop 1749.
64. SRO GD 248-565-80-2 Geo. Mackie to Findlater 29-3-1731; GD 248-565-80-6 Mackie to Findlater 17-4-1731; GD 248-565-82-19 Mackie to Findlater 4-2-1734; GD 248-1076 Account book crop 1727-40.

collection 1730-42,[65] and William Dunbar's collection 1743-48.[66] Some of the other records which shed light on the estate functioning are: valuation rolls 1726-57,[67] Findlater's capital debts 1730-45,[68] claims for heritable rights compensation 1748, records of land purchases to 1750. Court books of Barony of Strathisla 1707-1743[69] and court books of Regality of Ogilvie 1707-1737.[70] Two other records of interest are the "Inventory of Houses Belonging to Deskford 1712-43"[71] and Public Burden Construction 1749-50.[72] Admiralty court letters and papers for the district between Spey and Fraserburgh 1728-54, provides description of coastal hazards.[73]

The major event on the estate during this period was the '45 rebellion. During their retreat, the Jacobites looted and damaged Cullen House and pillaged other parts of the estate.[74] To inconvenience Findlater, they carried away legal documents and correspondence in the Cullen House Charter room. Much of this was returned over the next century as documents "surfaced" along the retreat route. Findlater was left with the difficult position of not having documented proof of ownership to his estate. By Act of Parliament, he and others in a similar position, were entitled to compile an inventory of land and titles to their estate from depositions of witnesses. This "state of proof" was submitted to Parliament and was approved in 1748.[75] This document gives the first comprehensive accounting of the entire estate, and includes an indication of the sorts of improvements which had been effected. Findlater

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65. SRO GD 248-1076.
66. SRO GD 248-1068.
67. SRO GD 248-982-3.
68. SRO GD 248-1154 This includes records of financing new purchases.
69. SRO GD 248-800-1.
70. SRO GD 248-801-1.
71. SRO GD 248-592-1-1.
72. SRO GD 248-902.
73. SRO GD 248-1071-14.
74. SRO GD 248-571-7(14) Findlater to (Lawtie) 30.3.1746.
75. SRO GD 248-572-1-50 Memorandum to Findlater c. 1747 GD 248-(571-5-7) Findlater memorial to King George II (26.1.1748); GD 248-572-6-1 State of proof of Findlater possessions 1745, 24.11.1748.

was also involved from 1747-58, in a legal battle to recover costs of damages inflicted to his property by the rebels. The final outcome was an award of £8,000 stirling plus £ 600 court costs against the forfeited estate of the Duke of Perth.

d) Land acquisition: The fifth Earl continued the policy of land accumulation focusing on smaller portions of land which had been alienated as wadsets. A small portion of land was added with the purchase from sheriff-depute Syme's widow in 1732.[76] Logie was purchased in 1736.[77] Bruntown and Upstrath in 1730, the one major acquisition occurred by accident. Findlater was appointed custodian to John George, fifth Lord Banff (a cadet branch of the Findlater Ogilvys) during his minority. Banff was educated with Lord Deskford, and showed great promise, but met an untimely death by drowning off Cullen in 1738, while swimming with Deskford. His brother, Alexander, became sixth Lord Banff. Alexander was a playboy, with a alcoholic problem which was tending to place further strain on an already weak income. To prevent dissolution of Banff's estate, Findlater insisted, and Banff agreed, to a navy commission to acquire discipline. It worked; he became a successful captain, dying at his station off Lisbon in 1746. As he died childless, the heavily endebted estate was acquired by Findlater, as major creditor,[78] while the titles fell to another branch of the Ogilvy family, to the grandson of Lord Forglen.

e) Architectural improvements: A considerable improvement to Cullen House was undertaken in 1734. The cost was £5210 Scots.[79] There was a further contract, although smaller, with Alexander Wood in 1736.[80] During

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76. SRO GD 248-565-(1017) Findlater to (John Philp) 23.10.1732; GD 248-640-3 John Philp to Findlater, 30.12.1732.
77. SRO GD 248-784-6-2 Findlater to William Robertson 8-9-1736.
78. SRO GD 248-248-583-1 Part of settlement was an annuity to the fifth Lord Banff's widow, later Mrs. Kemp of London, who survived until 1773.
79. SRO GD 248-1076 in Geo. Mackie's account books.
80. SRO GD 248-640-4 Contract between Findlater and Alex. Wood 25.5.1736.

the '45 rebellion, the rebels were stopped at the eleventh hour from burning Cullen by an order signed by the Duke of Cumberland, stating he would reciprocate by destroying all the rebel estates.

The great bridge linking Cullen house with its vastly expanded policies, on the opposite side of Cullen Burn, was commissioned from William Adam. Adam was paid £ 20 for drawings and two site visits in 1743, however the design was somewhat earlier. Construction was phased over the summer of 1743 (£8397 Scots), summer of '44 (£ 4191 Scots), and summer of 1745 (£ 67 Sterling). Timber for construction scaffolding was brought down on floats from the Grant estate in Strathspey from 1741-3.[81] A smaller bridge constructed in Cullen Burn at the same time from remnants by Burt, the mason, became unsound by 1749, and John Adam was retained to redesign it.

General building work on the estate began to increase in the forties. John Adam was retained to prepare designs and estimates for two malt barns at Portsoy and a malt barn, kiln, and sheep bothy for the Boyne Castle. A list of houses on Deskford's estate from 1712-43 is available.[82] It appears the bulk of improvements were begun by tenants as a result of introducing special clauses in renegotiated leases as they came due. Cullen medieval village was examined and determined to be requiring repair in 1746; this may be an indicator of the improving standard of living, for the accommodation had been minimal.

f) Land improvement: The great bridge that linked Cullen House with the farmland on the other side of the Burn resulted in conversion of this arable land into the Cullen policies. This involved a major conceptual change, shifting the focus of the house from the village, to the land beyond the Burn.

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81. SRO GD 248-916 Accounts for Great Bridge summer 1743; GD 248-917 Accounts summer 1744; GD 248-917 Williams Adam to Findlater 15.11.1744, (42 letters); GD 248-918 Account of expenses summer 1745; GD 248-916 Strathspey timber supplied 1741-43.
82. SRO GD 248-592-1.

An unresolved detail was the location of the servants' quarters in the middle of the created view. This conceptual shift can be explained with reference to developments in aesthetic theory. The design that was implemented involved afforestation based on a lattice of alleés with the principal vista created along the bridge axis. The design may have been influenced by the connoisseur Earl of Hopetoun, who had become part of the family by 1723, but was probably the work of William Adam, since it has something of the marks of his style.

Between 1749-51, John Adam redesigned the little Cullen Burn bridge, and also a weir below the great bridge which created a reflecting pond to view the great arch.[83] He may have also laid out the serpentine paths near the bridge and through the grid policies, for Pococke describes these as completed by 1760, well before the next round of alterations. John Adam appears to have been an interested, but overlooked, designer of policy improvements.[84] Planting at Cullen was in the charge of George Nicholson, the first gardener, who was retained in 1732 and retired in 1765. Trees planted during 1732-50 were imported as seeds or seedlings from Edinburgh and London (refer to Appendix F). American species were particularly coveted as experiments to study their ability to survive the inhospitable Moray Firth climate. An example of some of the invoices are: William Millar furnished 20,000 thorns for hedgerows in 1741, garden seeds 1741-3,[85] products and expenses on parks 1742, all expenses on Cullen policies 1744-45 (£ 386),[86] 560 English elms brought from London in 1742,[87] policy expenses 1749-50.[88]

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83. SRO GD 248-951-5-6 drawings by John Adam 24.1.1749; GD 248-951-5-3 Adam to Findlater 24.1.1749; GD 248-951-1-5-16 (Adam) to (Findlater) 24.1.1749; GD 248-951-5 Drawings c. 1749; GD 248-951-2-17 Drawings c. 1749; GD 248-951-5-3a Drawings c. 1749; GD 248-951-5 John Adam to Findlater notes 1.1749.
84. Alan Tait, The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835, pp. 92-101.
85. SRO GD 248-916 Millar invoice 1741-43.
86. SRO GD 248-918; GD 248-916 Flowering shrubs purchased in London 1745.
87. SRO GD 248-916.
88. SRO GD 248-902 Account of seeds and trees purchased in London and Edinburgh 1749-50.

Reclamation of mosses was the subject of a long report in 1736 compiled on the traditional use of the Moss of Carnack in Rathven.[89] The arbitrators between Findlater and Hay of Rannas settled the dispute later in the year.[90] Division of commonty began to be much more frequent afterwards, as boundaries in the waste areas became adjusted.[91]

The marketing of black cattle became more profitable, with drove roads south being used twice a year. The northeast also developed a modest sheep industry. Cattle rustling by highlanders was a problem throughout the period. One of the means by which the highlands were subdued was through a construction program of military roads to interconnect remote areas.[92]

6. Improvement Period (1750-70)

a) Goals and objectives: James, sixth Earl of Findlater, usually known as Lord Deskford, assumed control of the estate gradually after being technically granted full authority by his father in February 1750. Deskford was one of the most prolific improvers in Scotland - he was one of a small group of men, who directed the initial formation of modern Scottish land use policy, through membership in a series of overlapping committees.[93] One example of his

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89. SRO GD 248-640-3-14 Disposition of witnesses in the case of Moss of Carnoch (Hill of Bauds) 29.9.1736; GD 248-784-6, 7 & 9 report description of Mosses hill and Muir of Carnoch. c. 1736.
90. SRO GD 248-784-6 John Philp letters re: disputes over commonties of Rathven with Hay of Rannas.
91. SRO GD 248 (-) Report 5.1736.
92. SRO GD 248-641-1 List of roads proposed to be built in the highlands 19.2.1748.
93. The case for acknowledging Deskford as a leading voice in land use decisions comes from the following records: SRO GD 248-654-2 Speeches to annexed estates commission c. 1748; GD 248-572-5-10 Findlater to Deskford 25.6.1755; GD 248-572-5-(4) Findlater to Deskford 30.6.1755; GD 248-562-55-16 Dupplin to Deskford 8.10.1758; GD 248-571-2-39 Lord Kames to Deskford c. 1766; GD 248-954-30 Alex. Mackenzie to (Findlater) 5.9.1753 Need to improve highlands; GD 248-1071-16 proposales about the linen trade in the highlands by William Ruthven c. 1753; GD 248-954-3-24 Instructions to the factors on the

influence, was the shaping of instructions for surveying lands under the control of the Forfeited Estates Commission. These instructions would be later repeated by a wider group of landowners in their instructions to their personal surveyors.[94] Deskford apparently had an international reputation for improvement for he was a member of La Société Royale D'Agriculture and made a speech to that organization in Paris c. 1761.[95]

On his own estate, Deskford attempted, with success,[96] to be a model landlord, creating new settlements, new industries, enclosing wasteland, and runrig, introducing new agrarian innovations, and effecting the first large scale afforestation. There is little correspondence between Deskford and his factors. This is because he was deliberately resident to keep control over the improvements, and confined the actions of this staff to collection and disposal of produce (Grant 1978). Problems were dealt by him personally. From the records, it appears that when he was absent on state business, his wife acted on his behalf.

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annexed estates 20.7.1755; GD 248-954-3-25 Instructions to the surveyors to be employed in taking plans of his Majesty's annexed estates in Northern Britain 30.7.1755; GD 248-954-3-23 Report of the commissioners and trustees for managing the annexed estates in Scotland 5.11.1755; GD 248-954-3-16 report to the King 5.11.1755; GD 248-954-3-5 Instructions to the Surveyor-General of the annexed estates c. 1756.

94. Adams (1966) op.cit., pp. ix-x, and SRO GD 44-27-10 dated 23-6-1755. The instructions included: Farms, hills and moors and assessments of cultivation potential, recommended repairs to houses, alterations to rivers, new roads, drainage techniques, woods and forest potential minerals, tenants and subtenants, present and proposed boundaries of farms and parishes, controvesial boundaries, new bleachfields, and new villages.

95. A copy of the speech is in the British Museum Library and has been read. Refer also to general correspondence GD 245-583.

96. The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vo. 13 (1845) pp. 323-5: "To that distinuished individual, appertained the exlusive merit, of introducing into the north of Scotland, those improvements in agriculture ... manufactures and all kinds of useful industry, which in the space of a few years, raised his country from a state of semi-barbarism to a degree of civilization, equal to that of the most improved districts to the south".

Mary, sixth Countess of Findlater, was the first woman to become so heavily involved with the estate's management. This was to have extremely beneficial results. In June 1770, Findlater had developed cancer, and was finding it increasingly difficult to cope with his responsibilities. He placed the estate in trust, with administration controlled by six Commissioners headed by his wife.[97] He was dead by November, and the estate passed into the hands of Commissioners acting on behalf of the seventh Earl during his minority, and subsequent absence. The Countess-Dowager played the key role in seeing her husband's plans through to completion, and was a restraining influence ensuring the estate's prosperity.

b) Management Team: Alexander Grant continued as chief factor until 1761, when James Ross was retained. About that time, it appears there were three factors reporting to Ross, with Deskford maintaining strict monitoring.[98] William Dunbar served as one of the factors from 1743-90 and Patrick Copeland served until 1766. In the letter of resignation Ross wrote in 1769, he stated that he had received a cut in pay and a reduction in responsibility at the time of the fifth Earl's death in 1764.[99] It appears Deskford changed the organizational chart at that time to provide one factor for each of the six collections that had been grouped from parts of the estate. The six reported to Ross as steward.

The sixth Earl appears to have in mind establishing a management structure which could function with checks and balances requiring minimal direction from himself. At the same time, he actively sought a return to government service. When the political climate proved inhospitable, this adminsitrative reorganization appeared for a time to be unnecessary.

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97. SRO GD 248-583 Commissioners named were the Countess, Alexander Garden of Troup, James Philp, Theodophus Ogilvie, George Ogilvie and John Davidson; Deskford was to take the place of all except the Countess on his 21st birthday. See also GD 248-591-2 (256) Findlater to (James Philp) 23.7.1770.
98. For contracts with factors from 1764-80 refer to SRO GD 248-984-1-2.
99. SRO GD 248-964-5 Ross to Findlater 22.2.1769.

Ross took his position very seriously; for instance, his analysis of the Elgin factory accounts for crop 1768 were sharply thorough.[1] Later Ross proposed to remain providing he received a substantial raise, and tenure for life,[2] but an officer of his exacting calibre did not appeal to Findlater, at that time, with the result that Ross accepted the Duke of Gordon's lucrative offer to serve as chamberlain. Willliam Robertson became steward when Ross left in 1769.

Findlater's illness ended all of his enlightened plans. In the June 1770 legal documents estabishing Commissioners, Robertson was made totally in charge of operations (for which he received £70 and a house).[3] In November 1770, the six collections and their factors were listed as follows: Cullen - Alexander Wilson, (who received £25 plus a house and farm), Portsoy -William Dunbar (£30), Elgin - Peter May, (£ 50 plus house and farm), Elchies -John Grant, (£16), Keith - Alexander Milne (£10) and Towie - Alexander Monro (£10).[4]

James Philp (grandson of John) had become an advocate and was the Edinburgh comptroller. John Davidson was retained by 1769 to act as family lawyer. Regular corrspondence that should prove instructive in the estate's operation include: James Philp to Findlater 1767-70,[5] James Philp to William Robertson 1769-76,[6] Peter May to James Ross 1768-69,[7] and John Davidson to Findlater 1769-70.[8]

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1. SRO GD 248-964-7 James Ross observations on Mr. May's Rental c.1.1.1769.
2. SRO GD 248-564-5 James Ross to Findlater 23.3.1769.
3. SRO GD 248-583.
4. SRO GD 248-966-2 General view of Findlater estate November 1770 (compiled by Robertson).
5. SRO GD 248-964-3 James Philp correspondence with Findlater 1767-70.
6. SRO GD 248-978-1 Philp to Robertson 1769-76.
7. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross re: Elgin factory and surveys 1768-69.
8. SRO GD 248-950-3 Davidson to Findlater 1769-70.

The estate served as a training ground for surveyors who would later go throughout Scotland implementing agrarian changes.[9] The principal surveyor was Peter May, who had begun his association with Deskford on a contract basis about 1754,[10] and by 1768 had become resident surveyor and factor of the Elgin collection.[11] James Burges, one of his assistants, later became surveyor to the estate.[12]

John, James, and Robert Adam were retained for various projects, John active from the beginning to the end of the period as both architect and friend to Deskford. Robert began his association by sending his calling card and one parmisan cheese on his return from Rome in 1758. Robert Robinson, the landscape designer, prepared plans in 1766.

c) Annual reports: Summaries of income and expenditures are available for crop 1751[13] and 1754.[14] James Philp's financial reports are available from crop 1767-70. Full estate rental by factories is available for crop 1761.[15] Accounts of William Dunbar's collection for 1754[16] and Patrick Copeland's at Keith for 1759-66 have survived.[17] Account books with all vouchers for work done on Cullen House and policies during 1765-6 prove interesting reading.[18]

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9. Adams (1979) op.cit., Peter May born c. 1724-33 died 1793. For a summary of May's influence on the northeast school of Scottish Land surveyors, see pp. xxv-xl and Figure 2.
10. SRO GD 248-1068 Charge/Discharge by Peter May; Refer also to Adams (1979) xxi: He attended the first meeting of the future Commissioners of the Annexed Estates.
11. SRO GD 248-984-1-2 Terms of Employment.
12. SRO GD 248-681-1 Contract with and orders to James Burges 1765-1770.
13. SRO GD 248-916
14. SRO GD 248-918 Alex. Grant accounts crop 1754.
15. SRO GD 248-1089.
16. SRO GD 248-916 Wm. Dunbar to Deskford 1.1.1754; also GD 248-982 Dunbar accounts crop 1752.
17. SRO GD 248-1155 Patrick Copeland accounts 1759-66 for Keith, Milntown and Allanbuie.
18. SRO GD 248-1197 Account book 1765-66 of stores for Cullen House addition and Policies.

The 1767 cash book gives an accurate picture of the contents of the various workshops at Cullen House, such as blacksmith, carpenter and gardener.[19]

Other records include the 1770 inventory of Cullen House,[20] rental of Findlater Lands 1762,[21] household books 1752[22] and the teind book for crop 1760 which lists all tenants by size of holdings expressed by quantity of rigs.[23]

d) Land acquistion: A rigorous policy of land acquisition was maintained by Deskford to round out boundaries, and to acquire underdeveloped upland areas. This included an aggressive policy of resolving long standing claims to division of boundaries with neighbouring barons. Major purchases include Elchies for £24,000 in 1759,[24] Spynie in 1769,[25], Badenspink 1756, Carnousie and Knockworth 1757, Colleonard 1758, Baldavie and Raggal 1762, and Linkwood in 1767.[26] Brackenhills was purchased from Gordon of Park's forfeited estate in 1766. Rothes expanded in 1765.[27] Towie (Kingsfoord) was acquired in 1755, but his appears to have been a legacy from his aunt, Elizabeth Maitland, Countess of Lauderdale.[28] Findlater was preparing to sell this isolated collection in 1770. But the idea was shelved by the changing administration.[29]

e) Architectural improvements: With the acquisition of the Banff estate, Deskford set about constructing a new house in the ruins of Banff Castle from 1749-52 to serve as his headquarters. This restrained Palladian villa was

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19. SRO GD 248-681-1 Contents of workshops at Cullen House 1767; also GD 248-1155 cashbook for 1767.
20. SRO GD 248-681-3 Inventory 11, 1770.
21. SRO GD 248-592-1-6 Rental of Findlater lands 1.1762.
22. SRO GD 248-1071-1 Household books c. 1756.
23. SRO GD 248-947-3 Teind book crop 1760.
24. SRO GD 248-680-4 Title to Elchies 1759, also legal procedings for Marches 1752-59.
25. SRO GD 248-680-9 Sale by Brodie of Brodie 1767-69.
26. SRO GD 248-964-7.
27. SRO GD 248-802-1 Resignation of Barony of Colleonard and Rothes 23.2.1765.
28. SRO GD 248-603 Inventory of writs.
29. SRO GD 248-983-1-9 Peter Garden of Delgaty to Findlater 18.10.1770 re: sale of Towie to James Burnett recently returned from Canada.

designed by John Adam, and was constructed by his contracting firm. All the accounts for construction have survived, and the final bill came to £1695.[30]

When he became the sixth Earl in 1764, Deskford and his young family moved from Banff Castle to Cullen House. This precipitated another re-evaluation of the House.[31]

In 1765-7 John Adam rebuilt the kitchen and pantry, and demolished the old servant's wing which was blocking full appreciation of the policies across Cullen Burn. James and Robert Adam were consulted in 1767-69 for the redesign of the hall, library and main staircase. John Adams & Co. rebuilt the main bed chamber, the great dining room, and enlarged several windows.[32]

The most appealing design that was implemented during this period, was the new gatehouse that James Adam designed in 1767, and John's Adam and Co. executed 1768-69. all the invoices for construction have survived; the bills from the Carron Iron Works Co. (of which John Adam was a director) prove fascinating, since it is one of the earliest uses of cast iron for intricate classical detailing.[33]

General building work on the estate included several new factory houses built in 1759,[34] the Greenhill offices and grain loft in 1769 (this was a model

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30. SRO GD 248-905 Accounts of John Marr, Mason, GD 248-984-4 John Adam and company invoices 28.8.1752.
31. Some minor repairs and changes to Cullen House were made in 1759 to a value of £ 375, see SRO GD 248-916.
32. SRO GD 248-982-1-11 John Adam to Findlater 24.7.1767; GD 248-982-1-8 John Adam to Findlater 3.12.1768, plan of bedchamber; GD 248-982-1-6 John Adam to Findlater 26.11.1768 invoice for 96; GD 248-982-1-2 Adam to Findlater 26.8.1769; GD 248-589-2-2 John Adam to Findlater 28.9.1768; GD 248-964-5 Marr notes c. 1770; GD 248-964-5 Alex Duffus Report on progress of Adam design for bedchamber; closets, pantry, windows in great dining room, and south pavilion of gatehouse 16.2.1769.
33. SRO GD 248-978-6 as built drawings 9.12.1769; GD 248-964-3 Philp to Findlater re: invoice c. 1769; GD 248-982-2 Invoices Carron Co. to Findlater 4.8.1769.
34. SRO GD 248-916 all receipts for construction; and SRO GD 248-916 Mr. Rannie's new house 1759-61.

farm),[35] and the Cullen Bleachfield houses in 1753.[36] Repairs to various buildings on the estate are listed in 1763.[37] An inventory of all houses and barns in Cullen (140) was made about 1769. A new manse was built in Cullen in 1752 for £1229,[38] a figure which must be pounds Scots.

f) Land improvements: The key element in Deskford's strategy to improve the estate was the stimulus of tenant enterprise through the system consolidation into 19 year leases, with conditions written into the agreement that stipulated the sort of land use that was to be practiced. The consistent longer leases gave tenants incentive, to effect changes over a span for which they would be able to realize substantial benefit. The always trusting tenants assumed that, providing the terms of the lease were met, the lease would be renewed for their sons to carry on, or they would be reimbursed equitably. Such trust did, however wear a little thin towards the end of the century.

To set the standards for improvements, Deskford implemented model developments throughout the estate.[39] For instance, an innovative rotational system was begun at Craigherbs in 1754.[40] Enclosure vouchers are available from 1758-59,[41] and a note on the management of enclosures survives from 1764.[42] Almost thirty two million trees were planted throughout the sixth

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35. SRO GD 248-681-1 Alex Duffus report 16.2.1769; GD 248-978 Wood for Greenhill of Deskford to be imported from Norway 17.12.1769.
36. SRO GD 248-951-5-1 Plan for bleaching houses, Cullen c. 1753; GD 248-951-5-2 Bleachfield plan c. 1753.
37. SRO GD 248-900-3 Invoices for various parts of the estate c. 1763.
38. SRO GD 248-916.
39. William Watt (1900) op.cit., p. 326: Three Engligh overseers were placed on farms on the estate with the purpose of introduing crop improvements and enclosures.
40. Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, (1791).
41. SRO GD 248-916 Enclosure expenses Park of Hillock 1758-9
42. SRO GD 248-947-3 (Peter May) memorandum on management of enclosures 1764.

Earl's period,[43] with the practice of cutting timber for building severely restricted. A precise account of timber cut and sold is available for Deskford 1757, Cullen & Deskford 1758, Cranne Haugh 1759, Rothes and Keith 1760,[44] general 1766,[45] and Rothes 1770. In a letter from Robertson to Charles dated 1770, the regulation of timber cutting was succinctly restricted.[46]

There were a long series of "battles" over marches. Friendly agreements were reached for Linkwood 1769,[47] Crannoch c. 1764, and with General Abercrombie at Bogtown 1765.[48] Two excambiations with Lord Fife were completed for Banff land 1756[49] and Paddochlaw 1766.[50] Not so friendly arbitrations included the Easter & Wester Elchies marches 1752-69,[51] Corrie Happenich 1769,[52] and Kindrought 1755.[53] Gordon of Park was thoroughly disagreeable over division of Whitemoss (Rothens Hill) common from 1760-

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43. For plantations refer to: SRO GD 248-982-2-1 James May to Findlater 26.7.1768 offer to sell one million fir seedlings; and 5.8.1769 offer to sell 300,000 fir seedlings; GD 248-905 James May to Deskford receipt for 400,000 fir seedlings 2.4.1758. At times this would also take the form of non-profit destributions of seedlings to tenants such as GD 248-905 account of trees sold at Crombie 27.3.1759. This practice was not confined only to trees -GD 248-900-2 grass seed dispersal to tenants on estate 19.11.1757.
44. SRO GD 248-588 Timber sold 1757-61.
45. SRO GD 248-903.
46. SRO GD 248-978-6 Robertson to Charles 13.3.1770.
47. SRO GD 248-950-3-32 Davidson to Findlater 2.8.1769.
48. SRO GD 248-982-1-13 Abercrombie to Findlater 10.10.1765 Requests May to proceed with survey.
49. SRO GD 248-954-5-15 J. Duff to Deskford 17.12.1756 Exchange authorized.
50. SRO GD 248-982-1-19 Lord Fife to Findlater 15.10.1766 Fife wanted small addition to round out natural meadow.
51. SRO GD 248-680-3 Rental of estate of Elchies c. 1767; GD 248-681-2 Baron Grant's settlement of outstanding teinds in Elchies c. 1769.
52. SRO GD 248-950-3-35 Davidson to Findlater 12.8.1769.
53. SRO GD 248-572-5-13 Wm. Dunbar to (Deskford) 27.2.1755.

69,[54] and over division of the moss of Eldrich 1763-69.[55] Davidson was instrumental in winding up many of these long standing negotations, by court action in Edinburgh.

There were many expansions into new areas, including Rothes and Birnie around 1767. Problems arose as soon as these marginal "wilderness" areas became settled. For instance, tenants at the new town of Rothes were unable to pay rents due to the Spey flood of 1769. They had built on the floodplain, and had had their new houses washed away along with their crops destroyed by silt.[56] Some of the upland areas would prove so marginal that it was impossible for a family to survive, and this led to abandonment of the croft when a poor season hit. However, most of the improvements were extremely profitable, and tenants reported that they found it easier to pay the greatly increased rents, than had previously been the case under the old runrig system. Construction of substantial stone cottages and farm building testify to the new prosperity filtering throughout the middle class.

Surveys of various parts of the estate were undertaken by Peter May, or were under his supervision. Some of those include: Bogmuchles, Craigherbs, Collenard,[57] Burnstoun, Farskin, Portknockie, Findochie and Woodside[58] Spynnie[59] Cullen, Deskford, Findlater, Boyndie, Portsoy, Colleonard and

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54. SRO GD 248-949-2 Marches of Mosses of Park or Whitemoss 1760-67; GD 248-949-2 State of proof between Findlater and Gordon of Park 8.7.1760; GD 248-949-2 Marches with Park 29.2.1764; GD 248-950-3-36 Davidson to Findlater 21.8.1769 Mr. Garden finally resolved a Decreet Arbitral; GD 248-984-1-3 Gordon of Park memorial about pasturage over the hill of Rothen c. 1769.
55. SRO GD 248-672-3-30 Gordon and Ogilvie to James Ross with reply by Findlater 16.3.1768; GD 248-672-3-22 report (Peter May) 30.11.1768; GD 248-672-3-15 Ross to (-) 20.4.1769; GD 248-672-3-12 Catherine Gordon to Findlater 2.9.1769; GD 248-672-3-13 Alex. Ogilvie to Findlater 2.9.1769; GD 248-678-7 Letters c. 1763; GD 248-672-3 Extensive Peter May correspondence on division c. 1769.
56. SRO GD 248-982-2 John Innes to Findlater 7.9.1769.
57. SRO GD 248-904 Invoice Peter May to Deskford 14.10.1761.
58. SRO GD 248-966-1 Contents and estimates of lands by Peter May c. 1766.
59. SRO GD 248-680-9 May notes c. 1767.

Arnbath.[60] Plans, written reports and correspondence of various degrees of completeness survive for each of these.

Deskford was one of the first of the new town builders. He began Keith 1750 and Rothes 1763,[61] and greatly expanded Portsoy and Whitehills around 1763. The latter was the subject of an advertisement in regional papers offering feu entry-free land to sailers and weavers from the army recently returned from the Seven Years War.[62]

The backbone of the new towns was linen. The first of the linen industries in the northeast was the Cullen Bleachfield Company established under Deskford's wing in 1752. The contracts and directions for laying out the bleachfield,[63] along with repairs after a flood in Cullen Burn in 1755, have been preserved.[64]

Portsoy Marble continued to be lucrative, there is evidence it was used in architectural projects in Edinburgh, London and on the continent.[65]

Black Angus cattle suffered a blow in spring 1770, when a fatal epidemic reached Banff. Discussions for controlling the epidemic were held in the House of Commons almost immediately, and the measures that were implemented appear to have held the Banffshire loss to about fifty percent.[66] This

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60. SRO GD 248-966-5 Contents and measures by Peter May, c. 1770.
61. Aberdeen Journal, 12.12.1763 p. 4 col. 2
62. Aberdeen Journal, 17.01.1764 p. 4 col. 2
63. SRO GD 248-900-2 John Christie Directions 12.2.1752; GD 248-947-6 Accounts for construction 24.12.1754; GD 248-947-6 Contract - Cullen Bleachfield Co. lease to 10 acre farm of Inaltry in Deskford 4.1752. Refer also to GD 248-1073-3 Dr. William Cullen to Deskford c. 1752. Advice of linen industry.
64. SRO GD 248-900-2 John Christie directions 1.1755.
65. SRO GD 248-982-1-4 John Adam to Findlater, 27.5.1769. Robert Adam used this in his projects and he wanted a sample for a foreign exporter. Other records show Portsoy Marble was used in the construction of Versailles.
66. SRO GD 248-(588) Letters read at court. 5.4.1770. Refer also to GD 248-950-3 Davidson to Robertson 21.3.1770.

was the first major setback for what had developed into a thriving enterprise.[67]

Records of planning and execution of smaller houses on the estate than Cullen House are few, but in the case of Banff Castle reconstruction, the records have survived. For instance, the gardener's invoice for 1755 shows a list of shrubs sent from Cullen, planting of spring bulbs such as tulips, planting of hedges, and construction of a nine pin bowling alley.[68]

Road construction on the estate was emphasized. The new towns were surveyed and construction of a grid pattern layout. Records of improvement to Cullen Burn road are available.[69] These were at best narrow and gravel surfaced.

Cullen House gardens may have had some design input by Robert Robinson in 1766, after he completed plans for the Castle Grant policies. May's survey of the existing grounds has survived, but Robinson's design hasn't. However, White's 1790 plan shows the "existing" policies in faint dotted lines, and so the 1766-1790 landscape is possible to identify. The sixth Earl was determined to accomplish the complete demolition of Seafield's walled garden adjacent to the House. This was the context for retaining James Adam to design and John Adam to construct the new gatehouse of 1767-69.[70] It is likely that the Adams had a significant influence on the actual design of the approach. One or the other probably laid out the road centre line, and made on site decisions for grading and planting.[71]

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67. Campbell (1965) op.cit., p. 36: The northeast cattle trade had become a large industry due to improved breeds and improved grazing.
68. SRO GD 248-1068 Thomas Reid to Deskford 12.10.1755.
69. SRO GD 248-954-5-9 Alex. Grant to Deskford 9.2.1756.
70. SRO GD 248-590-3-3 James Adam to Findlater 18.10.1770. In addition to the main gates, Adam completed designs for another set of rustic gates with lodges which were never implemented.
71. SRO GD 248-982-3 Directions on management of policies, 1769-70.

During 1732-65, the garden continued to be in the hands of George Nicholson, who seems to have taken a personal interest in his life's work, if the report he wrote upon retirement is an indication.[72] He claims to have personally been responsible for planting 1,800,000 trees; many of which were experimental introductions from America. From the invoices that survive, it will be possible to give an account of the species of trees, shrubs, grass and grain which were sent from Edinburgh, London and the world to create a microcosm of the world. Nicholson's report and the redesign of 1765, were not coincidence. Nicholson was retired, with his place at Cullen being filled by Peter Charles;[73] records from that time became more frequent.[74]

7. Delegation period (1770-1793)

a) Goals and objectives: The last Findlater, James, seventh Earl, spent most of his life as an absentee landlord. He succeeded to the estate while a minor 1770, and after a period of mourning and organizing affairs, he left to completed his education on the Grand Tour from 1771-75. During the first absence, the estate was in the care of Commissioners, with his father's cousin and close friend, the Earl of Kinnoul, astensibly in the chair.[75] The actual power was exercised by his mother, the Countess-dowager. Findlater was resident in 1775-1776, 1779-81, 1783-84, and 1787-91, and appears to have taken an active role in the estate's operation at that time. Up to about 1782 the Countess-dowager ensured Deskford's land use program was continued, and after that time advancing age led her to rely increasingly on John Ross, one of Deskford's Commissioners. It could be said that Deskford "ruled from the grave" from most of his son's life.

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72. SRO GD 248-590-1-20 Geo. Nicholson report c. 1765.
73. SRO GD 248-681-1 Contract with charges 17.10.1764.
74. SRO GD 248-681-1 Charles questions and answers c. 1769; GD 248-978-6 Alex. McDonald report 25.8.1769 Methods of destroying fox in Cullen Glen.
75. SRO GD 248-1171: Commissioners identical to the earlier 1770 except George Ogilvy was not named and three new Commissioners were named including the Earl of Kinnoul, Robert Barclay of Ury and Professor John Ross.

The estate during this period, was characterized by rapid growth, as the bounty of Deskford's improvements began to be realized. When absent, the seventh Earl received regular reports on all aspects of the estate's management, to which he responded with competence and understanding. A clear pattern seems to be emerging though, that he followed the advice of his Commissioners and of his professional staff. In this, he gave consent, not leadership.

After 1780, Findlater grew incautious with expenditures, and put the estate in the red frequently. Ross held him in line, though, and relative to other estates in Scotland at the time, the debts were modest. It is, however, easy to become indignant two centuries later when reflecting on how much of the estate's revenue proportionate to the average income of the day, was being remitted[75a] to keep the Earl in luxury on the continent.

On the promise of a permanent seat in the House of Lords, he returned to Cullen, and for three years was resident, taking charge actually for the first time.[76] When the offer lapsed, he left on a self-imposed "exile".[77]

The commission that was formed on his last departure in 1791 was chaired by Sir James Grant, his cousin and heir.[78] In 1796 Findlater disagreed with his advisers over a minor point, and Professor Ross led the Commissioners' threat to resign. Findlater was forced to back down, since ill health and questionable competence made it impossible to take charge himself; he requested all resignations to be reconsidered, which they were. Although he continued to receive reports and issue instructions thereafter until his death in 1811, it was merely a legal formality. Direction had actually devolved to the Grants.

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76. SRO GD 248-589-2-91 Ross to Findlater 23.3.1788; GD 248-589-2-69 Ross to Findlater 20.4.1788.
77. SRO GD 248-588 Findlater to Sir James Grant 23.12.1790; GD 248-590-3-36 Grant to Findlater c. 1.1791.
78. Heir-at-law under the terms of the sixth Earl's will, Grant was to inherit should the seventh Earl fail to provide children.

75a. Williams, The Country and the City, introduction.

b) Management team: Operations responsibility 1770-76 rested with William Robertson, who continued as steward until resigning over a dispute with the Cullen factor, John Wilson.[79] With his resignation,[80] Findlater appointed John Wilson[81] as chief factor controlling the six collections and emphasized Professor John Ross' role as the Commissioner who would be "managing director" in charge of advising on fiscal policy and Banff affairs.

John Wilson remained as chief factor for the balance of his professional career. He only abandoned his intention to emmigrate to Canada in 1788, when Findlater granted secure tenure.[82]

Professor Ross was one of three Ross brothers who played an integral part of the estates operation for some time. James Ross was steward to Deskford from 1761-69. John Ross was tutor to the seventh Earl; Deskford, as Chancellor of Aberdeen University used his influence to see John appointed as Professor of Oriental Languages. Ross served as one of the Commissioners from 1771-1811, and from 1782-1802 appears to have been the dominant voice. Another brother, Alexander, was aide to General Cornwallis in America and India, and eventually rose to become a general. He was frequently called upon to act on the family's behalf in the various parts of the Empire in which he served.[83] Another Commissioner throughout the period was Collector

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79. SRO GD 248-589-2 Wm. Robertson to Countess-dowager and Collector Ogilvie 1.5.1776; GD 248-591-2-254 Wilson to Ross 13.5.1776 Two versions with Robertson's resignation accepted.
80. Dr. Ian Grant has informed me that according to the Dictionary of National Biography, Robertson was the son of a feuar in Fordyce who eventually became one of the Keepers of Records of Scotland.
81. Andrew Cassles Brown ed., The Wilsons: A Banffshire Family of Factors. John was the second generation of a long line of factors. Born 1746, he was sent by Lord Deskford on three tours of Scotland and England to report on methods of agriculture from 1768-1770. He became chief factor by 1776, and Commissioner by 1805.
82. Brown (1936), op.cit., p. 31.
83. SRO GD 248-589-2-94 Col. Ross to John Ross c. 1788 from Ganges; GD 248-591-2-195 John Ross to Findlater 8.3.1783.

Ogilvie.[84]

Peter May resigned as one of the six factors in 1777,[85] and was replaced by his nephew and former assistant, George Brown, as Elgin factor and estate surveyor.[86] Findlater's ungracious comment upon being informed of May's resignation was that May was only interested in money, not service; he went on to say that he approved of Ross' proposal to assign Brown to the Elgin position, but to keep a close eye on Brown for "I have learnt from past and present experience how little these pretty animals called country gentlemen are to be trusted."[87]

William Dunbar continued as factor on the Countess-dowager's enjointured lands at Portsoy and Banff until death around 1790. William Irvine was factor at Towie by 1786. Peter Charles resigned as gardener sometime before 1776, and was replaced by Alexander MacDonald gardener and John Nish, who seemed to act in the role of chief forester for the afforestation program throughout the estate. In 1788 Findlater retained Alexander McHattie as gardener to implement his grand vision.

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84. Dr. Ian Grant believes Theophilus Ogilvie (b. 1772) was the illegitimate son of George Ogilvy, second son of the fourth Earl. It is true there was a scandal, but the records who George married below his class secretly (see SRO GD 248-571-6) and when his father and brother learned of it, he was severely reprimanded. George became an advocate in Edinburgh, his son Theophilus became Collector of Customs at Aberdeen through the influence of the sixth Earl. Both because the line of inheritance descended through the fifth Earl who had three children, and because of the "disgrace" of his birth, Theophilus was never likely to inherit the Earldom or any substantial income from it, but he was competent and as a first cousin the sixth Earl relied on his loyalty and judgement to the extent of appointing him as Commissioner from June 1770. He remained so until 1803.
85. Adams (1979) op.cit. pp. 198-199: May assumed his post as Chief Factor to the Bute Estate July 1778.
86. ibid, Brown was confirmed at Elgin. Refer also to Grant (1978) pp. 228-244 for a detailed resume of Brown's career. He was Provost of Elgin from 1782-1815.
87. SRO GD 248-800-4 Findlater to John Ross 14-04-1777.

A minor scandal occurred in 1785 when it was discovered the factor at Cullen collection, Alexander Wilson, had been falsifying the accounts to the sum of £500. He committed suicide.[88] The events surrounding this scandal are well screened by A.C. Brown in the family biography. Brown claimed Alexander was close to bankruptcy in 1780, and was saved by the family. He finally went into bankruptcy in 1785, and resigned as factor. He died three weeks later, to be replaced by his brother, John. Brown denied the rumour of misappropriation of funds.[89]

John Davidson, Writer to the Signet, continued as Edinburgh lawyer,[90] and Thomas Coutts and Company continued as family bankers (since 1756).[91] Coutts took a major role in processing the Earl's private income and providing loans for capital investment as the estate expanded. James Philp continued as Edinburgh comptroller at least until 1776.

Ample continuous sequences of correspondence from which to chart the estate's operation survive.[92] For instance, John Wilson to Findlater 1785-93,[93] John Ross to Findlater 1774-1811,[94] Peter May to the Commissioners 1771-72,[95] Ross to Wilson 1783-85,[96] Brown to Wilson 1784-5,[97] James Philp

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88. SRO GD 248-589-2 Ross to Findlater 27.11.1785 John Wilson added this factory to his overall responsibility.
89. Brown (1936), op.cit., pp. 28-29.
90. SRO GD 248-589-64-50 Davidson to Findlater 13.10.1780.
91. This was originally Campbell and Coutts, See GD 248-977-4 Campbell and Coutts to Findlater 27.8.1755; GD 248-(565-83-2) Coutts to Ross 1.1.1784.
92. SRO GD 248-984-1-2 Contracts with factors 1764-1780.
93. SRO GD 248-589-2-115 Wilson to Findlater 28.6.1785; GD 248-588 Wilson to Findlater 30.7.1785; GD 248-589-2-138 Wilson to Findlater 24.8.1785; GD 248-565-83-1 Wilson to Findlater 4.2.1786; GD 248-589-2-120 Wilson to Findlater 12.7.1786; GD 248-(565-83-3) Wilson to Findlater 4.10.1786; GD 248-591-2 (122) Wilson to Findlater 13.1.1787; GD 248-588 Wilson to Findlater 6.5.1787; GD 248-591-2-92 Wilson to Findlater 9.4.1788.
94. SRO GD 248-800-4 For general correspondence 1771-1810.
95. SRO GD 248-948-1 May to Commissioners 14.6.1771; GD 248-966-1 Account of lands in Mr. May's collection crop 1775.
96. SRO GD 248-952-2 Ross to Wilson 1783-4; GD 138-952-4 Ross to Wilson 1784-5.
97. SRO GD 248-949-4 Brown correspondence c. 1787-9; GD 248-951-1 Brown to Wilson c. 1786; GD 248-952-6 Brown to Wilson 1784.5.

to Robertson 1769-76.[98] The minutes of the Commissioners meetings from 1771-74 provide valuable information, both on procedure and the level of detailed decisions which reached the Earl's desk requiring action.[99]

Consultants continued to include James and Robert Adam. John Baxter in 1775-76 executed minor alterations to Cullen House. John Adam built several more utilitarian structures throughout the estate. James Playfair was commissioned as architect from 1788-89, but he was cut short in favour of Robert Adam.

c) Annual reports: Summaries of income and expenditures are available for crop 1770, 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1785, 1786, and 1787.[1] Specific rental books are available for Cullen 1766-93[2] Portsoy 1769-1793[3], Rothes 1793[4], Keith 1761-93[5], and Rannas 1789-93[6]. Minor accounts which supplement these are William Dunbar's records for the Countess-dowager's enjointured lands,[7] the 1779-80 Cullen House provision book,[8] Commissioners of Supply fixed valued rent for the Lordship of Rothes,[9] Home farm produce paid crop 1776.[10]

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98. SRO GD 248-978-1 James Philp to Robertson 1769-76.
99. SRO GD 248-948-1 Minutes c. 1772-74; GD 248-950-1-4 Memorandum c. 1770-71; GD 248-966-2 Minutes of Findlater Commissioners 6.1771.
1. SRO GD 248-965-2 General state of Findlater Accounts 1770-76; GD 248-979-3 Accounts 1770-75; (04881) crop 1774; GD 248-588 crop 1775; GD 248 (583) crop 1776; GD 248-(583) crop 1777; GD 248-(583) crop 1779; GD 248-(583) crop 1780; GD 248-(583) crop 1781; GD 248-(583) crop 1782; GD 248-(583) crop 1784; GD 248-588 crop 1785; GD 248-(583) crop 1786; GD 248-(583) crop 1787. Refer also to the abstracted rental of crop 1784 GD 248-591-2-164.
2. SRO GD 248-2328
3. SRO GD 248-2502
4. SRO GD 248-2223
5. SRO GD 248-2663
6. SRO GD 248-2790
7. SRO GD 248-902 Accounts crop 1784; GD 248-582-7 crops 1770-72; GD 248-584-3 crops 1772-3.
8. SRO GD 248-601 Provision book; GD 248 (585-1)
9. SRO GD 248-783-3 Commissioners of Supply 5.7.1773.
10. SRO GD 248-(04878) Refer also to GD 248-947-6 Rental of Cullen houses and yards 1785.

Accompanying the annual reports to Findlater are letters from John Ross.[11] Crop 1780 was the first time the seventh Earl exceeded his income, and Ross stated he refused to take responsibility.[12] The 1783 letter warns of the need for austerity after crop 1782's bad harvest.[13] Again in 1785 financial restraint was cautioned.[14] In 1788 Ross warned against the excessive expenditures planned on architectural improvements as beyond the estate's resources.[15] The 1791-92 letters are something of an ultimatum; Ross would not continue to have the family's fortune and his reputation destroyed by reckless spending.[16] Findlater was to stay within his allowance. The exact specifications of that ultimatum were spelt out in 1796, and other than the construction capital required for the "exile" castle in Dresden 1803-09, Findlater acquiesed.

d) Land acquisition: Using profits from improved yields and credit from the stabilized banking system, the Findlater estate embarked on a sizable program of land acquisition throughout the period.[17] On the other hand, the Grant estate had a massive debt which Sir James was forced to put under control through sale. Upon inheriting in 1774, Sir James Grant had a yearly income of £6652, but had an annual debt of interest payable of £6750. As a result, Grant was forced to sell most of his outlying land, between 1774-1785 Moy, Mulben, Westfield, Dunphail and Auchmades were sold for £52,500 plus all of Lady Grant's estate of £20,000.[18] Findlater purchased Mulben with the comment

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11. SRO GD 248-591-2 (243) John Ross to Findlater 26.2.1778 GD 248-2-49 Ross to Findlater 29.8.1782; GD 248-589-2-41 Ross to Findlater (10.10.1786).
12. SRO GD 248-591-2-215 Ross to Findlater, 6.1.1781 Debt of £46,000.
13. SRO GD 248-591-2-180 Ross to Findlater, 24.3.1783; GD 248-589-2-153 to Findlater 11.9.1783.
14. SRO GD 248-591-2-(138) Ross to Findlater 19.7.1786.
15. SRO GD 248-591-2-82 Ross to Findlater 21.12.1788.
16. SRO GD 248-590-3-99 Ross to Findlater 6.2.1791; GD 248-590-3-97 Ross to Findlater 8.3.1791.
17. The best documentation of estate holdings during this period is: SRO GD 248-965-2 Account of Findlater Holdings in acreage c. 1776, and GD 248-965-2 List of Findlater estate c.1776.
18. Fraser (1883), Chapter XVIII. See also SRO GD 248-227-3 Lord Kinnoul to Sir James Grant 20-07-1778.

that it would likely return to Grant through inheritance,[19] and he should therefore pay a low price. Grant wanted £ 18,000, but Ross advised against paying more than the £15,500 eventually set.[20]

Durn was unsuccessfully negotiated for purchase 1777-85 from the Dunbars,[21] Elgin properties were expanded with the purchase of Barluach (Rothes) in 1780[22] and with Main in 1782 from Brodie of Brodie, the noted botanist.[23] A modest collection in Nairn was acquired in 1789.[24] Negotiations to purchase the contiguous estate of Rannas were begun in 1785, but this sale was almost lost due to the Earl's absence. he originally proposed to have his "cousin",[25] Lord Fife, conduct the negotiations, to which Ross replied he would be the subject of "complete ridicule", since Fife was his chief competition; Findlater was pursuaded to return from Brussels.[26] The sale was completed in 1789. The need to reduce the level of debt financing in 1792 finally led to the sale of Towie[27] and to several small sales such as Inverury in 1793.[28]

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19. SRO GD 248- Findlater to Ross 29-12-1777.
20. SRO GD 248- Ross to Findlater 26-2-1778.
21. SRO GD 248-800-4 Findlater to Ross 14.4.1777 Instructions to proceed with negotiations to purchase Durn; SRO GD 248- Ross to Findlater 29-8-1782; SRO GD 248- Wilson to Findlater 2-3-1783, voluntary sale; GD 248-952-7-2 Abercrombie of Birkenbog Action against Dunbar of Durn for bankruptcy 15.2.1785.
22. SRO GD 248-799-4 William Innes of Blackhills sale of towns and lands of Barluach to Findlater 5.6.1780.
23. SRO GD 248-509-2-47 John Ross to Findlater 21.12.1782.
24. SRO GD 248-947-2 and GD 248-950-3-1 Geo. Brown to (-) 2.4.1790 Decreet Arbitral.
25. A rather tenuous bloodline from the Dunbar and Grant intermarriage between the Ogilvy and the Duff families.
26. SRO GD 248-952-1 Fife to Findlater c. 1783-4 letters; GD 248-589-2 Ross to Findlater 27.11.1785; GD 248-950-1-46 Notes on rental of Rannas 8.12.1787; GD 248-591-2 (158) Ross to Findlater 3.7.1785.
27. SRO GD 248-681-3 Inventory of Tacks at Towie 1792; GD 248-589-2-81 Irvine to Findlater 28.12.1789; GD 248-588 Brown to Findlater c. 1789; GD 248-589-2-102 Rental of Towie c.1787.
28. Accounts 1793. for £628.

e) Architectural improvements: James and Robert Adam continued the old family ties, meeting Findlater on the Tour, and helping him appreciate the antiquities and pleasures of Rome. In 1775-76, James and Robert provided various marbles and plans for the internal alteration of part of Cullen House, submitting an invoice for £ 240.[29]

About this time Baxter, who was also constructing Gordon Castle, was retained to design and construct a new larder and brewhouse for Cullen House,[30] and in 1777-78 Baxter was responsible for internal alterations to the family apartment including the drawing room.[31]

Later in the year, the seventh Earl retained James Adam for further alteration plans, and the next year some work was carried out.[32] Robert and James were again in deep financial difficulties about this time. One of many patrons, Findlater helped them with a £ 2,000 loan at low interest and a twenty-six year repayment clause.[33]

1783 was an active year for the Adam partnership. Findlater purchased property at their Portland Place development, and had the firm design a mansion, which for London was palatial.[34] He also had Robert design a villa for the Strathspey collection, (refer to Chapter Four), a banqueting house (in the Etruscan style) for Cullen binn, a new gatehouse, and a sketch for castellating of Cullen great bridge. The design invoice came to £ 700, which was at that time a small fortune.[35]

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29. SRO GD 248- (-) Adam to Findlater 9.8.1775; GD 248-583-1 Coutts invoice for Robt Adam's book 19.7.1775; SRO GD 248-590-3 Temple sketch c. 1776.
30. SRO GD 248-591-2-255 Estimate 7-1775.
31. Such as: SRO GD 248-800-4-4 Findlater to Ross 5-11-1777.
32. SRO GD 248-591-2-239 Robt and James Adam to Findlater 6.8.1778; Robt and James Adam to Findlater 3.8.1779.
33. SRO GD 248-952-1-11 Findlater to Robt. Adam; GD 248-590-3-2 James Adam to Findlater 12.5.1780; GD 248-590-3-1 James Adam to Findlater 18.5.1790; GD 248-3-5 Ja. Adam to Findlater 25.3.1784.
34. SRO GD 248-590-3-4 Ja. Adam to Findlater 15.4.1783; GD 248-590-3-7 Robt. Adam to Findlater 24.2.1789; GD 248-588 Gibson to Robt. and Ja. Adam 24.2.1789.
35. SRO GD 248-590-3-6 James Adam to Findlater 2.9.1785.

Baxter returned to execute internal alterations to modernize Cullen House 1785-87.[36] This included indoor plumbing.[37] The effluent was discharged by pipe directly over Cullen Burn. In this matter, eighteenth century design failed to recognize the consequences of pollution.

At the end of 1787 Findlater had returned to Banffshire, and subsequently retained James Playfair as his architect.[38] Playfair's first project was a new walled garden in Cullen policies.[39] This included a walled enclosure of several acres on a formal plan, with a variety of greenhouses. This was completed by the spring of 1788 and was filled with exotica.[40] A design for a temple of Pomona was not executed.

Playfair then began work on the house renovation. Two alternatives for transforming the existing structure into a Neo-palladian villa complete with an enormous retaining wall to "cover" the sixty foot cliff of the Burn and a redesign of the great bridge to classical standards were prepared. Findlater vacillated, and decided taste was changing in favour of the Gothic, so he sent Playfair back to the drawing board to prepare two more alternative renovations to "Saxonize" Cullen. The result was less than satisfactory. Findlater set Playfair to designing the home farm, and retained the doyen of Scottish architectural taste, Robert Adam for another opinion. Playfair unsuccessfully attempted to collect the balance of his account from 1790-91.[41]

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36. SRO GD 248-952-4 Baxter's invoice 147-27.10.1785; GD 248-589-2-140 John Wilson to Findlater 7.6.1785; GD 248-591-2 (137) Wilson to Findlater 27.8.1786.
37. SRO GD 248-589-2 Wilson to Findlater 20.7.1785.
38. SRO GD 248-966-3 Estimate for Cullen House alterations 21.8.1788.
39. SRO GD 248-591-2-87 Playfair to Findlater 14.3.1788; GD 248-589-2-101 Playfair to Findlater 22.4.1788; GD 248-984-2-23 Playfair invoice 28.8.1788; GD 248-589-2-97 Playfair to Findlater 25.9.1788.
40. SRO GD 248-589-2-94 Wilson to Findlater 25.4.1788.
41. SRO GD 248-984-2-22 Playfair to Findlater 16.5.1790; GD 248-984-2-21 Playfair to Findlater 7.1.1791; GD 248-984-2-20 Playfair to Findlater 26.3.1791.

Robert Adam recommended demolishing Cullen House and Town, and the reconstruction of both.[42] The design for Findlater Castle, as it was to be called, is elabourated later (pp. 352-366). It was to have been another Culzean, with external restrained castellation and a classical interior placed around a great oval staircase. Many other design features set this castle apart from Culzean and the other eighteen Adam castles, and it could have been his consumate design had the sketches been developed.

The location is shown on White's 1790 plan; it was to have been sited on the foundations of Cullen House. The main approach was to have been over the suitably redesigned great bridge. The first floor library was to have faced the policies, and the first floor billiard room faced the medieval town. The new town was to have been shot into the "pocket" of Cullen bay. The opinion of Cullen residents to this billiards game has not been recorded, but opposition was really of little consequence. Adam also designed home farm offices and stables. Where Playfair had designed a vernacular quadrangle with a crude gothic tower marking the entrance,[43] Adam designed to a circular layout, with an elegant facade to match the castle. The stable centre was to have been occupied by a horse exercise hall derived from Hadrian's mausoleum.

Adam was also commissioned to design a villa for the Elchies portion of the estate. Findlater intended to mark his boundaries with Banff castle on the east, Elchies villa on the north, and a Strathspey solitude. With the collapse of the peerage plans, none of the architectural work got off the drawing paper. The Earl did eventually build his castle, but it was hundreds of miles away in Dresden. The plans, correspondence and expenses for this modest freestanding townhouse with walled garden from 1803-09 survive.[44] When Findlater willed this property and some legacies from the Scottish estate to servants in Germany, the Grants launched a lawsuit to invalidate the codicile. The case was rather shady, and was conducted behind closed doors. The Edinburgh judge found in

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42. SRO GD 248-570-2 Robt. Adam to Findlater 14.1.1789.
43. SRO GD 248-588 Playfair to Findlater 27.2.1789.
44. SRO GD 248-800-4 Findlater to Ross 12.10.1808.

favour of the servants who got their inheritance.[45]

General construction on the estate included a new manse and church at Boyndie. The records for this from the design phase to the finished product between 1772 and 1776 exists.[46] In 1775 the Commissioners had become impatient with paying for repairs on Cullen houses, and issued orders that the tenants would in future be responsible for their own repairs.[47] John Adam was commissioned to design and construct a new granary at Portsoy in 1776-78[48] and several malt barns.[49] The size indicates the improved yields and the more rigorous approach to marketing surpluses.

f) Land improvement: Work on Cullen House policies continued through the 1770's with little modification to the sixth Earl's vision. This Brownian landscape was the subject of a series of directives from Robertson and Lord Kinnoul to the gardener in 1770-71.[50] In 1772 Peter May was asked to evaluate the state of the policies,[51] and as a result Robertson wrote a memo to Charles that his performance was unacceptable.[52] May again prepared a lengthy report in 1773 as the basis for future work.[53] John Ross in 1774-75 took responsibility for seeing these recommmendations implemented.[54]

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45. Grant (1978) The Grants claimed the seventh Earl was an acknowledged homosexual and had been subjected to undue influence by his servants, the Fishers into making the codicile. Evidently the judge found no evidence to support the accusation. Refer also to SRO CS 235-F-20-1.
46. SRO GD 248-680-9 Architectural drawings of Boyndie manse c. 1772; GD 248-680-9 Contract Findlater with Alex. Duffus c.1775.
47. SRO GD 248-901-3 Improvements to Cullen and Reidhaven houses c.1778; GD 248-948-1 Commissioners 26.4.1775.
48. SRO GD 248-800-4 Ross to Findlater 28.9.1777; GD 248-901-3 Invoices 7.12.1778.
49. SRO GD 248-951-5 (John Adam) estimates.
50. SRO GD 248-680-6 Findlater instructions to Mr. Charles 12.1770; 04881 (Robertson) to Commissioners 1.12.1770; GD 248-680-6 Charles to Kinnoul 24.6.1771.
51. SRO GD 248-951-3-1a May notes 27.4.1772; Incidentally landscape painter William Tompkins was active about this time in the area, see GD 248-678-5 Tompkins to Grant 29.5.1772.
52. SRO GD 248-680-6 (Robertson) to Charles 17.6.1772.
53. SRO GD 248-680-6 May report on Cullen policies 30.11.1773.
54. SRO GD 248-680-6 (John Ross) note 2.5.1774; GD 248-589-2-13 Ross to Findlater 15.12.1775.

Charles' lax approach to these clear instructions led to his dismissal when the Earl returned. This measure was taken as a means of tightening control over the staff. Detailed accounts of planting and construction is available.[55] The new gardener, Alexander MacDonald completed Robinson's plan around 1780, and was responsible for upkeep thereafter.[56] He and John Nish appear to have become joint chief foresters for the estate and were increasingly involved in large scale afforestation.[57]

When Findlater returned in late 1787, he wanted a tangible expression of his prestige. The fashionable means of expressing status at this time was landscape gardening the ancestral seat, and Findlater didn't let this opportunity pass. The first phase consisted of the walled garden which Playfair designed and the new gardener, Alexander McHattie, located.[58] Into the conservatories Findlater crammed exotic fruits and flowers. He had the director of the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew, William Aiton, send this material by ship.[59] Specimens were even gathered from Jamaica.[60]

The second phase was the commission of one of the leading landscape designer/in North Britain, Thomas White, to effect Brownian landscape. The concept was total display. The policies were to be increased four fold, with demolition of medieval Cullen, construction of Findlater castle, a new town, new entrance gates at the edges of the walled park, a new circulation system,

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55. SRO GD 248-680-6: GD 248-678-2 Mackie invoices for London seeds 1765-1776; GD 248-583-(1) Invoices for Cullen policies 10.6.1780; GD 248-591-2-3 Strawberries c. 1783; GD 248-901-3 Vouchers for gardens and plantings 1777-78.
56. SRO GD 248-582-1 Alex. MacDonald memorandum c. 1784; GD 248-903 Accounts for planting and policies 1783; GD 248-984-2-3 Richard MacDonald to Alex. MacDonald 19.9.1787 Son was apprenticed in Duke of Portland's London Garden through Findlater.
57. SRO GD 248-680-6 Instructions to John Nish c. 1789.
58. SRO GD 248-959 Garden and policy accounts 1788-89.
59. SRO GD 248-591-2-92 Wilson to Findlater 7.4.1788; GD 248-591-2-103 Aiton for Findlater 17.11.1788; GD 248-589-2-85 Aiton to Findlater 24.1.1789; GD 248-683 Aiton invoice 11.1788.
60. SRO GD 248-590-3-100 Allardyce to (Ross) 6.4.1791.

and a massive plantation of specimens from around the world. With such a construction programme by the leading designers, Findlater could not possibly escape public notice and acclaim.[61]

Nothing of this was implemented. Ross regarded the idea of growing a tropical jungle at the edge of the arctic as absurd and claimed it was socially irresponsible to spend hard earned profits on growing pineapples. He also regarded Adam's and White's work as frivolous, so the plans were shelved, and Lord Deskford's more utilitarian ~~strategy~~ approach was resurrected.[62]

The ~~strategy~~ commissioners effected substantial improvements to the estate throughout the period.[63] Plantations which were monitored included: Colleonard 1780,[64] Little Binn 1789,[65] Bauds and Cullen Moss 1789,[66] Elchies and Rothes 1787,[67] Linkwood and Main 1789,[68] Hills of Boyndie 1790.[69] Both Brown at Linkwood and Ross at Main, had substantial nurseries from which seedlings were obtained.[70] Incidentally, the dates above reflect inspections, not that of initiation.

General improvements include Boyndie c. 1776,[71] mains of Elchies 1783,[72] Rothes and Elchies 1786,[73] fisherhouses 1787-89,[74] and the full

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61. SRO GD 248-2-61 Wilson to Findlater 28.9.1788.
62. SRO GD 248-950-1-47 State of policies 12.4.1792.
63. SRO GD 248-591-2-(156) Wilson to Findlater 16.9.1785.
64. SRO GD 248-591-2-223 (Wilson) to (-) 18.11.1780.
65. SRO GD 248-589-2-86 Alex MacDonald and John Nish Report 5.1.1789.
66. SRO GD 248-588 MacDonald - Nish Report 6.1.1789.
67. SRO GD 248-588 John Nish memo 5.1789; GD 248-583-1 Nish memo c.1789; GD 248-678-6-10 (Nish) Report c.1789.
68. SRO GD 248-588 Nish memo 5.1789; GD 248-678-10a Nish Report c.1789.
69. SRO GD 248-591-2-73 MacDonald Report 19.1.1790.
70. SRO GD 248-982-5 John Ross to Wilson 26.11.1790, List of Trees.
71. SRO GD 248-902 Invoices for crop 1784.
72. SRO GD 248-591-2- (176) Ross to Findlater 15.3.1783.
73. SRO GD 248-589-2-120 Wilson to Findlater 12.7.1786; GD 248-984-1-5 Nish to Findlater 19.11.1789.
74. SRO GD 248-916.

accounts of fourteen phases of improvements between 1775 and 1784 for Redhyth.[75] Surveys to guide improvements were undertaken in increasing volume. Some of the plans which have been consulted are: Rothes 1779, Keith 1784, Elgin 1786 and Nairne 1790. Offers for leases show an increasing commitment to have tenants implement improvements.[76] Expansion into marginal production areas carried risks.[77]

An addition to the town of Rothes was begun in 1790, and the new town of Rathven was begun in 1791.[78] A report on roadwork in Keith parish in 1779 gives a good indication of how tenant services were applied.[79] A request for a subscription to the new road between Huntly and Portsoy was refused by Findlater, on the grounds that the alterations his staff had suggested to make the road more accessible to his tenants, were ignored.[80] He did however, subscribe generously to the Lossiemouth Harbour in 1785.[81]

Excambiations with Earl Fife continued to be discussed civilly, but were usually indecisive, for instance, Colleonard in 1785-87,[82] and Corncairn in 1779.[83] Difficult marches where legal proceedings were necessary to divide commons included:

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75. SRO GD 248-1155 Improvement accounts 1775-84; GD 248-591-2-187 Wilson to Findlater 2.3.1783.
76. SRO GD 248-984-4 List of tacks 4.1784; GD 248-982-3 Application for Keith land c. 1773; GD 248-946-5 Offers for leases c.1775; GD 248-966-1 Rental offers 1776; GD 248-966-1 Directions for writing leases c.1776; GD 248-980 Rent ledgers for Crombie, Mulben & Keith C.1788-93.
77. SRO GD 248-982-5 James Proctor to Findlater c.1785 Wanted relaxation of annual rent of Newlands of East Elchies.
78. Aberdeen Journal, 07-03-1791, p. 3 col. 2-3 Advertisement for Feuing Rathven. This was for an addition.
79. SRO GD 248-951-2-23.
80. SRO GD 248-678-7 Plan of road between Huntley and Portsoy c.1784; GD 248-952-3 50 for bridge of Isla refused.
81. SRO GD 248-952-3.
82. SRO GD 248-589-2-117 Fife to Findlater 13.11.1785; GD 248-589-2-41 Fife to Findlater 10.10.1786; GD 248-949-4 Brown to Wilson 18.11.1787.
83. SRO GD 248-799-4 Scroll of Discharge, Park of Corncairn, Excambiation c. 1779.

Rothes, Easter Elchies and Birnie in 1779,[84] Nairn in 1790,[85] and Ordiquish 1771,[86] Mulben 1786,[87] Speyside 1789[88] and Findrassie 1787. The latter was the subject of endless changes, and Brown almost gave up.[89] Improvement plans made during this period include Keith[90] and Rannas.[91]

Chapter Three has described the estate as a corporate entity with the solitary owner mostly acting as a kind of board chairman, and sometimes acting as chief executive officer. This analogy is complicated by one difference: this corporation held social dominance entrenched upon a feudal past. By the end of the eighteenth century, continental revolution challenged the tenets of that aristocratic privilege; Scottish landowners avoided this challenge by gradually yielding up the more overt of their political and social controls over local communities. Estates like Findlater were thus transformed into acceptable corporate units within a capitalistic economic system.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth Findlaters consistently recognized the future lay with an effective organization driven to achieve enhanced profits. The organizational structure, objectives, human factors and key decisions affecting environmental change have been outlined. Chapter Four will discuss methods by which the estate's investment portfolio was diversified and "improved".

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84. SRO GD 248-678-1-26 John Innes to Wilson 19.4.1779 Settle March of Rothes; GD 248-789-5 Division of Muirs and Mosses of Glen Rothes; GD 248-799-4 Decreet Arbitral of Mosses and commonities of Rothes, Easter Elchies and Birnie 27.10.1779.
85. SRO GD 248-950-3-1 Brown to (-) 2.4.1790 Decreet Arbitral.
86. SRO GD 248-950-3-15 John Innes of Muiryfold for lands of Ordiquish in Barony of Fochabers 23.10.1771 Decreet Arbitral.
87. SRO GD 248-951-1.
88. SRO GD 248-949-4 Brown to Wilson 17.12.1789.
89. SRO GD 248-949-4 Brown to Wilson 18.13.1787.
90. SRO GD 248-799-4 Measures of Collargreen and Fiddoch near Keith for Brown's plan c.1784.
91. SRO GD 248-949-5 Contents and estimates of Rannas for Brown's plan c.6.1789.

CHAPTER FOUR: DIVERSIFICATION OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT

1. Traditional Order

Once it became clear that the traditional economic order of self sufficient estates could be replaced by a more complicated economy with positive results, strategic decisions were taken to diversify investment. Innovative products, new marketing strategies, greater productivity, expansion into wastelands, aggressive acquisition and merger programmes, and reorganizational measures to enhance both corporate and physical efficiency were implemented. This great economic revolution found expression in the estate's architecture. This chapter will catalogue[1a] some of the strategies and evaluate their long term effectiveness both in terms of enhanced revenues and earnings and in terms of qualitative improvements.

2. Innovative Products and New Marketing Strategies

The Earls shrewdly recognized that their income could be expanded if innovative products such as linen, new crops such as potatoes, peas, and turnips, or new techniques of increasing yields such as timber were attempted. These would prove successful. An exploration for coal would prove unsuccessful. New marketing strategies were also deemed profitable. Some control over the marketing of grain was achieved by improving harbours and expanding granaries. Grain could be stockpiled until market prices increased. The later Seafield Earls supported the lobby to licence and promote the manufacture of whisky.

Linen was the "silicone chip" growth industry of the eighteenth century. Lord Deskford recognized the potential, and initiated a limited stock company known as the Cullen Bleachfield Company, to be constructed in Cullen Burn on

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1a. To locate each improvement, refer to Appendix A and figure 2, p. 14.

the ten acre farm of Inaltry.[1] The contract was signed between the fifth Earl as landowner and the officers of the company, including Deskford as a major shareholder, in 1752.[2] By 1755 the field was in full operation.

The operation was designed and implemented by John Christie as manager and main investor. He had been recruited by Deskford from John Cockburn of Ormiston's estate.[3] Christie's process at Cullen introduced a number of innovations, such as a drying house for the cloth during wet days.[4]

It included lintmills, buildings, fields, dykes, bleachfields, and dye bins.[5] In general terms, the process included growing flax, rippling (spinning preparation), steeping in lint pots, scutching, hecking (drawing out the fiber), spinning, weaving and bleaching for 5-8 weeks.[6] 4.75 acres of bleaching grounds and canals, plus 5.5 acres for a drying field were provided. The main house (7.7 by 27.4 metres) contained a rubbing mill driven by water, four boilers, sour and backing basins, plus canals for washing and rinsing cloth measuring 193.5 metres long by 1.9 metres wide and 1.2 metres depth. The construction cost was £554 Stirling.[7] A bleachfield was also built along Cullen beach's seatoun.

Deskford sited the Cullen Bleachfield Company very conspicuously within one kilometre of Cullen House, so that it could be seen and emulated.[8]

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1. SRO GD 248-947-6 April 1752 Lease for 19 years at 4-10/year.
2. SRO GD 248-900-2, 12-02-1752 Direction for laying out Cullen Bleachfield by John Christie.
3. Colville, ed. John Cockburn of Ormiston: Letters To His Gardener 1727-44, p. 21: Christie was sent in 1735 from Ireland by the Trustees For Manufactures to establish a linen industry. With Cockburn's 1747 bankruptcy, Lord Hopetoun acquired the estate. By 1752, Deskford had arranged to transfer Christie from his brother-in-law's estate to Cullen.
4. Durie (1979), op.cit., p. 85.
5. SRO GD 248-951-5: Plans of Bleachfield, c. 1752.
6. Alastair J. Durie, The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century; Chapter One.
7. Durie (1979), ibid. p. 56 Also SRO GD 248-947-6 for construction account book to 24-12-1954.
8. Pryde (1962), op.cit., pp. 71-74 and pp. 130-131. Linen manufacture was implemented by the landowners.

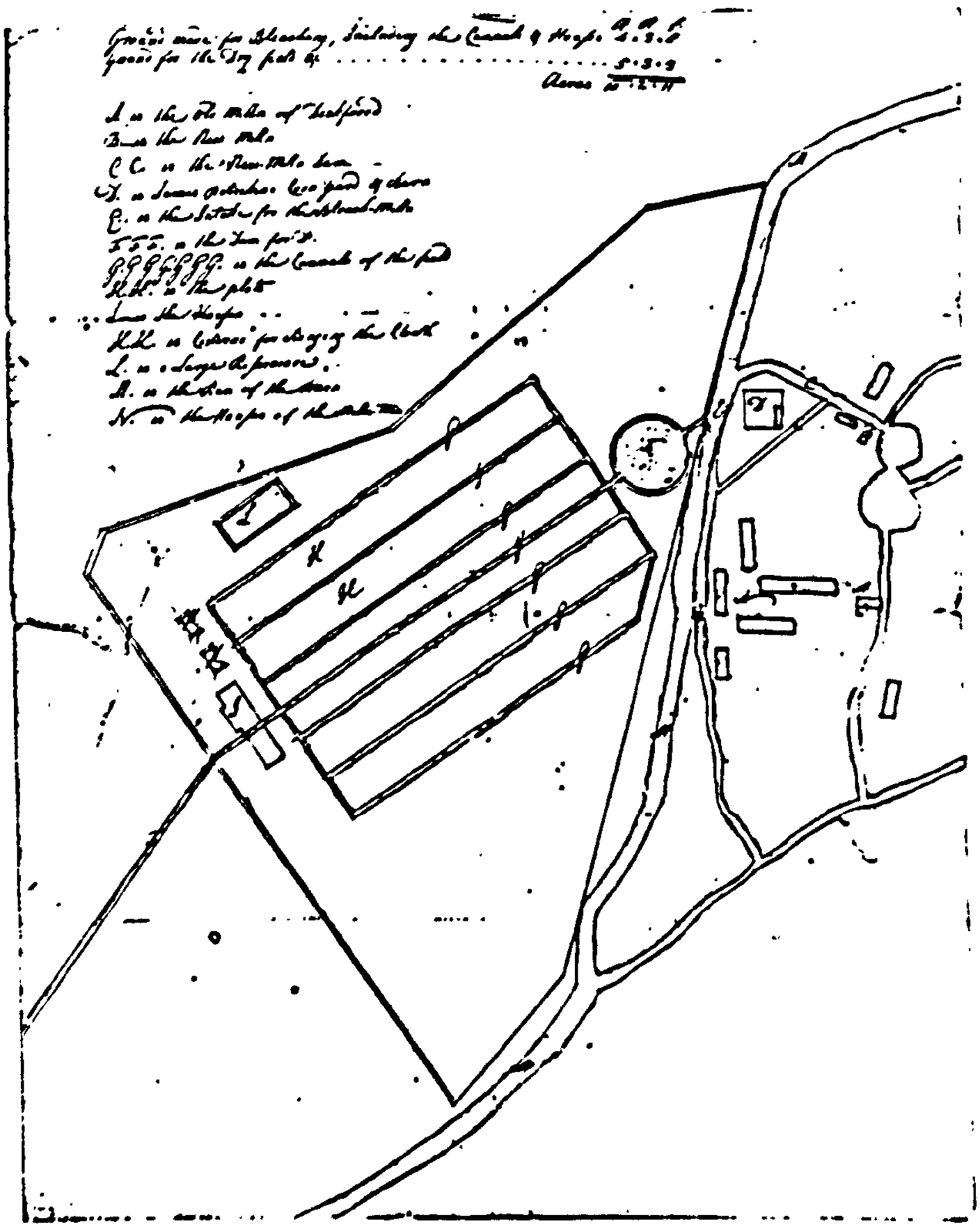
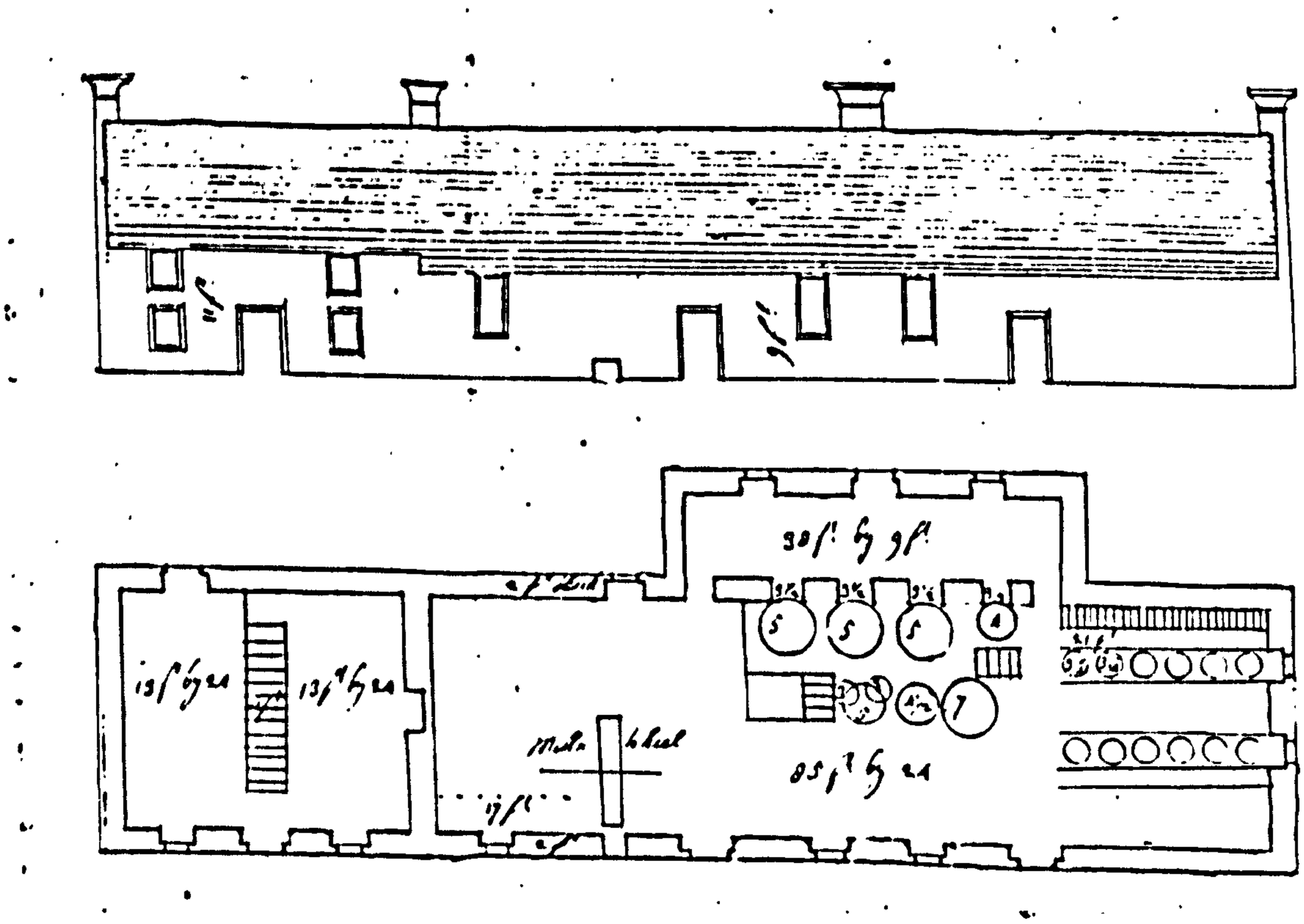


Figure 10

Plan of Cullen Bleachfield
c. 1752
SRO GD 248-951-5-2

Figure 11

Plan and Elevation of
Lintmill House, c. 1752
SRO GD 248-951-5-2



It was soon followed with smaller scale operations in all planned villages and large communities on his estate. Deskford provided a spinning school under generous terms to encourage tenants to become involved with the trade.[9] In offering advice to Sir James Grant of Grant, Deskford stated that Findlater's usual method of promoting the spinning industry was to lend money without interest. Such funding was eligible for a grant from the Trustees of Manufactures.[10]

Linen was not a clean industry although pollution resulting from the channeling of Cullen Burn did not appear to concern Findlater. Discarded flax steepings from lint pots, alkaline solution from kelp (ley) and bleaching sulphuric acid occurred in such high concentrations that many downstream landowners in other areas later became hostile to linen operations, since salmon were poisoned,[11] and drinking water was made unsafe. Findlater appears to have relished his project, and emphasized his commitment by embellishing the aesthetic elements of his downstream garden with bridges and reflecting weirs.[12] Environmental pollution seems to have been of less concern to the Earl than job creation and profits.

In socio-economic terms, this was an industry ideally suited to a transitional agrarian society, for the flax could be grown, (even if it was a precarious crop in the dry Banffshire climate)[13] and all of the elements, except coal and sulphuric acid, required for local manufacture could be procured locally without large capital outlay. It was also a labour intensive operation which provided employment, and that was attractive to a landlord intent upon decreasing emigration or discontent.

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9. SRO GD 248-1523; Findlater to James Ross 25-12-1764: Continue the linen school in the spring under the same terms.
10. SRO GD 248-672-4 (50) Deskford to Grant 18-01-1761.
11. Alastair J. Durie (1979), op.cit., p. 3
12. SRO GD 248-951-5 Bridge and weirs. GD 248-951-2-17 John Adam.
13. Statistical Account, Vol. 12 (1794), pp. 143-155.

Growth of the linen industry from a 1728 total value of £103,312 for 2 million yards to £1,403,767 for 36 million yards in 1815[14] indicates an astonishing effect on the landscape.[15] The 1794 Statistical Account described 65 looms being constantly employed in Cullen. After the Napoleonic wars, new urban manufacturing mills dominated the textile industry, and the linen industry in Cullen began a severe, and ultimately fatal recession.

Agricultural improvements corresponded with traditional product enhancement such as new hardier varieties of grains, or new husbandry techniques. Entirely new crops were introduced during the sixth Earl's tenure including peas, beans, turnips, potatoes and flax. Along with new crops, field patterns were rationalized and marginal land was brought into production.

Lord Deskford planned the model farm of Colleonard on 225 acres subdivided into twenty fields with new central home farm offices. This was created on an area of poor run-rig holdings and wasteland acquired by the fifth Earl as a part of the settlement of Lord Banff's Estate in 1758. The rectalinear geometry planned and surveyed by Peter May in 1761,[16] was in sharp contrast to the adjoining wasteland shown on the c. 1770 survey.[17] (Refer to Figure 12)

In 1764 Deskford added a triangular enclosure of 37 acres with pasture surrounded by woods. The curvalinear plantingprobably the work of Robert Robinson[18] and reflects Deskford's growing interest with landscape aesthetics rather than pure utilitarian improvement. The 1798 Statistical Account noted that Colleonard's "Fields are laid out with much taste and judgement, enclosed

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14. Durie (1979), op.cit., Chapter Three
15. ibid., Chapter Four: In 1748, there were official stamp offices for linen at Elgin, Fochabers, Keith, Cullen and Banff.
16. SRO GD 248-904 Account May to Deskford 14-10-1761. 3 - Refer also to sketch plans RDH 11843 and RHP 11849.
17. SRO RHP 11850 c. 1770.
18. SRO GD 248-346-5.

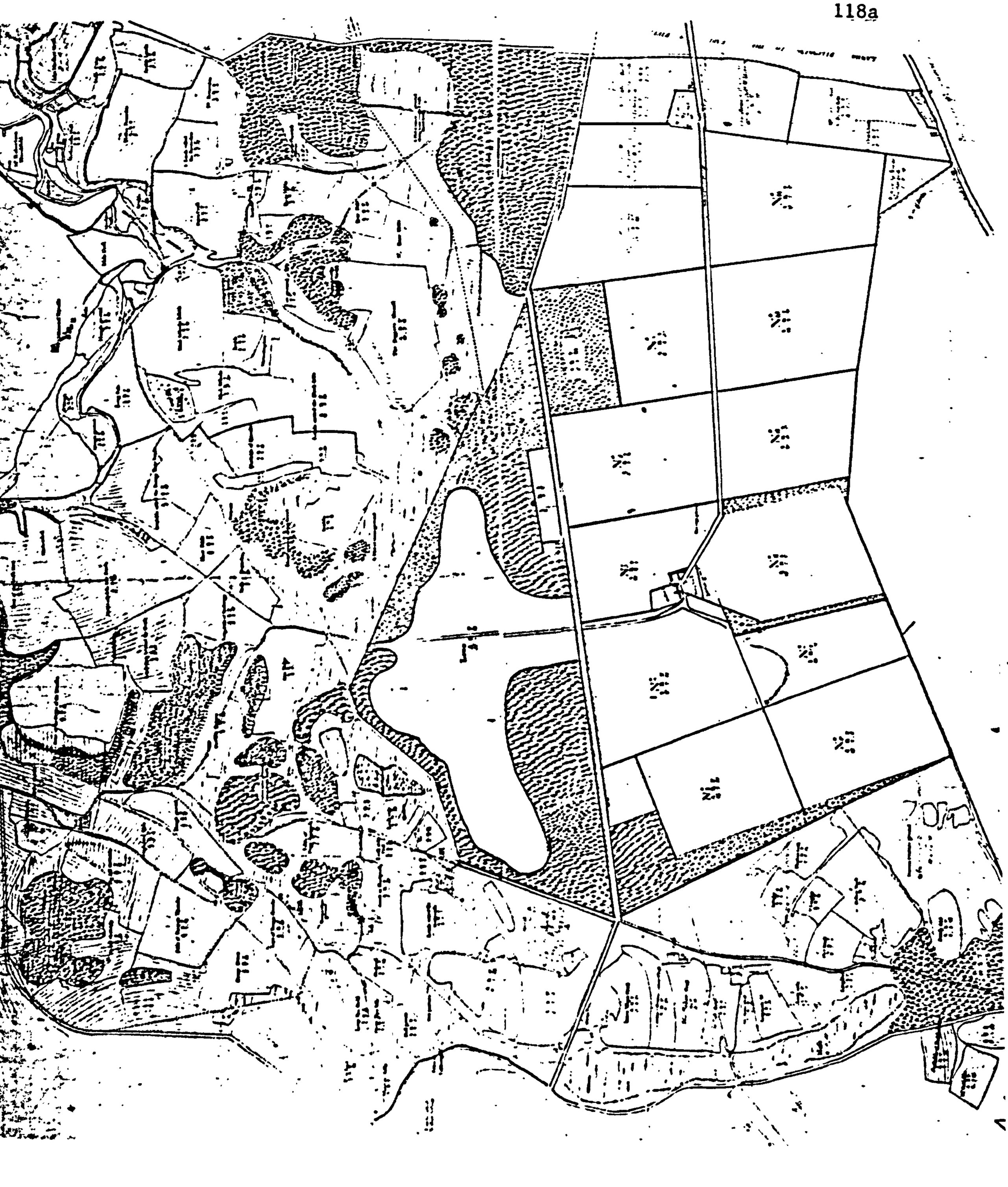

Figure 12

Plan of Hills of Boyndie and Colleonard, c. 1770
Peter May, Surveyor, SRO RHP 11850

and subdivided with hedgerows and belts of thriving woods. It bears a striking resemblance to a fine English farm."[19]

In 1780 a five acre orchard was planted at Colleonard.[20] Extensive planting occurred on the adjacent hills of Boyndie, and by 1770 these appeared as small clumps totalling 250 acres rather than a one geometrically contained woodland. This planting was maintained by Forester McDonald in 1790.[21] The Hills of Boyndie was also a noted sheep farm containing some 300 English sheep of innovative breeds.

While Colleonard was an entirely new venture carved from wasteland, Deskford had been experimenting with agricultural improvements on his adjacent farms of Craigherbs and Buchraigie since 1754. (Refer to Figure 13) It has been said that this was the first area in the northeast where alternative husbandry was practiced.[22] Improvements to field enclosures at both farms totalling 230 acres were made in 1766 according to Peter May's plans.[23] The adjacent Muir of Auds enclosure about the Loch of Auds is a more typical approach towards reforestation. This 92 acres was enclosed in 1755.[24]

Watt writes of the presence of three English overseers, at Craigherbs and Buchraigie, consolidation of small holdings, new crops and various incentives to improve being written into leases[25] including 38 year clauses. The English overseers have been said to have been unsuccessful; for instance a Philip Girling from Norfolk arrived 22 November 1765 and by 6 March 1769 Findlater was attempting to send him back. On the whole, the various attempts at improvement appear to have met Deskford's objectives.

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19. Statistical Account, Vol. 12 (1798), pp. 319-382.
20. SRO GD 248-591-2-223 Thomas Reid Request for Lease 18-11-1780.
21. SRO GD 248-591-2-73 Alex. McDonald Report 19-01-1790.
22. New Statistical Account Vol. 12 (1845) p. 229. also Old Statistical Account, Vol. 19 (1797) pp. 305-307.
23. SRO RHP 11842.
24. Refer to Accounts Crop 1755.
25. Watt (1900) op.cit., p. 326.

Figure 13

Plan of Boyndie, Whitehills, Craigherbs, Warylip, Blackpots and Overdallachy, 1766
Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 11842

In an economy where every opportunity which nature provided was exploited, the wealth of the North Sea fisheries was extremely tempting. For a small capital investment (renewed each seven years) for boats and ground for houses with small cottage gardens and replacements after severe storms,[26] the landlord could be ensured of a steady supply of seafood. With curing or salting, the produce could be transported to southern markets. Such an operation of small villages with small open skiffs and yobes were the mainstay of the northeast fisheries since the sixteenth century.[27]

Development opportunities were taken with the expansion or creation of new villages. Whitehills was said to be founded 1762, but this was actually an extension; Portsoy and Cullen were medieval establishments over prehistoric settlements; Sandend was founded 1692; Portknockie was founded 1677; Findochty was founded 1716. To ordinary people, the attraction of fishing as an occupation was the extraordinary high wages. At a time when ploughmen made £ 4, fishermen made an annual salary of £ 27, but this was not without risk.[28]

New seafood markets were identified by entrepreneurs, and the Earls were eager to grant leases for a share in the profits. Traditional products such as Haddock, Cod, Halibut, Salmon, Ling and Herring continued but were exploited at higher volumes. New products were introduced such as Lobster and Crab. A Lobster Fishery was started in 1787 off Findochty,[29] and this was to prove successful, so that in 1792 a contract was signed for a five year supply to the London market.[30]

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26. SRO GD 248-563-68-41 Whyte to Findlater: 23-02-1724: The fishing villages were precarious, for example three houses in Whytehills were destroyed to their foundations; same to three in Portsoy and two in Sandend.
27. Malcolm Gray, The Fishing Industries of Scotland 1790-1914, A Study in Regional Adaptation, Chapter One.
28. Peter F. Anson, Fisherboats and Fisher Folk On The East Coast of Scotland, (1974), Chapters 12 and 13.
29. SRO GD 248-591-2 (122) Wilson to Findlater 13-01-1787 concerning a lease to establish a lobster fishery off of Findochty.
30. Statistical Account, Vol. 13, (1974) pp. 392-427 Contract with Mess. Selby and Company of London.

Figure 14

Cullen Bay Looking Towards Portknockie
1980

Figure 15

Cullen Seatoun, 1980

The abundance of fish relatively close to shore allowed small craft valued at £ 25 to be successful. As the population increased, the demand increased to the point of overfishing. That fact coupled with a demand for an increased standard of living, meant larger boats which could venture further and which required larger investments. That, in turn, generated larger harbours to concentrate the enterprise. Such a crisis in the northeast fisheries did not develop until the nineteenth century. At that time, landlords ceased to provide capital for fleet improvements.

The eighteenth century fishing villages were unique in that the inhabitants formed a closely knit community, with few ties to the landbound congregation.[31] Cullen seatoun was typical of the vernacular with houses randomly, but tightly scattered over the beach with monolithic gables oriented towards the sea end for protection. The 1790 proposal by the Seventh Earl (refer to Figure 72) would have done violence to the concept of community, with reconstruction of the new town as a planned rectlinear settlement on the site of the seatoun. The design lacked basic understanding of the environmental force of the North Sea, and would have been destroyed in the first storm.

The existing sea town reflects a striking feature shared by three separate coastal areas including Fife, Irvine (Ayrshire), and along the Moray Firth from Portgordon to Portsoy. This was the vivid painting of exteriors with a variety of colours on white. Nuttgens attributed this circa 1900 vernacular tradition to the clean and crisp painting of otherwise bleak cement harling with the remains of fishing boat paint.[32]

revision to the estate's
A sensible marketing strategy, proposed by Commissioner John Ross in 1777, included construction of a new granary at Portsoy.[33] (Refer to Figures 16 and 17.) This new granary, or victual house, was constructed 1778-79 to designs

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31. Gray (1978) op.cit., pp. 10-13.
32. Nuttgens (1959), op.cit., pp. 453-57.
33. SRO GD 248-590-3 Ross to Findlater, 8-12-1777; SRO GD 248-800-4-5 Ross to Findlater, 29-12-1777; SRO GD 248-591-2-243 Ross to Findlater, 26-02-1778, and SRO GD 248-800-4-4 Findlater to Ross, 5-11-1777: "it appears to be an affair of necessity rather than choice." Completed crop 1779.

by John Adam for approximately £550.[34] Four stories high of about 1935.0 square metres with gable ends, it had immediate access to the harbour quay.[35] The structure survives, and was restored in 1978 by the Banff Preservation Society.[36]

The granary replaced an earlier (c.1711) Portsoy victual house with girnel, which had been converted from an old corft house,[37] and the ruined Boyne Castle, which from the 1730's had been used as a granary.[38]

Although the design is unquestionably by John Adam, the date leaves some unanswered questions. It has been assumed that John Adam had retired from his architectural practice by 1772, to devote his full energies to his estate.[39] The answer may be that Ross resurrected an earlier plan. A granary plan was prepared by Adam for an unspecified site in 1766, for the sixth Earl. It would appear Ross merely resurrected his mentor's earlier proposal.

The dividends from earlier improvements began to be realized from the 1760's. Storage facilities proved undersized for the new capacities. Ross or more correctly, the sixth Earl shrewdly recognized that the key to taking advantage of increased production, was the control of marketing, and to do that required a substantial granary which could store surplus until the markets were favorable. The sixth Earl was not the first to recognize the principle, for the fourth Earl had executed the harbour improvements as well as provided as large a granary as he could afford. The fourth Findlater also gained control over transportation, since his brother, a sea captain, hauled the grain to

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34. SRO GD 248-901-3 dated 7-12-1778, and GD 248-(583) Accounts 1779 and 1780.
35. SRO RHP 9037
36. Alistair Rowan, "Three Ways to Conservation", pp. 364-366.
37. SRO GD 248-560-43-1 Lorimer to Seafield 28-12-1709; and SRO GD 248-560-46-36 Lorimer to Seafield, 28-07-1711.
38. SRO GD 248-590-3-140 Ross to Findlater, (8)-12-1777.
39. A.J. Rowan (1974) op.cit., p. 671; About 1772 John Withdrew from Architectural practice.

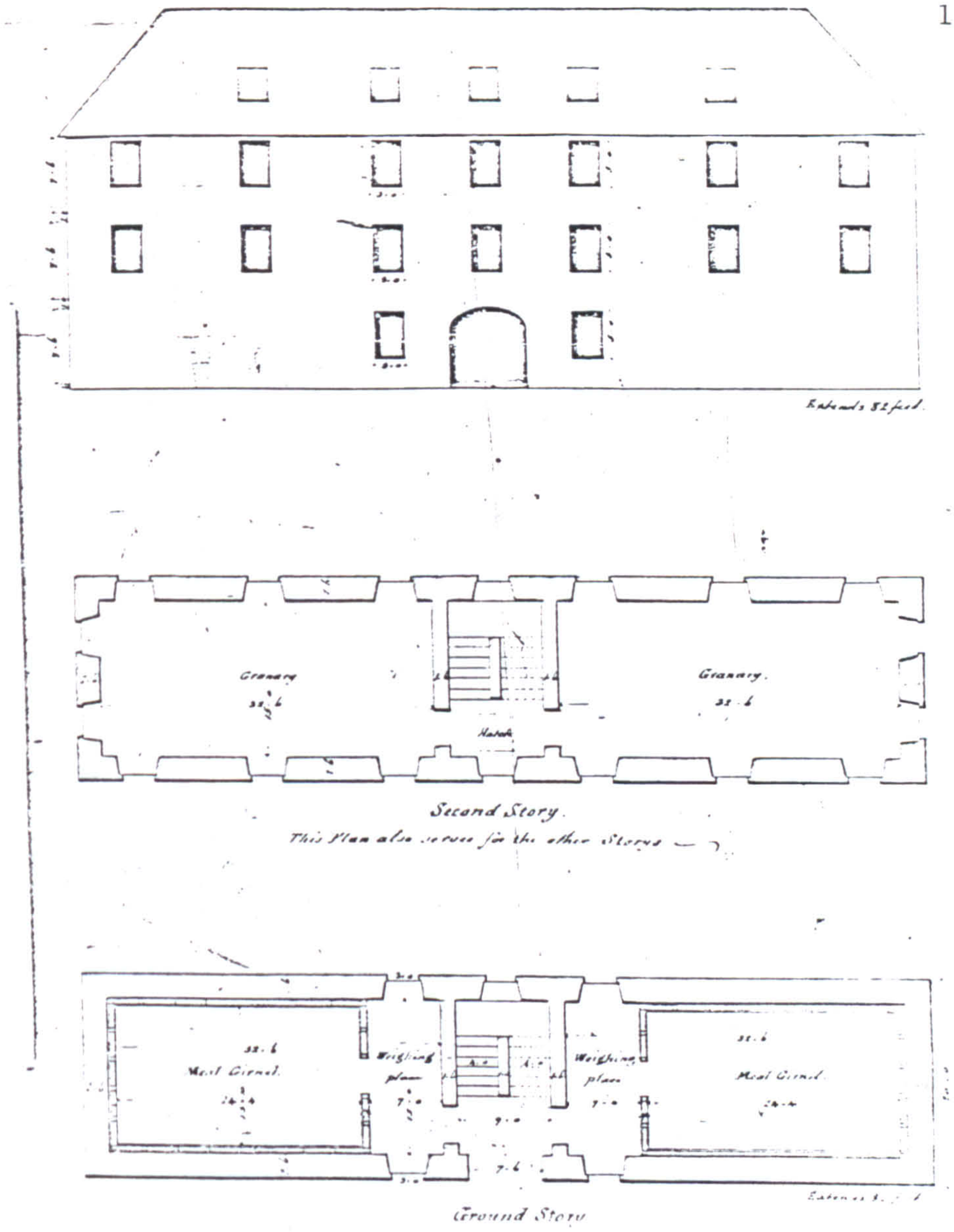

Figure 16 : Portsoy Granary, Elevations & Plans
John Adam, Architect; SRO RHP 9037

Figure 17: Portsoy Harbour, 1980

Edinburgh where the estate's grain agent arranged for its sale. Nevertheless, the construction of the substantial stone granary was a landmark testifying to the expansion of trade and of the success of the harvests.

Another aspect of the grain business, was milling; Ross arranged a new flour and barley mill at Boyne (which survives as a museum) to serve the Portsoy collection.[40] (Refer to Figure 23)

Portsoy possessed a natural bay which was the estate's only substantial safe harbour.[41] A bulwark was added in the late seventeenth century. This bulwark or pier, was continually damaged during high seas, and required regular maintenance.[42] The harbour was subject to both silting up from Durn Burn,[43] and from the North Sea pounding.

By 1719, Findlater had decided the problems could not be resolved by further repairs, and so a new harbour bulwark would have to be constructed. He considered spending £1,000 Scots.[44] McGill, the architect-engineer, was retained the next summer to prepare plans,[45] and this appears to have been executed. No further reports of serious damage[46] occur, and concern over the harbour disappears until the turn of the century, when increased trade and

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40. SRO GD 248-591-2-187 Wilson to Findlater 2-3-1783.
41. Adams (1978) op.cit., pp. 50-51 "The size of market areas was limited by the difficulties of overland transport and access to navigable water. Few land journey's could be move than 20 km a day, and most were probably nearer 10 km. This meant that the Hinterland of effective coastal grain trade in Scotland lay within 20 km of the coast line."
42. SRO GD 248-560-45-50 Seafield to Lorimer, 23-10-1710; authorizing repairs, SRO GD 248-561-49-43 Lorimer to Seafield 13-10-1713: repairs next spring will be required; and SRO GD 248-562-54-4 Deskford to Lorimer 26-02-1716: James Ogilvie, mason, was under contract for seven years to repair Portsoy harbour.
43. SRO GD 248-561-52-8 Deskford to Lorimer, 28-02-1714.
44. SRO GD 248-562-60-38 Findlater to Lorimer, 13-04-1719.
45. SRO GD 248-562-62-26 Philp to Deskford, 24-07-1720.
46. SRO GD 248-563-68-41 Whyte to Findlater 23-02-1724 and SRO GD 248-563-69-18 Deskford to Findlater, 9-03-1724; there had been a violent storm.

Figure 18

Portsoy Town Feu Plan, 1802

passage of the Scottish Harbours Act 1806 made £90,000 available for grants. Telford (1751-1834) was instrumental in preparing two reports in 1801 and 1802-03 which led to the Act. He prepared an initial proposal for Cullen in 1808 and supervised construction of the present harbour in 1817-19.

Whisky was not an innovative product, however it became a highly profitable product through innovative marketing. The first reference to a distillery industry was to a Mr. Taylor and others, who proposed to lease a grain mill on the Isla River[47] for the purpose of converting it to a whisky distillery[48] in 1785. There is no specific reference to this offer being accepted.

Malted barley whisky and scotch grain whisky was the traditional "uisge - breatha" of ordinary Scots. Every highlander was said to have an illicit still for personal consumption, however after 1745, a market was cultivated in the south which stimulated a modest factory production.[49] It would not be until the 1824 establishment of Glen Livet distillery after an Act changing the licencing and duty regulations,[50] that the modern industry began; it is high profit industry generating high incomes. Eventually, many leases were granted to distilleries on the estate. One of the largest is at Tochieneal near Cullen. This was begun by the descendants of factor John Wilson.

The search to diversify the estate's income was not exclusively limited to the estate's products. Several Findlaters invested in industrial development or colonization efforts beyond Banff. For instance, the sixth Earl was one of the first to advocate construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal.[1] He was a

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47. SRO RHP 8868 Plan of Keith Area.
48. SRO GD 248-589-2-115 Wilson to Findlater: 28-06-1785.
49. Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, Scotch: The Whiskey of Scotland in Fact and Story, p. 10-11.
50. ibid., chapter 2.
51. CS 235-F-20-1 and SRO GD 248-571-2-42 Findlater to Sr Alex Gilmour 11-1-1767; GD 248-839-1 Findlater to James Grant 11-5-1767. Also Pryde (1962) op.cit., Chapter 12.

founding subscriber paying £2,000 in installments by 1770. The shares paid reasonable dividends after a difficult start, and were sold in 1840 for £13,000.[52] On the other hand, the fifth Earl speculated in the South Seas Bubble of 1720 against his father's advice, and sustained embarassing losses.[53]

Another unsuccessful attempts to find new products is documented by a report by a John Main, a mining engineer, who was commissioned to explore the estate for coal or other valuable minerals.[54] He spent five days from 8 December 1776 reconnoitering areas which had been said to bear traces of coal. He found only clay marle which was useful for brick and tile works. No further exploration appears to have been made. There was no trace of the offshore oil wealth.

Afforestation was not an innovative product, however large scale forestry, under conditions such as poorly drained soils, required new techniques. The sixth Earl recognized both the difficulties and the opportunities. The initial investment in Rothes and Elchies corresponded with Deskford's interest in marginal land and in acquiring land bordering the Grant estate. Land purchased in 1758 from Baron Grant for £24,000 included Rothes, Easter Elchies, Dandaleith, Dundurcas, Freefield, Colly, Auchinway and Edenvillly.[55] Barluach was added in 1779 at a price of £1,250.[56]

Deskford promoted improvement of what had become first generation deforested land with Rothes New Town being planned from 1763, and he also actively began planting the hills.[57] Land boundaries in this rough area were

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52. SRO GD 248-1181
53. SRO GD 248-562-62-26 John Philp to Deskford 24-7-1720; GD 248-563-63-11 Philp to (Deskford) 17-1-1721.
54. GD 248-678-1-25
55. SRO GD 248-680-3 Abstract Rental of Elchies 08-1767.
56. SRO GD 248-798-5 Geo Brown to Findlater 17.10.1779
57. SRO GD 248-572: Deskford planted 8,225 acres with 31,686,000 trees throughout the estate including Rothes.

formalized in a 1779 Decreat Arbitral between the seventh Findlater, William Innes of Blackhills, Robert Cumming of Logie and William Grant of Grantsgreen.[58] A plan indentifying proposed improvements of this land was prepared at this time.[59]

There was some question whether or not the upland areas should become schielings, or should be forested; the question would not be resolved except by experimentation, and so large portions were reforested or set to tenants. Field trip reports made by the estate's chief factor and forester about 1785 indicate Dandleith, Hill of Conrack, Greens, Lowrdeen, Dundurcas, Allarward, Moor of Collargreen and Hill of Mulderie[60] had been successfully planted.[61] Nish recommended extensive drainage, thinning, improved access roads, dykes and Spey bulwarks. No equivalent inventory of marginal leases was made.

Reforestation was a profitable long range objective. This land had been the medieval forest of Elchies, and it had only recently been finally cleared and logged by the York Building Company from c. 1726-1737[62] Irreversible erosion had not taken place. It was a prime area for reforestation.[63]

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58. SRO GD 248-799-4-21: Decreat Arbitral, 14 pages: 27-10-1779, With plan by Thomas Milne, surveyor. Also GD 248-798-5 division report 19-04-1779.
59. SRO GD 248-798-5 Brown to Findlater 17.10.1779: Brown advised against leasing any land until he could prepare an improvement plan.
60. SRO GD 248-589-2-138 Wilson to Findlater 24-08-1785 "Hill of Conrack and Moor of Myreside will take rest of fir plants in nursery here and at Linkwood . . . The enclosing of the big hill of Mulderie must wait until next season".
    SRO GD 248-589-2-120 Wilson to Findlater 12.07.1786 Hill of Mulderie will be complete by fall.
61. SRO GD 248-678-6-10 Notes by John Nish c. 1785 also: SRO GD 248-582-1, c. 1786 Notes on work to be done this summer in the plantations of Elchies and Rothes, John Nish.
62. William Watt (1900), op.cit., chapter 11.
63. SRO GD 248-591-2-156 Wilson to Findlater 16-09-1785 new plantations are thriving. Also SRO GD 248-589-2-120 Wilson to Findlater, 12-07-1786 Plantations at Elchies and Rothes are thriving. Also Steven and Carlisle (1959), op.cit., p. 112

Experimental planting on floodplains at Dandaleith was severely damaged during the 100 year flood in 1830.[64] However, the planting also suffered minor damage from the 1708, 1722, 1739, 1768, 1772, 1779 and 1785 floods. Peter May made a survey of the 1768 flood damage.[65]

The eighteenth century experiments in land use in the Rothes glen proved to be of a lasting character. Repeated flooding made forestation an impractical investment on the plain, but the upland area would become dominated by grouse moors and forests and not by schielings or enclosures.[66]

Other areas subject to planting improvement where results could be determined more swiftly, included Linkwood. When Peter May initially reconnoitered Moray for a suitable place to improve, he saw the profits to be made by the underproductive land of Linkwood.[67] Upon entering Linkwood, May relocated his nursery,[68] which would supply millions of seedlings to the estate and to other landowners.[69] He also provided Findlater with survey drawings to Linkwood and other Elgin lands with recommendations for improvements.[70]

In 1785[71] and 1789,[72] the plantations at Linkwood, Bishopmill and Myreside were examined by the estate's forester with favorable comments.

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64. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, An Account of the Great Floods of August 1829 in the Province of Moray and Adjoining District, pp. 270-271
65. SRO GD 248-680-9 May to Ross 28.09.1768.
66. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit. Vol. 1, pp. 51-83. A description of the 1959 landscape indicating the relative success of various types of land use on the marginal uplands.
67. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 19-03-1769: For instance, he declined Dykeside as being "outlaboured and over extended" in a 10-04-1769 letter.
68. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Findlater 17-02-1769.
69. SRO E 787-12-1 (2) - Proposal by Peter May to the Commissioners on Annexed Estates for 1,000,000 seedlings; accepted SRO E 721-9, p. 61 minutes of Commissioners of Annexed Estates 31-01-1766.
70. SRO RHP 11821 (dated 1768) and SRO RHP 11816 (c. 1786). See also SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross: 15-07-1768.
71. SRO GD 248-678-6-10a notes by John Nish c. 1765.
72. SRO GD 248-588, memorandum by John Nish 5-1789.

Figure 19

Plan of Linkwood, 1768, Peter May, Surveyor, SRO RHP 11821

May and Brown's interest in improvement at Linkwood was not limited to reforestation, for extensive drainage and liming took place to permit agriculture to prosper.[73] George McWilliams survey of Linkwood in 1818 shows the long term effect of reorganization.[74]

By 1794, 32 million trees had been planted on the Findlater estate. This would prove, over the long term, to be an extremely profitable operation.[75]

3. Expansion and Acquisition Programme

The fourth Earl's objective was to free his estate from mortgages (wadsets) and loans, and at the same time, to develop an aggressive acquisition programme. One of his largest purchase was the Boyne estate.

Lord Boyne had fallen in debt beyond hope of repayment, and Seafield seized upon the opportunity to extend the family boundaries. He purchased wadsets and Boyne's credit notes, until he was the principal creditor.[76] By 1708, Boyne was attainted due to his action in the abortive 1708 Jacobite invasion. He soon became bankrupt and the estate was placed in the hands of the Lord of Session.[77] In 1709, Seafield bought the balance of the Estate at

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73. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross: 30-04-1769: continues lyming and placing land under fallow. He boasted production of 100 bolls to the acre on former wasteland.
74. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., Vo. 2, Figure 20.
75. Statistical Account, Vol. 12 (1794) Rev. Grant.
76. SRO GD 248-560-43-43 Seafield to Lorimer: 2-05-1709.
SRO GD 248-560-43-38 Seafield to Lorimer: 10-06-1709
SRO GD 248-560-40-16 Seafield to Lorimer: 12-03-1707
SRO GD 248-560-40-9 Seafield to Lorimer: 17-04-1707
SRO GD 248-560-40-8 Lady Seafield to Lorimer: 22-04-1707
and SRO GD 248-560-40-4 Seafield to Lorimer: 21-10-1707
He had bought the debts and wanted payment.
77. James Grant, Records of The Country of Banff, 1660-1760, pp. 123-124.
SRO GD 248-560-42-10 Seafield to Lorimer: 25-02-1708: Lorimer was appointed factor on behalf of the creditors by the Lords of Session.
Also SRO GD 248-560-42-41 Seafield to Findlater: 12-10-1708

roup for £ 219,427 Scots (£18,000 Stirling)[78] which he paid to the creditors.[79] Lord Boyne was active in the 1715 rebellion, and was again exiled. Lady Boyne was a "tough old bird" who refused to leave her house. There are frequent references to eviction from 1709-1716. On 12 June 1716, the Sheriff (Findlater) signed papers of removal, and she was finally evicted forceably.[80] By 1717, Deskford was using Craig of Boyne as his principal residence,[81] however in the 1730's he converted the house into a granary.

The fourth Earl's policy was directed at the accumulation of land free of title. Lord Boyne had been incautious for decades and was in a position to sell.

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78. SRO GD 248-560-42-23 Lorimer to Seafield: 23-07-1708: Regarding report to the Lords of Session on the rental valuation.
SRO GD 248-560-43-37 Seafield to Lorimer: 29-06-1709
SRO GD 248-560-43-21 Seafield to Lorimer: 29-10-1709: Roup complete.
SRO GD 248-560-43-11 Seafield to Deskford: 29-10-1709:
Seafield's was the only offer, but he had Glassaugh and Forglen also make offers. Seafield claimed he paid more than it was worth "to be on good terms with a member of the family".
SRO GD 2480-560-43-24 Philp to Sir James Abercrombie of Birkenboge: 25-10-1709. Cost of Estate was: 20 years for thanedom, 18 years for the forest and 16 years for the boasts. Creditors to be paid in accordance with ranking.
SRO GD 248-563-62 Decreat of Sale 334 Page Dated 3-11-1709.

79. SRO GD 248-560-44-31 Seafield to Deskford: 4-05-1710
SRO GD 248-560-46-42 Seafield to Lorimer: 16-10-1711

80. SRO GD 248-571-2 Seafield to Lorimer: 18-12-1708
SRO GD 248-44-16 Deskford to Seafield: 7-01-1710
SRO GD 248-560-44-20 Seafield to Deskford: 21-01-1710 Boyne threatened hostilities.
SRO GD 248-560-45-24 Seafield to Lorimer: 16-06-1710
SRO GD 248-561-48-17 Findlater to Lorimer: 2-03-1713
SRO GD 248-561-48-24 Lorimer to Findlater: 23-03-1713 Findlater moving against Lady Boyne's jointure.
SRO GD 248-561-48-31 Findlater to Lorimer: 11-04-1713
SRO GD 248-561-52-8 Deskford to Lorimer: 28-03-1714
SRO GD 248-561-52—24 Deskford to Lorimer: 13-06-1714
SRO GD 248-567-92-4 Deskford to Findlater: 19-07-1716
SRO GD 248-561-53-28 Lorimer to Deskford: 16-07-1716
SRO GD 248-562-54-25 Findlater to Deskford: 2-07-1716
SRO GD 248-562-54-26 Lorimer to Deskford: 4-07-1716: "and has invited me to the ejection and promised to allow me to be one of her exporters that day, for she is to go out in chair". .

81. SRO GD 248-562-54-4 Deskford to Lorimer: 26-02-1716
SRO GD 248-562-57-19 Deskford to Findlater: 5-07-1717

Findlater's policy extended to applying sound management principles with a long term objective of raising yields. That could and did increase the standard of living of the larger tenants far beyond that feasible under[82] the old run-rig system. Boyne and many of his tenants who resisted the foreclosure were ignorant of the opportunity, while Findlater had vision.[83]

It was a messy business, complicated by family ties and political implications. After 1709, Findlater continued to assemble land ruthlessly, but no other case was as bitterly contested.[84] His style became to purchase real estate place) on the the open market, or to privately negotiate, without recourse to roup. It was a style followed by his successors.

Another means of expanding boundaries was by enclosing the traditional common land. This approach was used by the fifth Earl and his successors. The commons were not only legally subdivided, but they were improved to the limit of the resource. For example, after a period of encroachment on all sides, the landowners with right to commonty resolved to divide the sixty-one acre Moss of Elrick to permit orderly enclosure and improvement. A report was requested by the major landowners[85] from Peter May. The plan[86] was not

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82. SRO GD 248-560-43-1 Lorimer to Seafield: 28-12-1709: New leases to be prepared.
SRO GD 248-562-54-27 Lorimer to Lorimer: 9-7-1716

83. SRO GD 248-560-43-56 Seafield to Lorimer: 6-01-1709: Tenants resisting rent payment.
SRO GD 248-560-43-45 Seafield to Lorimer: 30-04-1709
SRO GD 248-562-54-7 Findlater to Deskford: 28-02-1716: "I long to see the desolate circumstances of my country and I have great compassion for my unhappy neighbours. I did not expect to have met with the bad usage I have received from some of them, but I hope in God to recover my loss".

84. SRO GD 248-562-55-34 Alex. Abercrombie to Findlater; 4-01-1720: Boyne still dissatisfied and hoping for better terms.

85. SRO GD 248-678-7 Findlater, Ogilvie of Culvie and Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul request to Peter May 3-11-1763. Also Adams (1979), op.cit., p. 39.

86. SRO GD 248-672-3 Notes refering to a plan of the Moss adjoining to the lands of Elrick, Redford and Culvie.

prepared until 1766 due to May's previous commitments to the Annexed Estate's Commission. There were some minor differences of opinion of the three landowners' boundaries, and these appear to have been identified at a meeting 23 August 1766. One issue that could not be resolved easily was the claim by Captain John Gordon of Park to the right of a share in the common through his farm of Thorax lying contiguous to the Moss. The other landowners disagreed stating Thorax was a recent enclosure which did not have traditional right of commonty.[87]

The majority of landowners proceeded to draft a Memorial of Division, which was supported by Whitemoss witnesses' examination and an improvement report by Peter May recommending tillage.[88] A second plan[89] was prepared by Peter May with John Forbes.[90] The report and plan was tabled in August 1769 and included a survey of the depth of the Moss.[91] Even then some fine tuning was required.[92]

It appears the continuing hostility of Gordon of Park towards the division was not based upon the facts of the case but upon revenge. His family had been involved in the losing side of both the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, and as a consequence had had the estate placed in the custody of the Forfeited Estates Commission for a time. In 1766, Findlater had purchased some of this land through the Commission.[93]

In a subsistance economy, commons provided essential supplies of peat for fuel, land for grazing animals, for roofing heather and for building turf.[94]

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87. SRO GD 248-672-3-30 Alex. Ogilvie and Alex. Gordon to James Ross: 16-3-1768.
88. SRO GD 248-672-3-22 Findlater to Lady (Gordon) c. Dec. 1768.
89. SRO GD 248-672-3-15 Findlater memorandum: 20-04-1769.
90. SRO GD 248-1468 and Adams (1979), p. XVI. John Forbes was factor to Findlater at Meldrum. He was responsible for several divisions of Mosses from the 1740's and provided May's preliminary training.
91. SRO GD 248-672-3 Joint Report: 23-8-1769.
92. SRO GD 248-672-3-13 Alex. Ogilvie to Findlater to support boundary claim between his land and Thorax: 2-09-1769. And SRO GD 248-672-3-12 Catherine Gordon to Findlater: 2-09-1769.
93. A.H. Millar, ed. A Selection of Scottish Forfeited Estates Papers.
94. I. A. Adams, "Division of Commonty in Scotland".

Improving landlords recognized that removing peats to expose the underlying fertile soils, or of improving soils through fertilation, drainage or experimental cropping, could result in previously under utilized land becoming profitable with a minimum of expense. In place of land held jointly by traditional use, the landowners had to resolve to agree upon an equitable division so that improvements could take place. The changing land use patterns radically affected tenants and laborers who required the use of the natural resources to survive. An accommodation to this reality had to be made in any plans for improvement.

In England and Wales, Division of commons were subject to private Acts of Parliament.[95] In Scotland, various Parliamentary Acts permitted landowners to make private agreements.[96] In most cases, enclosure did not favour small farmers or tenants.[97]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, vast areas of wasteland separated settlements. During the course of the Age of Improvement, pressure to develop this land for profit increased dramatically. An indicator of the extent of the changing land use pattern can be seen in Adam's cursory Directory of Former Scottish Commonties.[98] The last recorded common for Banff Parish was 1783; Fordyce Parish had 1500 acres of undivided common in 1842; Rathven's Common of Altmore was 2,874 acres of hill and moor and 730 acres of moss as late as 1788.[99] Elgin's 39 acre Commonty of Broadhills was divided 1813, and the Commonty of the Burgh was divided 1769; the Commonty of Blackhills and Coxtown in St. Andrews - Lhanbryd Parish

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95. W. G. Hoskins and L.D. Stamp, The Common Lands of England and Wales.
96. Such as Act of Parliament of Scotland VII, 488 (1685), Act in favour of planters and inclosures of ground. And Acts of Parliament of Scotland IX, 462 (1695) Act concerning the dividing of commonties.
97. C.E. Mingay, Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Evolution, p. 14.
98. Adams, Directory of Former Scottish Commonties.
99. Plan for division prepared by Thomas Mylne 1788, SRO RHP 2453 Finally settled with Decreat Arbitral in 1821.

Figure 20

Knockhill Enclosures, 1980

Figure 21

Knockhill, 1980

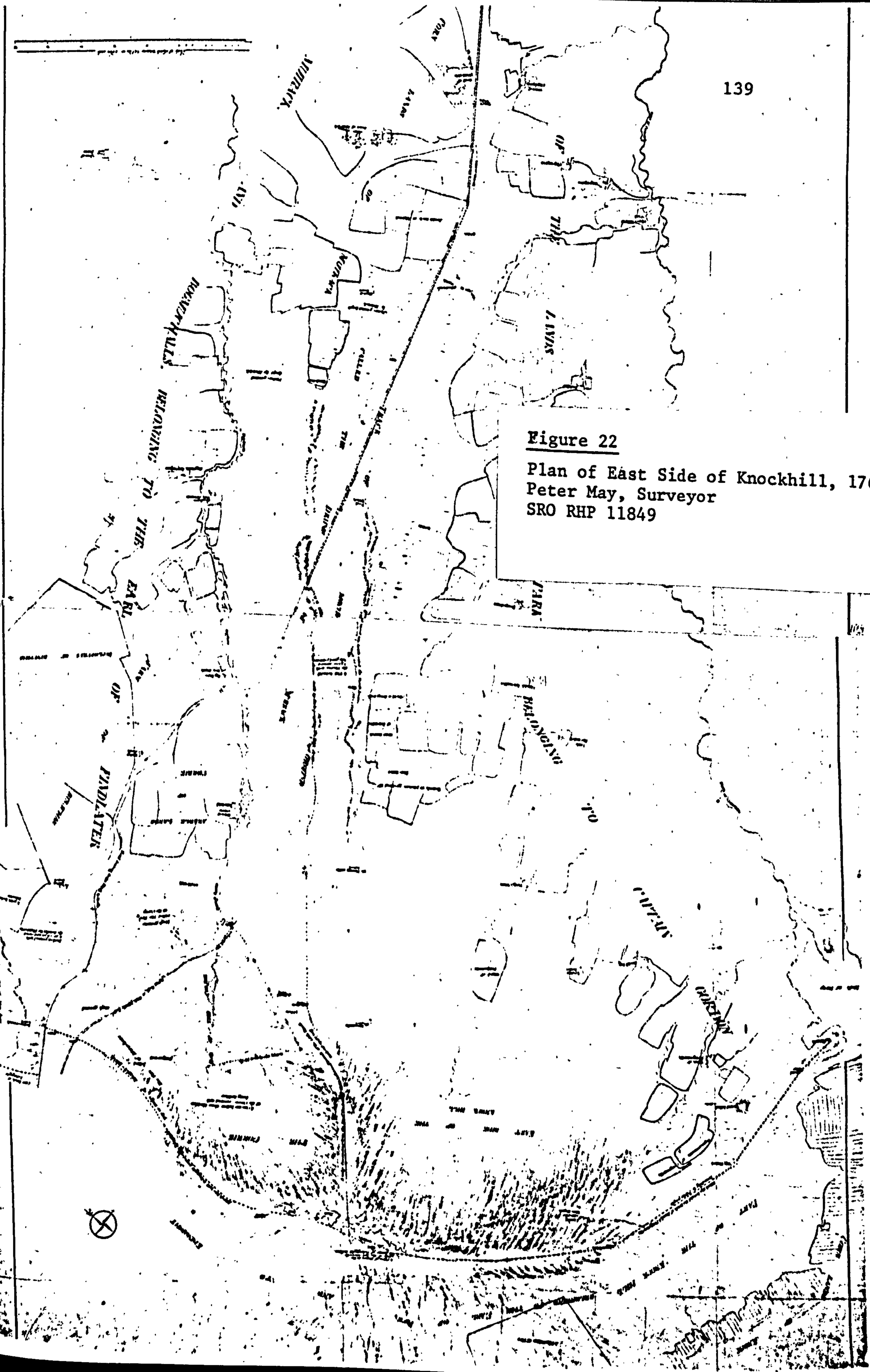

Figure 22

Plan of East Side of Knockhill, 1767
Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 11849

consisted of 4,112 acres was resolved c. 1830. A detailed list would stretch several pages.

The Gordon's of Park had a tradition of being disagreeable over boundaries. Seafield in 1710 had to threaten legal action to resolve Park's encroachments to the west with Bogmuchals.[1] Reference to medieval charters to prove title,[2] evidently did not entirely clear up the matter until Peter May prepared a plan in 1767.[3] This is in marked contrast with Findlater's dealings with another landlord bordering Bogmuchals, John Innes of Edingight. Marches by agreement were reached by senior agents after reviewing fourteen pages of testimony from witnesses regarding traditional rights of use to Whitely Moss and West Knockhill.[4] (Refer to Figures 20, 21 and 22.) Another battle with Park occurred from 1760[5] over the Mosses of Rothens Hill (Whitemoss) and Reidside Moss some two kilometres north of Elrich. It was finally resolved by a decrete arbitral in 1769.[6]

Although it would take several generations to achieve, the most effective of the expansion and acquisition projects was the merger of the Findlater with Grant Estate. This had the immediate effect of providing powerful capital resources to the overextended Grant Estate.

4. Corporate and Physical Reorganization

Periodic reorganization of factories into more efficient corporate units, was a continual process. The trend was for larger units managed by full time factors. Another method central to the reorganization process was employment of land surveyors such as Peter May. These professionals advised

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1. SRO GD 248-560-45-24 Seafield to Lorimer 16-06-1710
   SRO GD 248-560-44-36 Deskford to Lorimer 18-07-1710 Papers concerning Bogmuchals were found at the lawyers. Seafield threatened prosecution.
2. SRO GD 248-553 Writs to Bogmuchals in the Forest of Boyne from 1441.
3. SRO RHP 11849.
4. SRO GD 248-799-4-4 Marches by Agreement between Edingight and Bogmuchals on Knockhill.
5. SRO GD 248-949-2 State of Proof between Findlater and Gordon of Park 8-07-1760 and Marches with Park 29-02-1764.
   SRO GD 248-984-1-3 Park Memorial concerning Hill of Rothen; n.d. see also SRO RHP 8874 and 8875.
6. SRO GD 248-950-3-36 Davidson to Findlater 21-08-1769.

Figure 23a

Mill of Boyne, 1980

Figure 23b

Mill of Boyne, 1980

upon valuations, land use assessments, methods for improvement[7] and prepared exacting plans which could be legally registered to protect title.[8] Efficiencies were achieved by the consolidation of holdings into larger farming units, each time leases fell due for renewal.

The direct consequence of this policy was the displacement of smaller tenants and cottars. These people were encouraged to remove to new towns where they could be employed in agricultural related service industries or the linen trade. The move from dilapidated fermtouns to nodal new towns, began during the sixth Earl's tenure as both a humane and a profit motivated objective, otherwise clearances would have forced emigration.

The massive reorganization of the landscape generated by new towns, new mills (such as Mill of Boyne, Figure 23) and new field patterns, went hand in hand with improved communications. The northeast became connected by an effective road system. The northeast's agriculturally productive land became geometrically organized into into small fields with rationally devised farm structures. For instance, Nuttgens has documented the process of change on one Findlater Estate farm, that of Overtown near Rothes.[9] The 1764 Peter May survey shows the existing open field pattern with scattered cots, while a 1858 plan of the same farm shows the effects of radical improvement and reorganization.[10]

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7. SRO GD 248-672-4 Findlater to Grant 2-10-1766, and SRO GD 248-449-3 proposal to survey the estate of Sir James Grant by Peter May, April 1767.
8. SRO GD 248-950-3-35 John Davidson to Findlater, 12-8-1769: " I own I think no description in such deeds remain long known where there are no enclosures therefore a plan always semed to me to be the most certain method and that it should be signed."
9. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., Vol. 2, Figure 19.
10. Nuttgens, ibid, Vol. 1. p. 50: "So the jointly held term-touns were replaced. Instead of the rigs surrounding a cluster of cottages, there now lay squared fields, better drained, better manured with lime, enclosed, with a pond or burn swalling the water from the drain, and a new or repaired road leading to a farm house and offices held by one tenant on a longer lease (usually 19 years). Sometimes a group of cottar houses nearby would house the dispossessed tenants now employed as labourers on the farm."

Figure 24
Plan of Dykeside, 1786
SRO RHP 11816

An example of reorganizational efficiencies achieved by lease consolidation is Dykeside. (Refer to Figure 24.) In July 1768, the lease to Dykeside which Deskford had acquired a few years previously, expired. Peter May's valuation was a nineteen year lease for £38 per year rental. There were 48 acres of arable, 22 acres pasture and 26 acres wasteland.[11] The existing tenants declined the increased rental. In August, a Captain Donald was negotiating.[12] Another offer was received from a Mr. Russell of Elgin,[13] but May recommend against it since the offer was too low,[14] and the tenant on the adjoining farm of Stankhouse made a better offer. Negotations continued in April 1769 with Captain Donald and a George Stronach,[15] Stronach's offer was accepted.[16]

The farm had originally been offered to Peter May, however, he declined it in favour of Linkwood,[17] saying that Dykeside was outlaboured and overextended. The negotiations included offers for a lower rental without effecting the improvements, but May would not agree, insisting that Dykeside needed care with drainage, improvements to house and offices, and sowing turnips and grass, and putting the ground to fallow for five years to improve the soil.[18] It was difficult to find a tenant who had the capital to invest at the beginning of a lease with prospects of recovery beyond five years, but without such a tenant the land could not realize its potential. By 1769, the nineteen year lease with agreements to improve had become the standard procedure for letting farms on the Findlater Estate.

Changing agricultural practices and the development of rural industries led to the creation of new towns.[19] Although the new town construction policy was the sixth Earl's, he was only in a position to implement

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11. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 11-07-1768.
12. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 3-8-1768.
13. SRO GD 248- Offer 15-03-1769.
14. SRO GD 248- Decline 19-04-1769.
15. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 9-04-1769.
16. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 13-04-1769.
17. GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 19-03-1769.
18. GD 248-978-5 May to Ross 10-04-1769.
19. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., pp. 458-470.

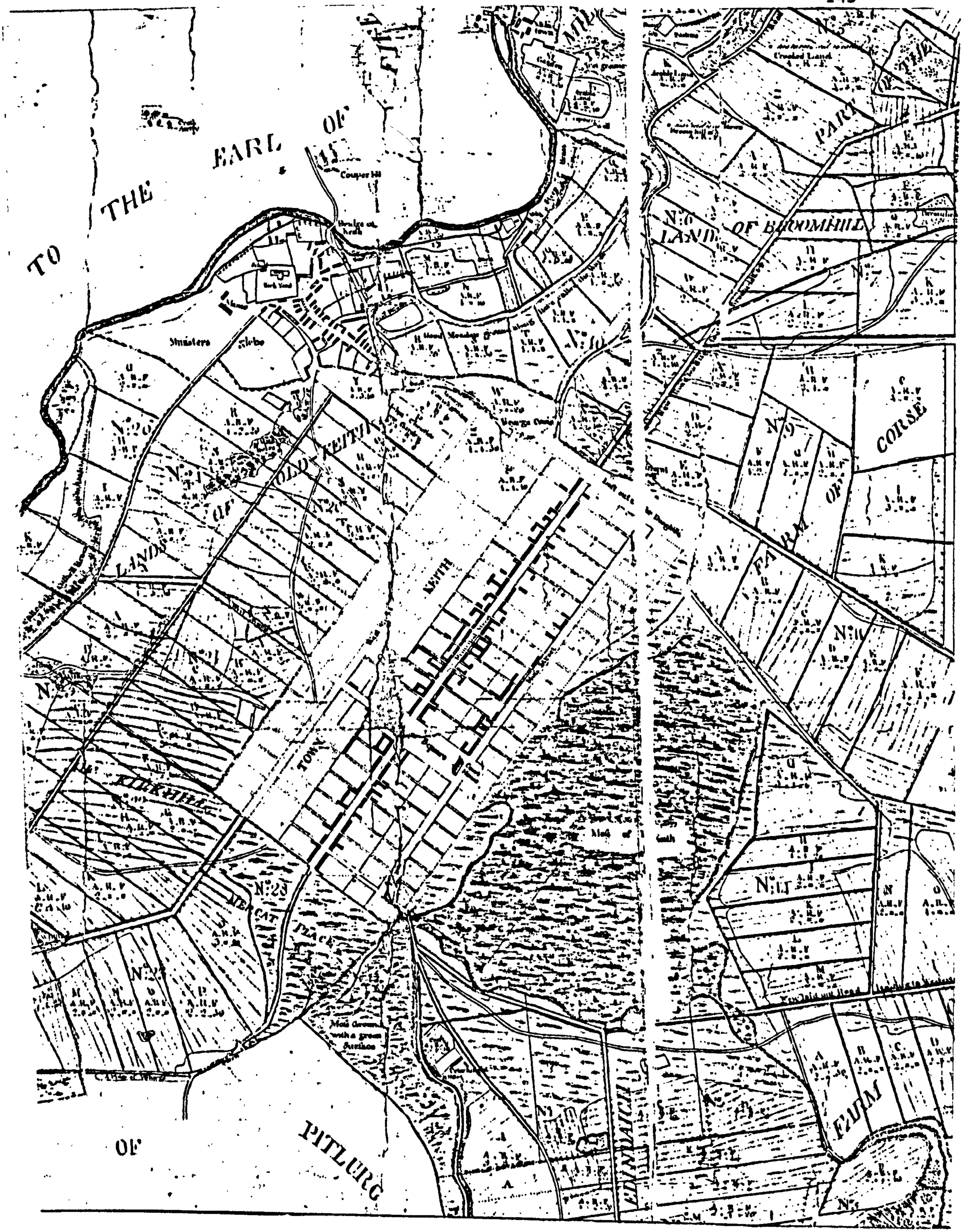

Figure 25

Plan of Keith, 1764, Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 11838

reorganizational change because of his grandfather's land acquisition policy. Take the case in point of Keith new town. This was made possible by the fourth Earl's purchase of an estate known as Kempcairn.[20]

The new town was constructed two generations later, on Kempcairn wasteland adjacent to Keith medieval burg of baron. The new town was proposed initially to accommodate several hundred people, with employment principally in the linen trade. Advertisement began in 1753,[21] and the first surviving plan by Peter May dated 1764[22] (refer to Figure 25), shows a rectilinear gridiron with central square connected one side to the smaller old village; 55 buildings are shown as constructed together with a court house. The site was waste ground dominated by gravel soils at elevation 152 metres. It had an advantageous location, being at the confluence of the river Isla with a tributary burn. Linen mills and bleachfields were established on the banks of the Isla. The community apparently flourished in the 1760's, for additions were made about 1780[23] justifying a school to be raised in 1785.[24]

Deskford's policy, as was that of his father, was to promote development of underutilized ground on the estate. This first effort at a new settlement was conceived as a part of a larger vision of reforming the Highlands through example, and with the help of legislation through force if necessary. Keith was an ideal starting point, for it was situated on the highland border.

Some of the objectives he must have hoped to achieve were: to promote settlement on the estate, rather than forcing emigration; to provide profitable employment with a high rate of return to the estate; to provide a moral

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20. SRO GD 248-784-1 The original assumption of debt was in 1701, with final resignation in 1735.
21. Aberdeen Journal, 22-05-1753, p.3, col.3, revised 28-05-1753 to read: "There being a good like town newly erected on the hill head of Keith"
22. SRO RHP 11838, plan of town and lands of Keith, 1764. This was followed with SRO RHP 8867, plan of lots in new town of Keith c. 1768.
23. SRO RHP 8868 plan c. 1780.
24. SRO GD 248-589-2-115 Wilson to Findlater 28-06-1785: In his recommendation to approve the donation of land for the school and a playfield, Wilson observed: "that it was waste ground of no commercial importance and could therefore be spared".

Sketch of the New Town of Rothes, with the Lands adjacent, as they are now divided for the accommodation of Tenants — Copied from the Plan Feb. 1769.

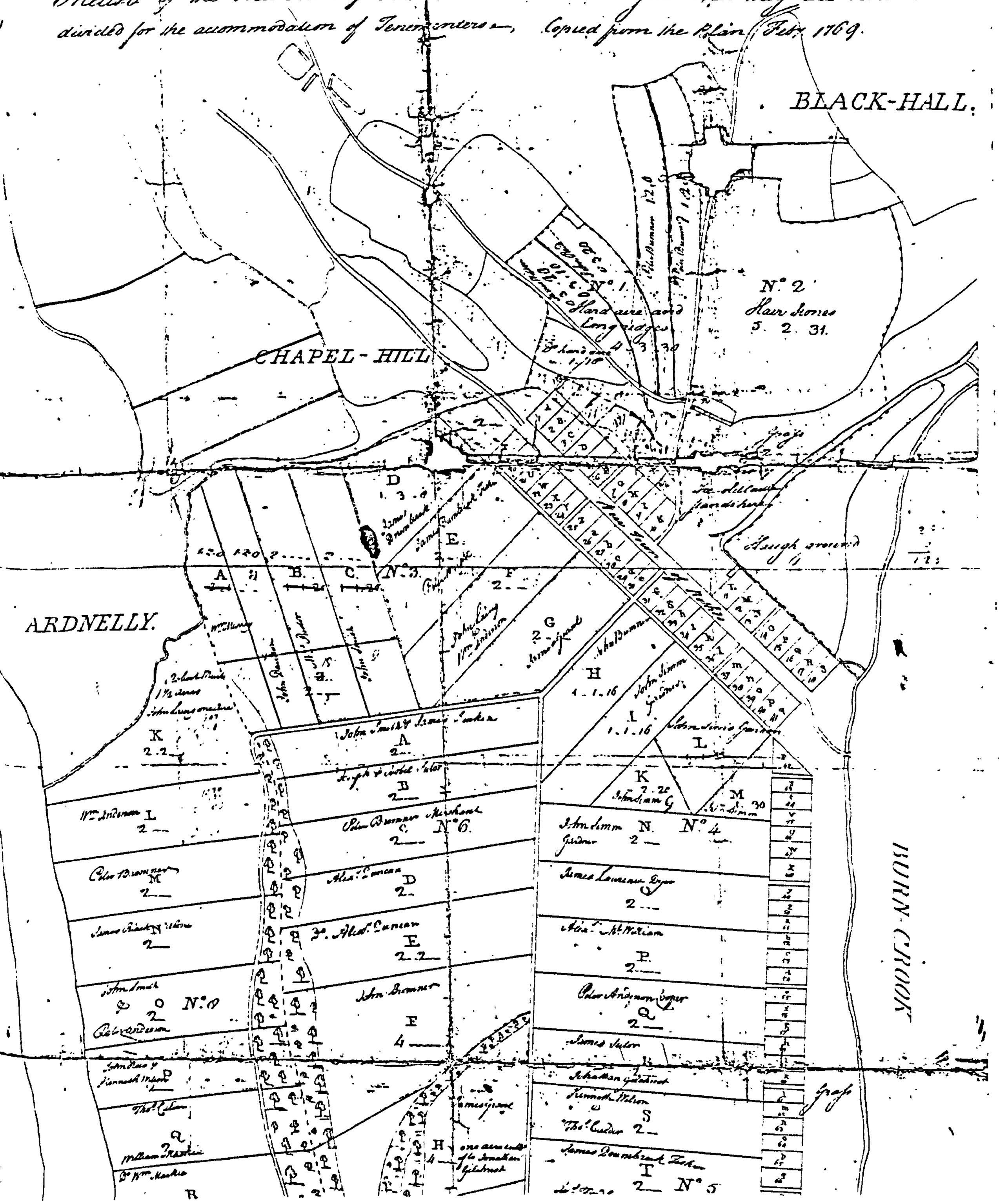
BLACK-HALL.
CHAPEL-HILL
ARDNELLY.
N°. 1
N°. 2
N°. 3
N°. 4
N°. 5
N°. 6
N°. 7
N°. 8
N°. 9
Hardware and Long ridges
Hair stones 5. 2. 31.
Stone Quarry
Stone Quarry
Stone Quarry

Figure 27

Plan of Lands of Rothes
1817, SRO RHP 11833

industrious environment for tenants;[25] to provide a captive market for consumer goods from other sectors of the estate; to eventually generate a more diversified economy; to provide a source of labour for harvests; and to accommodate specialized tradesmen which could serve the surrounding community, such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, joiners, masons, slaters, ditchers, dykers, shopkeepers and innkeepers.[26]

Deskford regarded Keith as the first of a series of new towns which he proposed to construct throughout the estate. No record of an overall master plan rationalizing the locations or establishing priorities exists, and so presumably he employed an intuitive method. With no one to dispute his judgement, and with the success of Keith behind him, he was able to proceed to implement Rothes; like Keith, it was at the outer limit of his holdings.

Rothes was first advertised for feuing in 1763,[27] with an addition made in 1790.[28] It was similar in plan to Keith with a similar purpose[29] (refer to Figure 26 and 27). A large tract of land was purchased a decade earlier in what had been Elchies forest, with a view to reforestation and implementing agricultural dyking and improvements on the Spey basin. It was a bolder move than Keith, for it was the first settlement in a relatively isolated area.[30] It was a superb nodal site, being at the junction of Glen Rothes with the broader Spey glen.[31]

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25. T.C. Smout, "The Landlord and the planned Village in Scotland", pp. 73-106: Smout emphasizes the movement as a social and aesthetic one rather than entirely an economic one.
26. Pryde, (1962) op.cit., pp. 142-143.
27. Aberdeen Journal, 12-12-1763, p. 4 col. 2
28. Aberdeen Journal, 1790, p. 3, col. 3: and additional of 23 tenaments for the linen and woolen trade.
29. SRO GD 248-346-5 Peter May to Findlater 29-09-1766: the town of Rothes to be completed.
30. Success is indicated by the Commissioners of Supply establishing a rental 5-07-1773. Refer to SRO GD 248-784-3.
31. Rothes plans SRO RHP 9024 dated 1769, SRO RHP 9025 dated 1791 and SRO RHP 11833 Dated 1817.

Whitehills near Banff, was another settlement which resulted from the opportunity of settling sailors returning from the Seven Years War, on the estate for fishing and linen manufacture. Advertised in 1763,[32] it was an addition to an existing settlement, and not a new planned village as it is usually designated.[33] A survey in 1766 does not show evidence of development.[34]

The immediate effect of the construction of Keith, was to stimulate other landowners to similar projects,[35] such as the founding of Grantown-on-Spey by Findlater's nephew in c. 1765-66. It did generate conflict with the heritor of old Keith, Earl Fife, who stated that Findlater would derive greater profit from controlling the service industry, while Fife would pay the bulk of the taxes as major parish heritor; an accommodation was later arranged.

Communication efficiencies, before electronic or satellite telecommunication, meant good roads. Road construction in the eighteenth century, was not a local issue. It related to a national economic and security strategy formulated in London but executed in Scotland. For instance, a road was constructed to connect the coast with the regional center at Huntly, as a part of the larger turnpike scheme to connect the northeast with Edinburgh and the south. Although there were larger issues, the road's defined purpose was to serve the area landowners' commerce, and they were therefore required to underwrite the cost.[36] The Seventh Earl took exception to the purpose, and refused to comply with the subscription, because

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32. Aberdeen Journal, 17-01-1763 p. 4, Col. 2
33. SRO GD 248-560-43-1, 28-12-1709 Lorimer to Seafield: Whytehills and Portsoy fishers require new boats; refer also to the form of the lower seatoun, for it is clearly medieval.
34. SRO RHP 11842 a plan of the lands of Boyndie, Whitehills and the farms of Craigherbs, Wairy-Lipp, Blackpotts and Overdallachy, 1766. There is a later plan dated 1825 see BND-32-1.
35. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., pp. 458-470: Influences on new town development.
36. SRO GD 248-589-2-47 Ross to Findlater: 21-12-1782.

the other landowners would not concede to his wishes to have the road relocated to his property, and thereby become more useful to his interest.

Road construction had been left to the discretion of local barons until the 1740's with the result that conditions were almost unpassable for coaches. Traditional servitudes were called the navvy; tenants would pay part of their rent for specified services such as road repair. A tenant who failed to provide his quota of time was brought before the Baillie Court for reprisal. Since the economy was premised upon self-sufficiency, the execution of road construction which would provide for more than local travel was rare.[37]

The limitations of such a system were recognized in 1669, when an "Act for Repairing Roads and Bridges" was passed to regularize the provision of statute labour for up to six days per year between planting and harvesting per tenant, cottar and servant, with each man providing equipment and labour. This Act was administred by the Commissioners of Supply through the Sheriffdom (by the 1686 Act) rather than the Baron Courts. This was theoretically to have provided a reliable network of firm roads, however it merely served to intimidate local lairds to enforce minor maintenance of cart tracks.[38] Later Acts in 1686 and 1719 made amendments, but did little to improve matters.[39]

Ineffectual roads were tolerated until government forces found slow travel throughout the north during the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, to have been a contributing factor towards potential defeat. A network, to connect all of Northern Scotland, was ordered by Parliament and General Roy (and later Caufield) of the Royal Engineers, was detached to implement the strategy.[40]

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37. James E. Handley, The Navvy in Scotland, Chapter One.
38. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, pp. 234-235.
39. There was a Surveyor-General for roads in Banffshire from 1721.
40. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., Vol. 2 Figures 9, 10, 11. For an inventory of road improvements implemented from 1747.

Roy was acquainted with both Findlater and Deskford, and during his northern travels, was a frequent guest at Cullen House. The fourth, fifth and sixth Earls of Findlater were outspoken advocates of the continuing military road improvement strategy,[41] however no military roads were actually executed within the estate boundaries. It appears what the Earls not only advocated communications improvements, but also ensured that their own roads were passable.

The present day B9022 from Portsoy to Huntly, which is listed as the principal military connector to the coast, was in fact constructed by subscription towards the end of the eighteenth century along the general route of an existing road. It was never administered as a military road.[42] Some military assistance in the construction or maintenance of roads in the Banffshire lowlands was given, such as the 1752 deployment of a sargent and twelve men for the Banff to Boyndie Road,[43] or the maintenance force employed from 1750's to 1784 on the Strathbogie, Keith to Fochabers (A96) Road.[44] The usual practice continued to be construction by statue labour.[45]

The Turnpike Acts from mid century onwards made the first substantial improvement in civil transportation.[46] The Huntly to Portsoy Turnpike was one of the largest examples of improvement through voluntary subscription in Banffshire.[47] Later improvements would arise from J.C. McAdam's experiments from 1787 and Telford's actions as engineer in charge of the Highland Commission for Roads and Bridges from 1803.

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41. Campbell (1965), op.cit., pp. 51-57.
42. William Taylor, The Military Roads in Scotland, Chapter 5; Taylor was in error.
43. ibid., p.94.
44. ibid., p. 96
45. SRO GD 248-591-2-187 Wilson to Findlater: 2-03-1783: "Lower road through Bogmuchels to join Keith-Banff road at Muir and Muriahe is almost finished."
46. Pryde (1962), op.cit., pp. 134-135.
47. Campbell (1965), op.cit. p. 87; states there were no turnpike acts in Banff until 1804. See SRO RHP 8851 Banff to Fochabers Road.

The other type of interregional road which existed in the northeast was the drove road. These were grass tracts, where a few times a year, cattle and some sheep were driven from local fairs to the great trysts of Crieff and Falkirk. This trade increased from mid-century as highland cattle rustling died out, along with increasing quantities through improved husbandry. The route between Portsoy and Huntly was actively used for this purpose, and the later turnpike presumably followed this route.[48]

The seventh Earl was in error for not supporting this road improvement, for even if the route was not specifically to his design, the presence of a gravelled, stable surface in the neighbourhood, would generate increased commerce. His father had frequently encountered similar problems, and did not rule out compromise by sending his staff to search for alternatives.[49]

In the Mulben Road instance, Lord Deskford's interest appears to have been that of a protective uncle. May's advice is perhaps reflected on the Mulben survey prepared about this time.[50] (Refer to Figure 28). The road was shown to cross the Burn of Mulben to go past the Mains then to continue a short distance to some level moor ground where a new town of some fifty two feu's were laid out. The road then turned sharply to connect with Deskford's property of Mulderie and Allanbuie. Landowners to the north objected, with the majority heritors voting for the northern location. The result was the Commissioners of Supply authorized the northernly route, and the new town failed to be realized. Deskford and Grant cooperated subsequently to contruct a simple connector road to Mulben.

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48. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, Chapters 7 & 8.
49. SRO GD 248-346-5 Deskford to James Grant: 6-05-1764: Commissioners of Supply granted Grant to build road from Boat O'Brig to Keith, but Deskford wanted it to come closer to Mulben mains. Peter May was sent to advise a cross road to connect.
50. SRO RHP 13954, c. 1764 According to D. Monro "Land use on a highland estate: Strathspey 1747-1870", Peter May was active during 1765 in preparing preliminary surveys throughout Grant's estate.

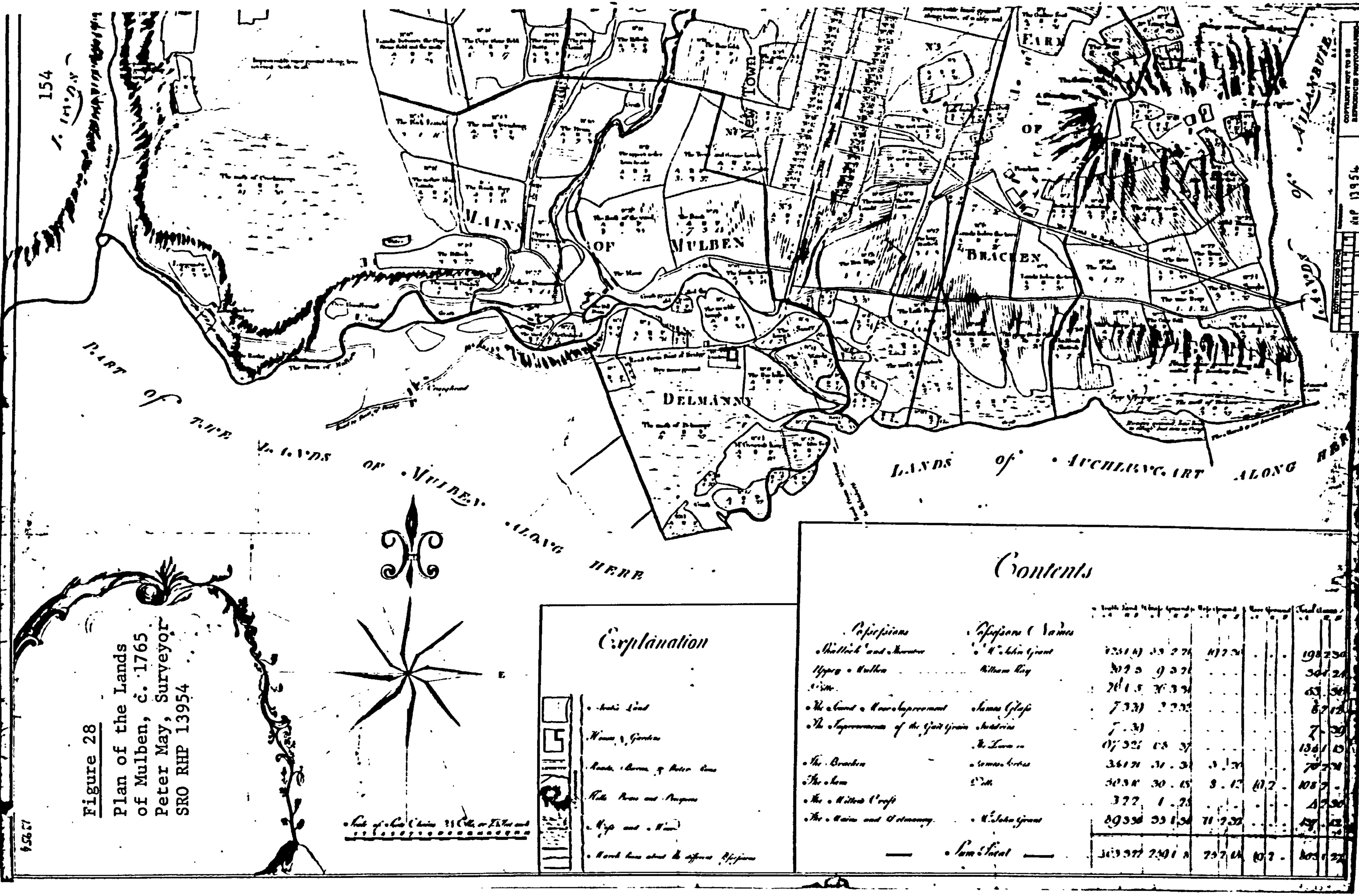

Figure 28
Plan of the Lands of Mulben, c. 1765
Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 13954

5. Architectural Expressions

The diversification of capital investment and the resulting increase in wealth found expression in vernacular building and in architecturally pretentious constructions.

A uniform style evolved for housing with a powerful appeal for the expanding entrepreneurial middle class. It was Palladian derived, with standardized proportions and restrained detailing generally labelled "Georgian" but having a longer pedigree; for instance Lairds' houses by 1705 had become characterized by a plain two-storied oblong gable-roofed block of symmetrical design.[51] Later generations would add greater attention to intricate detailing and to more diversified proportions generally in "The Adam Style".[52]

Georgian became a visual code of the gentility to which the middle class aspired. The style was popularized by architect's folios and copy books such as Batey Langley's Workman's Golden Rule (1750) or Robert Morris' Select Architecture (1755).[53] From 1760 - 1830, few middle class houses in Britain were built other than in the Georgian style.[54]

Linkwood house built for George Brown is an example of such middle class housing, built 1785.[55] Brown served as surveyor and factor to Findlater, but also was the Earl's candidate as Proctor (Mayor) of Elgin. He was an affluent professional who desired a modern house to express his status, and to provide for the comfort of his family.[56] It was to be a two story Georgian

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51. Dunbar (1978) op.cit., p. 125. and Dunbar (1966) op.cit. pp. 81-87
52. Stanley C. Ramsey and J.D.M. Harvey, Small Georgian Houses and Their Details 1750-1820, Chapter One.
53. A.E. Richardson, An Introduction to Georgian Architecture, pp. 28-32.
54. John Woodforde, Georgian Houses For All, Chapter 2.
55. SRO GD 248-588 Wilson to Findlater: 30-07-1785: Mason work on House of Linkwood complete.
56. Grant (1978), op.cit., pp. 228-244.

structure with solid floors, slate roofs, large windows and separate rooms. In the Midlothians, a year's rental was normally applied for similar substantial tenant housing amounting to £ 300-400.[57] Here the increasing value of the Elgin rentals both from land acquisition and from increased yields, justified a £ 320 expenditure.[58] There had been a house previously, but it was modest structure requiring repairs.[59] Linkwood was a working farm, to which the Browns would retreat during the summer from their Elgin townhouse,[60] and from where Brown could oversee his factory.

The land had originally been assembled by Peter May on the sixth Earl's behalf and was granted to May on a long lease, as part of the agreement for his becoming factor surveyor to Findlater.[61] (Refer to Figure 19.) May's nephew Brown, succeeded to the Elgin factory and Linkwood lease in 1781.

It appears Brown obtained his new house with construction costs paid by the Seventh Earl, after a threat to resign in 1784.[62] Findlater could not manage without him. In 1790, Brown joined with Ross and Wilson in a second resignation threat which resulted in Findlater's exile.[63] About the same time, John Ross also obtained a long lease and a house (with construction costs incurred by Findlater) at Main (acquired 1783 from Brodie) on the banks of the Lossie about two kilometres east of Linkwood.[64] This was not unusual, for it

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57. Fenton and Walker (1981) op.cit., p. 107-8 Prestige of House Related to Farm Value.
58. Refer to accounts 1785, 1786, 1787. This also included some minor building at Elchies. There had been some construction 1779-80.
59. SRO GD 248-978-5 May to Ross: 28-05-1769: Repairs needed at Linkwood.
60. SRO GD 248-949-4 Brown to Wilson: 18-03-1787.
61. SRO GD 248-345-5 May to James Grant: 23-12 1767: May was given the Moray factory on condition that he close his private practice.
    SRO GD 248-983-2 May to James Ross: 31-1-1768: Contract terms £ 50 with free house in Elgin.
    SRO GD 248-978-5 Findlater to May: 15-02-1769: Findlater agrees to May's request for the Linkwood lease with right to improve knowles and barren spots. SRO GD 248-978-5: May to James Ross 15-7-1768 contents of Bishop and Linkwood with plan.
62. SRO GD 248-3406-12
63. Adams (1979), op.cit., Chapter Three
64. SRO GD 248-589-2-153 Ross to Findlater: 11-09-1783: Improvement made to house at Main.

was part of the terms of agreement with most factors since the Fourth earl's tenure;[65] but the timing and substance of both Linkwood and Main must have raised eyebrows.

Another project at the same time paid for by Findlater as principal heritor,[66] was for the new manse of Boyndie designed c.1784 and built at a cost of £180. This was to replace a manse destroyed by fire.[67] Considerable correspondence survives in the archives concerning alternatives. The eventually constructed Georgian two-story provided 700.0 square metres with four principal rooms.[68] (Refer to Figure 29.) That was far less than the 1,600.0 square metres manse demanded.[69] Two years earlier the Minister of Cullen had successfully lobbied for manse improvements.[70] That manse had been built in 1752 for £102.[71] The accounts show £400 for a new Deskford manse and a further £137 for Cullen manse.[72]

Building for ordinary people was considerably different. The vernacular tradition in the northeast has been documented in Nuttgen's thesis.[73] In 1755, Reverend Alexander Webster stated that 90% of Scots lived in hamlets (fermtouns) and subsisted on the resources of the immediate neighbourhood. Fermtouns had clusters of farmhouses, outbuildings, and cothouses for four to

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65. For instance SRO GD 248-564-74-16: 11-04-1726: Masons working on Factor Thomson's house.
66. Dunbar (1966) op.cit. pp. 87-88.
67. The earlier manse was built for a total of £278 refer to account 1774 and account 1775.
68. SRO GD 248-680-9 c. 1784 contract for manse of Boyndie with Alex. Duffus, Wright in Cullen: "Build roof and finish a structure 44 feet by 20 feet by 19 feet high. Rubble walls were 2 feet thick. Foreign wood, melrose slates, redwood floors, plaster walls to be provided. Four principal rooms with six chimneys, 10 sash windows and two garret windows. Two stairways were to be provided. Cost £180.
69. SRO RHP 9080
70. SRO GD 248-589-2-47 Ross to Findlater: 21-12-1782
71. SRO GD 248-916 Cost of Manse of Cullen
72. Accounts 1785 John Ross and Accounts 1786
73. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., Vol. 2, Figure 102: Variations in house types are plotted for the northeast.

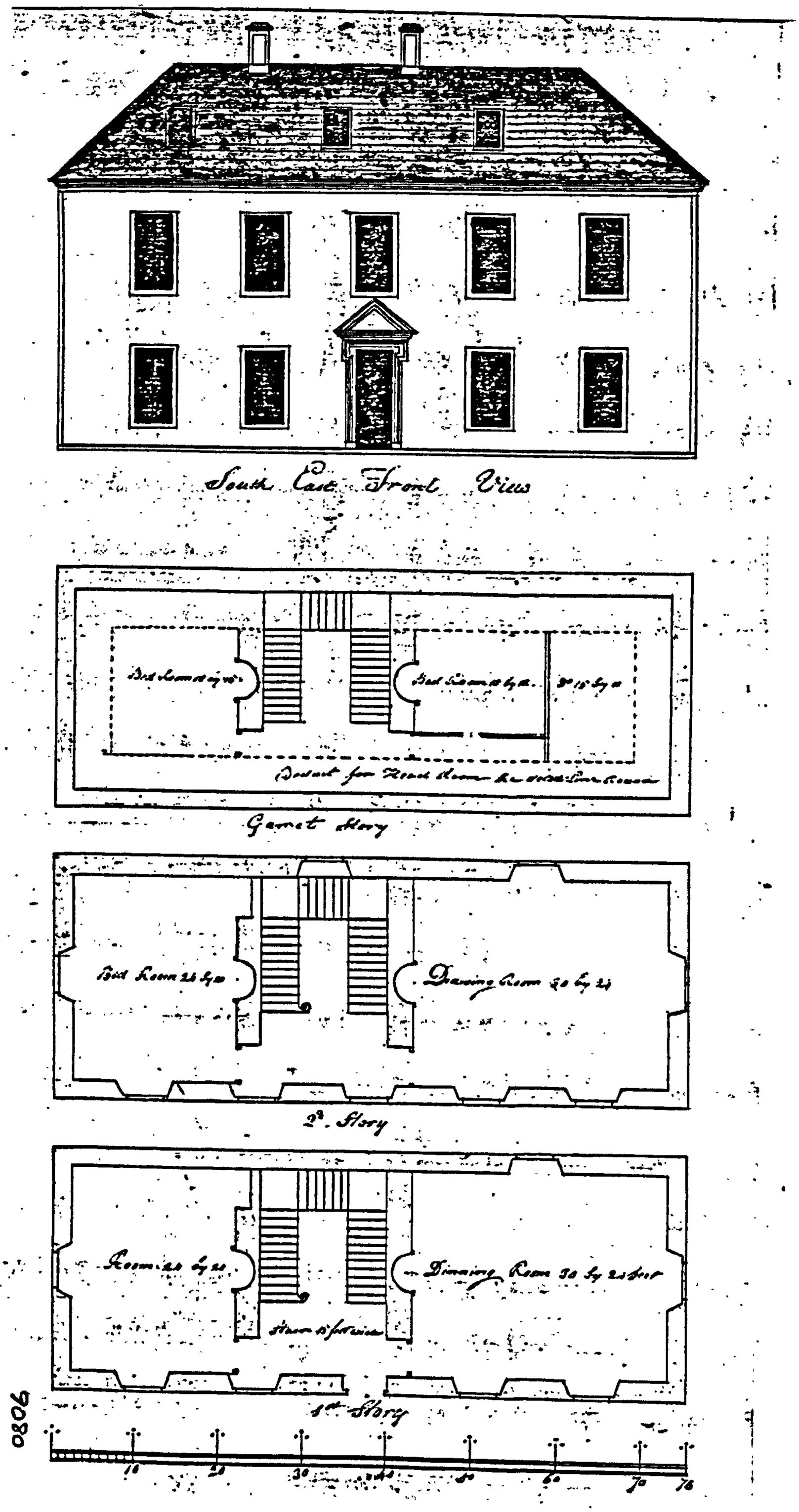
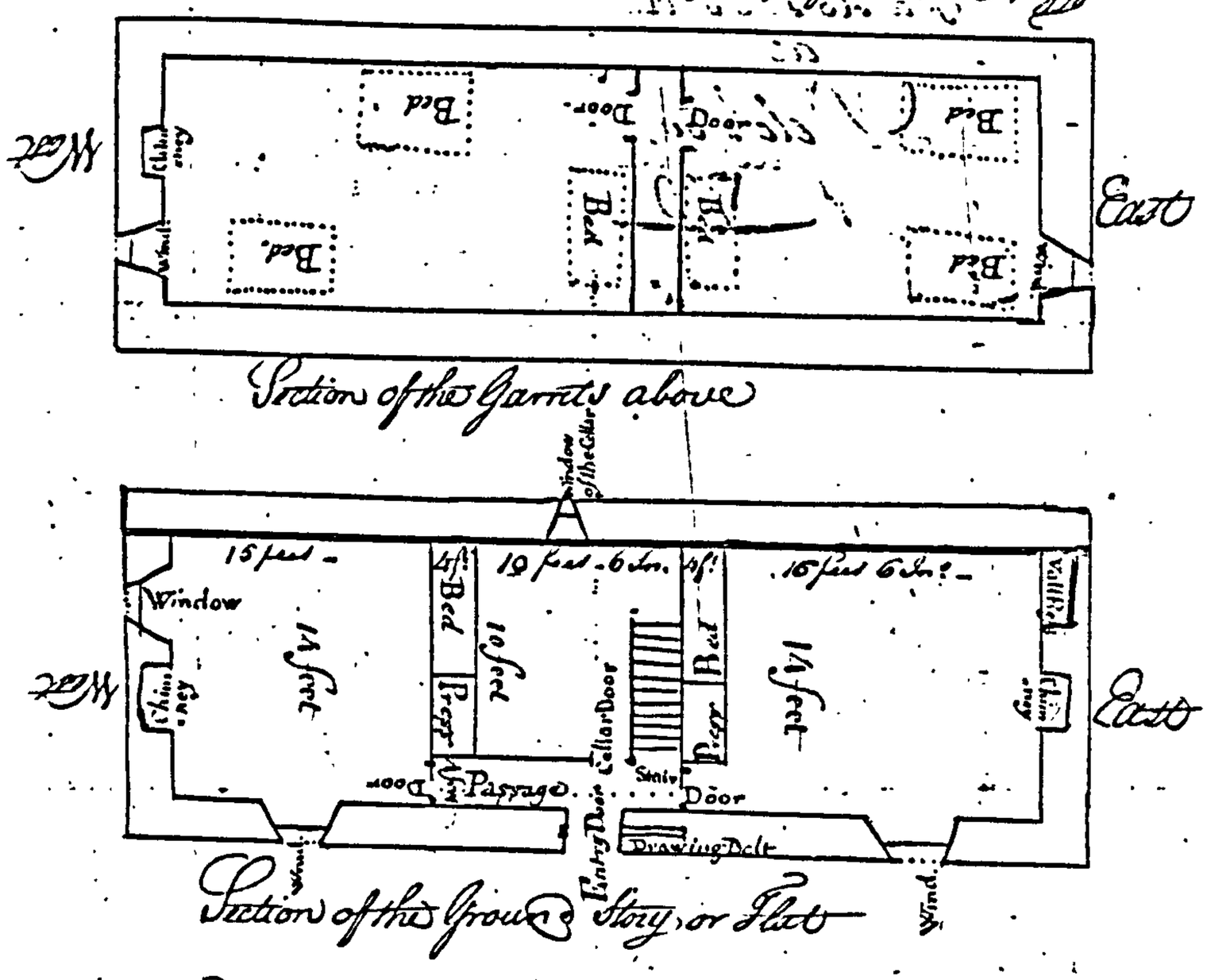


Figure 29

Proposal for a New Manse of Boyndie, c. 1784
SRO RHP 9080



The whole Length of the House within Gavels, supposed to be — Feet 50. "
Whole length over Gavels — 56. "
Breadth within Walls — 14. .
Do. — over Walls — 18. "

	Feet		Feet	
Water Low Room to be	15	by	14	Wide
The Bed & Press in said Room to be	4. "	by	10. "	
The Closet including Partitions	10. 6	by	10. "	
The east Low Room	16. 6	by	14. .	
The Bed & Press Do. Room	4. "	by	10. "	
	Feet 50. "	in all		

The entire Door to be 6 feet high by 3 feet 8 Inches wide & of two f.

Figure 30

Plan for a Cottage, n.d.
SRO RHP 9071

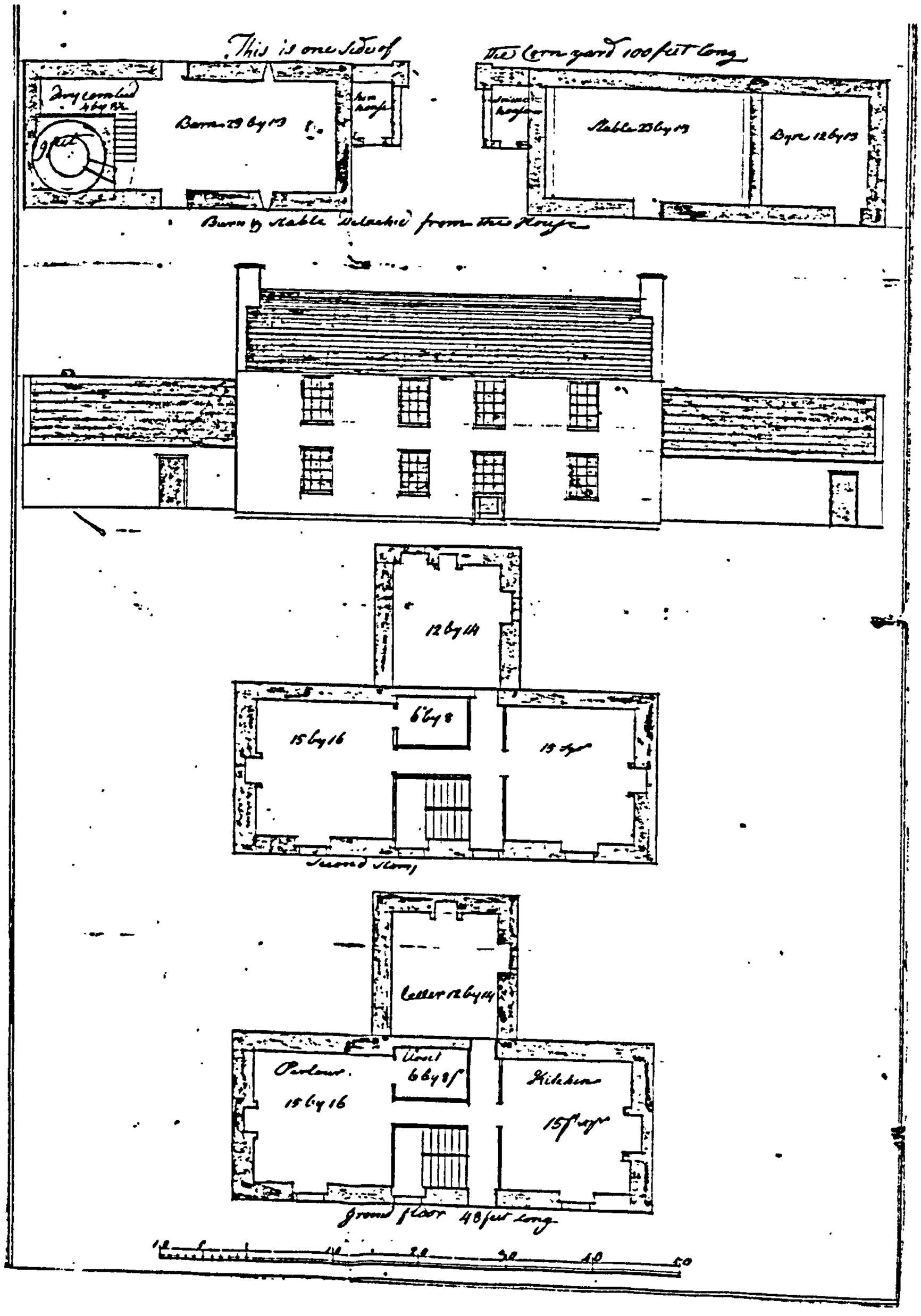


Figure 31

Plan and Elevation for a Farmhouse, c.1780
SRO GD 248-680-9

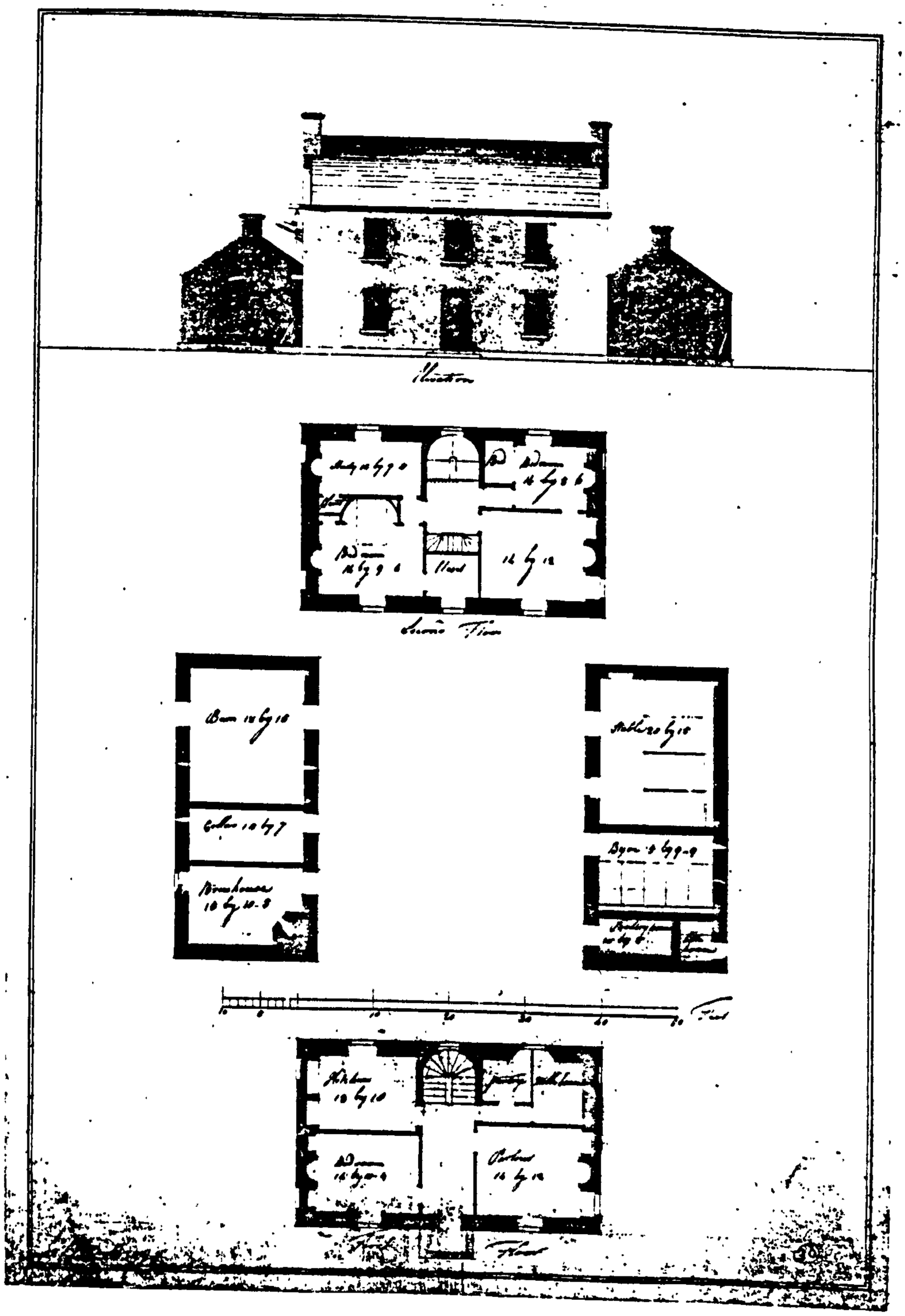


Figure 32

Plan and Elevation of a Farmhouse for the Duke of Gordon,
John Baxter, Architect,

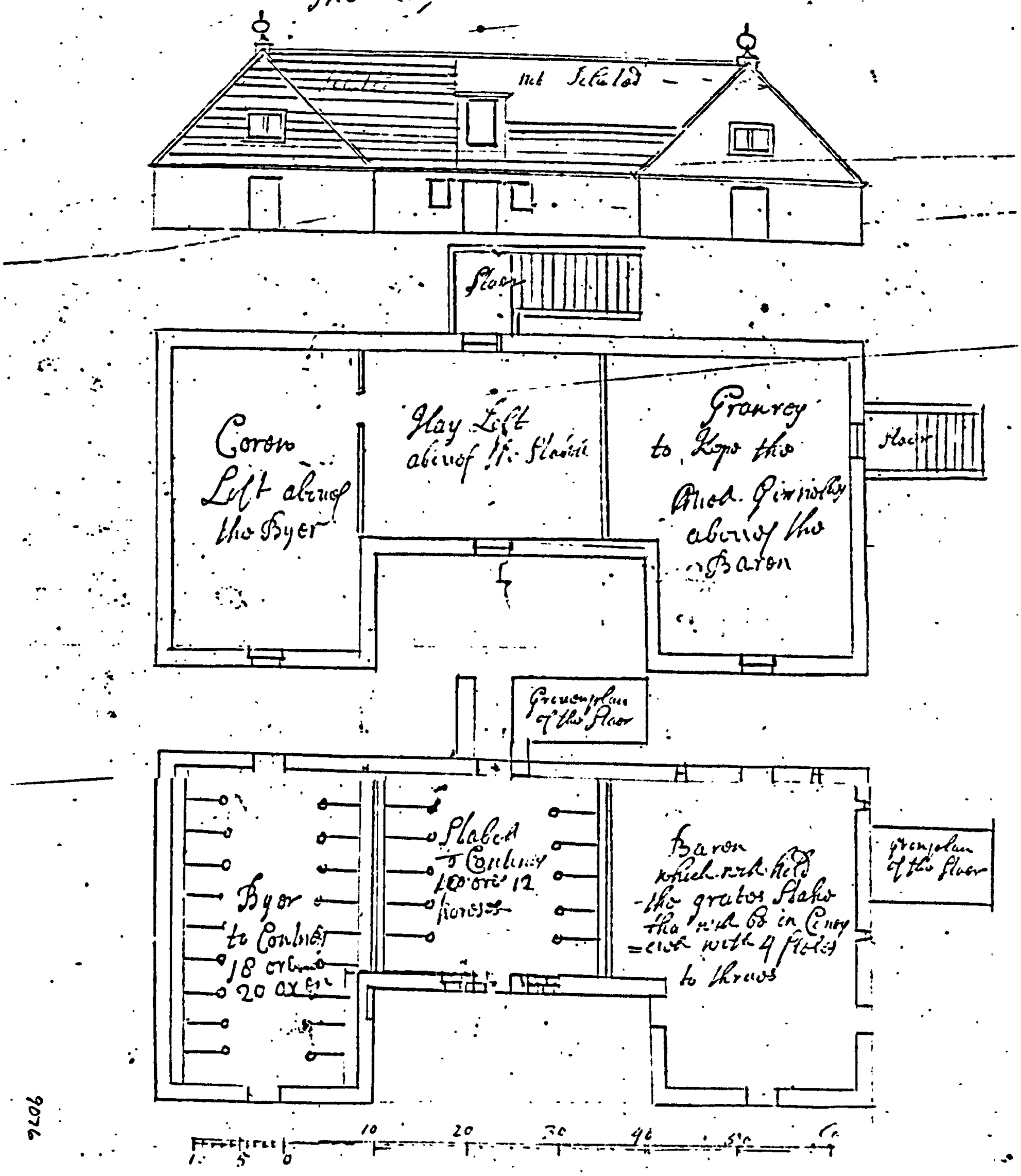


Figure 33

Plan for Stable Offices, c.1730
SRO RHP 9076

eight joint tenants.[74] Such houses were almost always constructed in timber and impermanent materials. (Refer to Figure 30). A change in direction was made first with the introduction of model home farm structures, and later by the imposition of new techniques written into leases to force tenants improve.[75] For instance, Deskford forced a change to stone construction by stopping granting timber for sidewalls,[76] with the result that from 1770, estate farmhouses were typically built of stone with slate roofs.[77] (Refer to Figures 31 and 32). They stood separate from the vanishing fermtouns. Stables were separated in courtyard offices.[78] Generally speaking, labourers were given rooms in the offices over the stables. There was more priority given to stock than workers. (Refer to Figure 33).[79]

At the opposite end of the social scale, the Earls of Findlater indulged in the construction of several residences, which seemed to serve as a logical sequence of secondary administrative nodes.

The fifth Earl established a separate household at Boyne Castle from 1717-1730, mainly to provide a "hands on" management style to the newly acquired Boyne estate. The sixth Earl also felt the need for a separate household, but the reason in his case was political. The 1747 Act abolishing heritable jurisdictions resulted in a shift of power from local to county centres. Banff became the centre of Sheriff courts and of the Commissioners of Supply, and it was therefore not surprising to find Deskford constructing his bride's jointure house there from 1749-53.[80]

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74. Adams, (1978) op.cit., p. 57
75. Bruce Walker, Farm Buildings in the Grampian Region: An Historical Exploration. Also Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., p. 461.
76. Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker, Rural Architecture of Scotland, p. 48 and SRO GD 248-37-4-23.
77. Grieve's House SRO RHP 9078. Cottage SRO RHP 9071. See also SRO RHP 9084.
78. Fenton and Walker (1981), op.cit, chapter 7 and SRO GD 248-680-9 and SRO RHP 9049.
79. ibid, chapter 8 and SRO RHP 9076, c. 1720 farm office.
80. SRO GD 248-984-4 John Adam and Company invoices from 1752-53 and SRO GD 248-905 Accounts Banff Castle 1750-52.

John Adam was both architect and contractor of Banff Castle. His design was a modest English Palladian house, with three stories and symmetrically detached two story offices executed in restrained proportions without external ornament. It was harled both to achieve a uniform texture and to provide some climatic control. The location was its only unpredictable quality, being constructed within the precincts of the thirteenth century Banff Castle earth mound ruins. The castle had been acquired c. 1736 by the fifth Earl, and was described by him at that time: "Castle of Banff has never been valued or paid less because it is a heap of old walls".[81]

Adam unconventionally placed the house to one side and perpendicular to the view, with the result that the entry court and garden merged allowing the full prospect of Banff Bay. It was a casual, but sensitive solution to maximize the perception and usability of space on a confined site. The openess of the approach view was in marked contrast to Cullen House's medieval walled maze. Banff castle was said to have entirely satisfied the requirements of Deskford's young family. It survives, largely untouched as the Banff Public Library.

Elchies was proposed as another of the secondary administrative nodes. Easter Elchies was acquired in 1758 by the sixth Earl; included was a simple seventeenth century house. This had been used by the Earls for shelter when travelling on this part of the estate, or on journeys to the Grants further up Strathspey.

The seventh Earl in 1777, asked Baxter to examine the house and to prepare plans and estimates for alterations and additions.[82] The plans survive in the Gordon Castle papers, however they were not executed.[83] The idea

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81. SRO GD 248-784-6-6 Findlater to (Philp) 19-04-1736.
82. SRO GD 248-800-4-1 Findlater to Ross 29-03-1777.
83. Ann Simpson, The Architectural Work of the Baxter Family in Scotland 1722-98, p.47.

Figure 34

Banff Castle, John Adam, Architect, designed 1749
Photograph c.1880

Figure 35 - Section of Plan of Banff Showing Banff Castle, c.1770
SRO RHP 12884

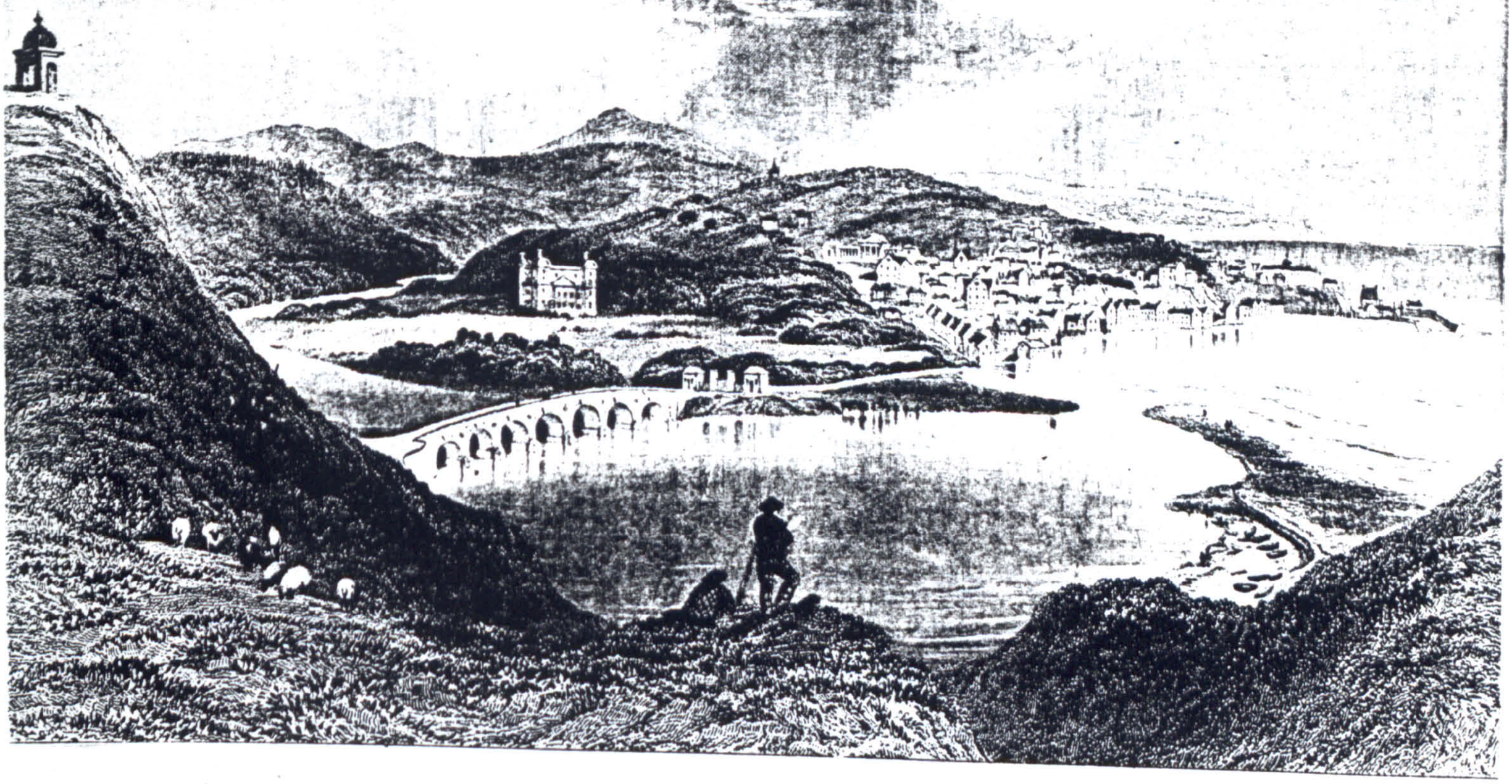

Figure 36 - General View of Banff, 1840, W.H. Bartlett

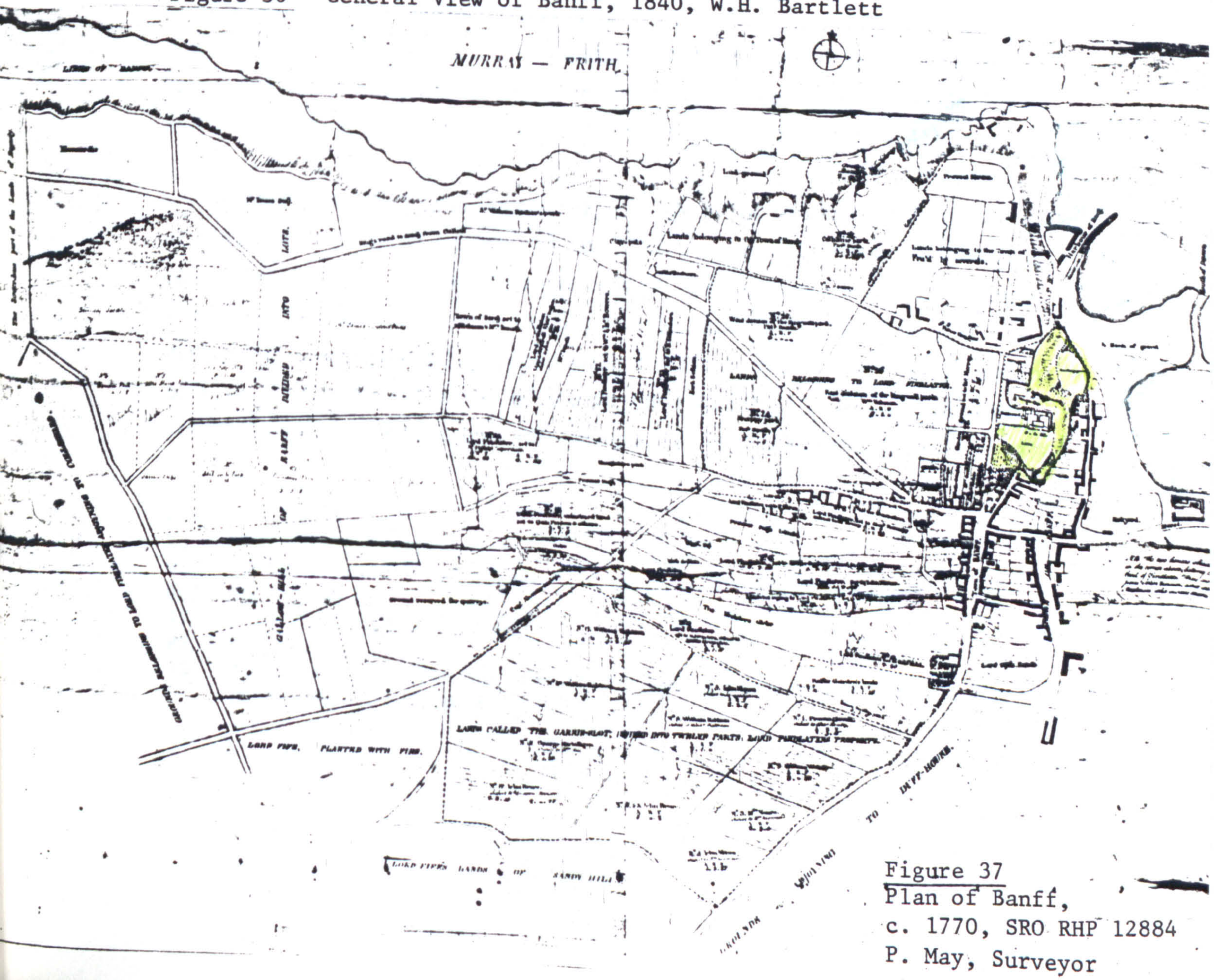

Figure 37
Plan of Banff,
c. 1770, SRO RHP 12884
P. May, Surveyor

remained active in the Earl's imagination, for it reappeared with the 1781 commission of Robert and James Adam to prepare a new villa at Elchies, along with "a solitude at Speyside" which may also have been an alternative for Easter Elchies.

James Adam's villa at Elchies was to have been an austere two story Georgian villa of 1,350 square metres (refer to Figure 38) with an octagonal drawing room.[84]

Robert Adam designed two solitudes and a lodge for the seventh Earl. Figure 39 is dated 6 Aug. 1781, and show a two storied Palladian residence with fanlite doorway marked by an unpedimented prostyle tetrastyle in the Tuscan order, with symmetrical attached pavilions. The pavilions had derivative Chiswick-type windows inset in a shallow segmental arch. The cornice with dentils unified the composition. The plan resembled that of James' villa as it repeated the octagonal dining room. There was a full basement for servants and domestic functions.[85] Adam revised this design in 1783 to provide a separate domestic wing (refer to Figures 40 and 41).

Robert Adam's "second design for a lodge in the castle stile for the Earl of Findlater" was dated Adelphi, 20 Aug 1783.[86] This was erroneously listed in Spier's catalogue as "White's Chocolate Club" and although the later curator, Bolton pointed out the error in 1922, it remains incorrectly inventoried.[87] The design was fanciful, and is proportionally similar to the Lauder Castle design of 1790,[88] only the lodge was of course much smaller. It corresponds with a series of ideal and geometrical villa designs, few of which were built.[89]

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84. SRO RHP 2544-2.
85. SRO RHP 2544-9 and No. 6. Another copy is in SM Vol. 36 Nos. 42 -50.
86. SM Vol. 36 No. 15
87. Bolton (1922), Vol. II, p. 357.
88. ibid Vol. I p. 95
89. A. J. Rowan, "After the Adelphi: Forgotten Years in the Adam Brother's Practice", Part III pp. 693-710.

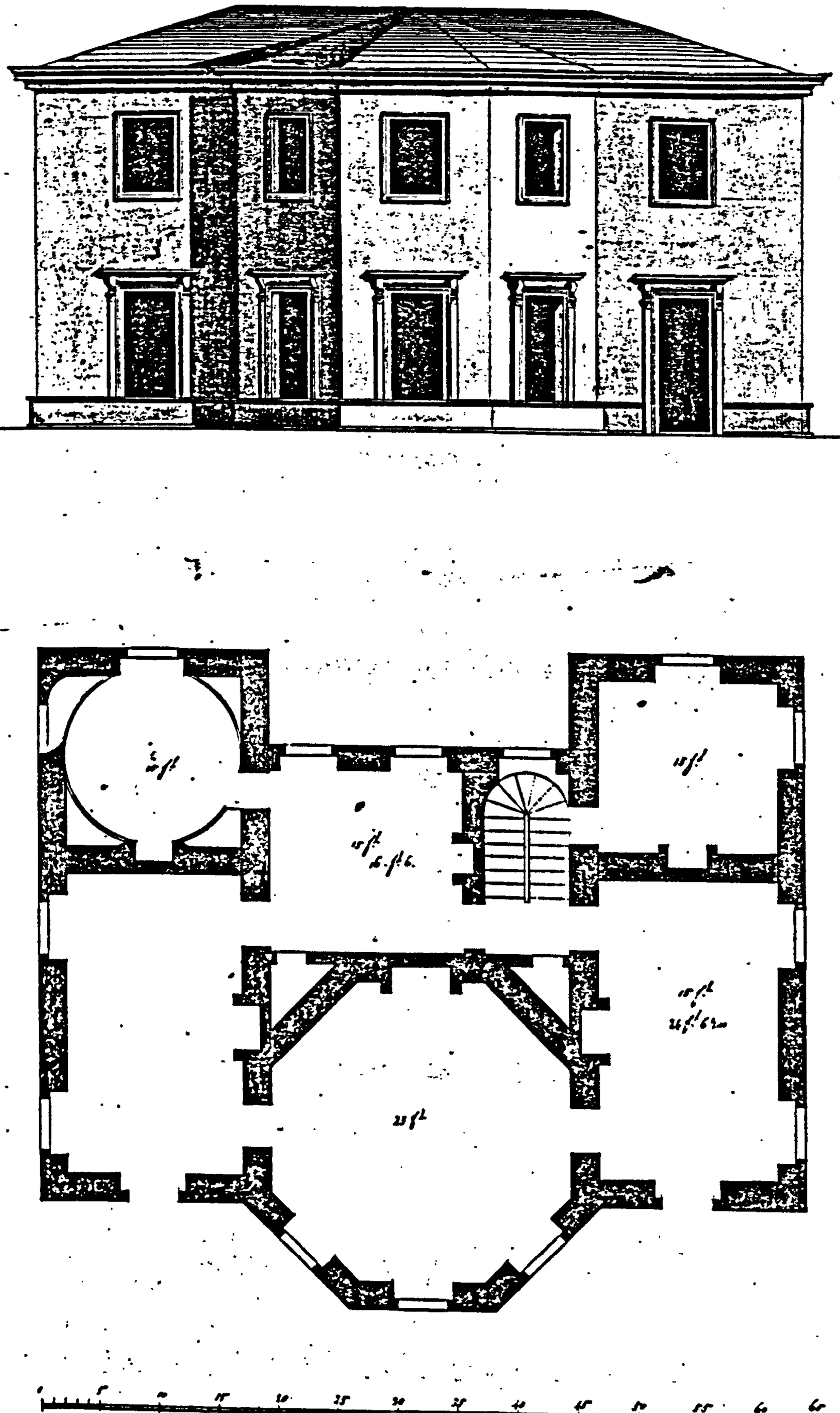

Figure 38

Plan and Elevation For a Villa at Elchies, James Adam, Architect
c. 1781, SRO RHP 2544-2

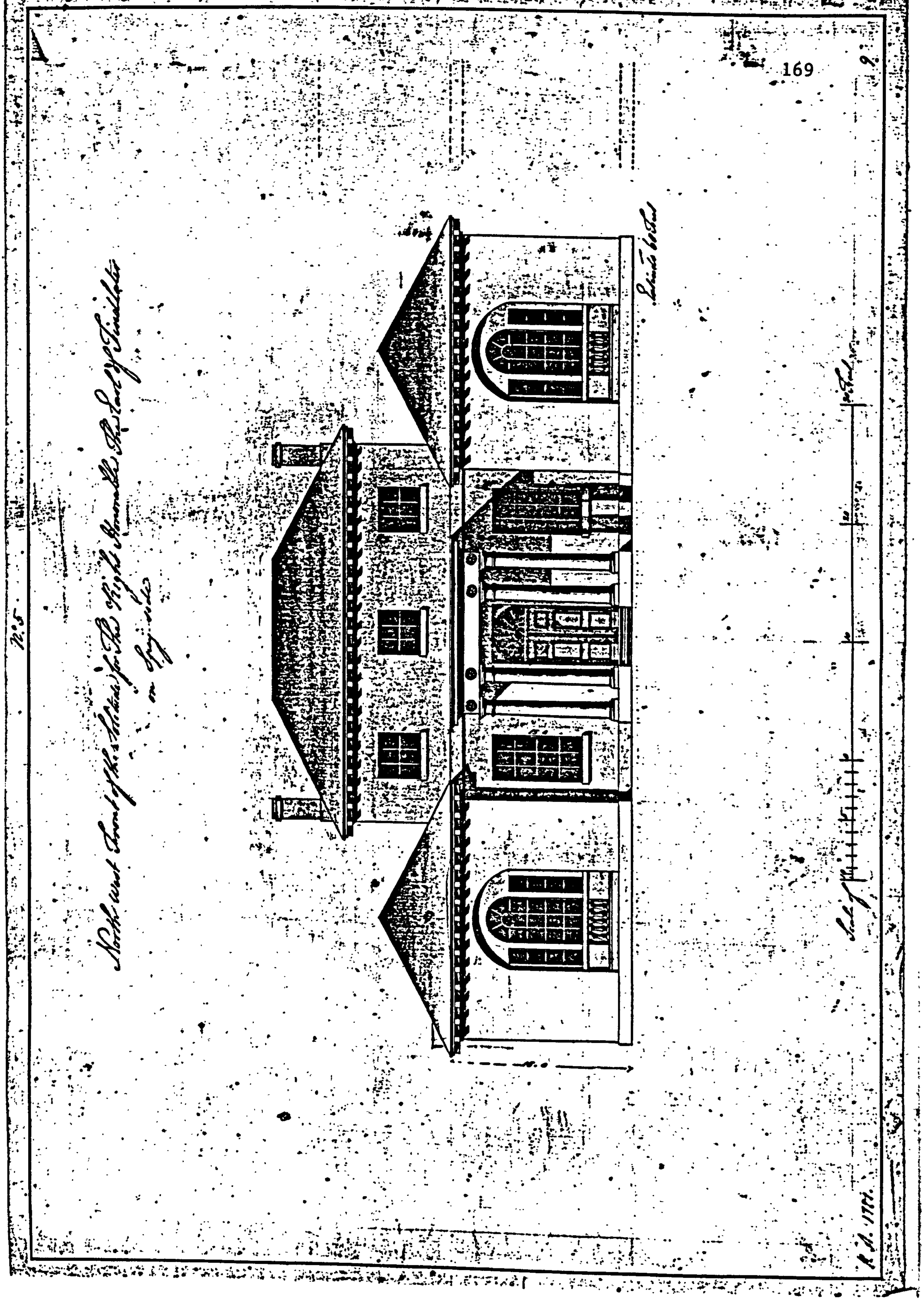

Figure 39 - Elevation of a Solitude at Speyside, Robert Adam, Architect, 1781, SRO RHP 2544-9

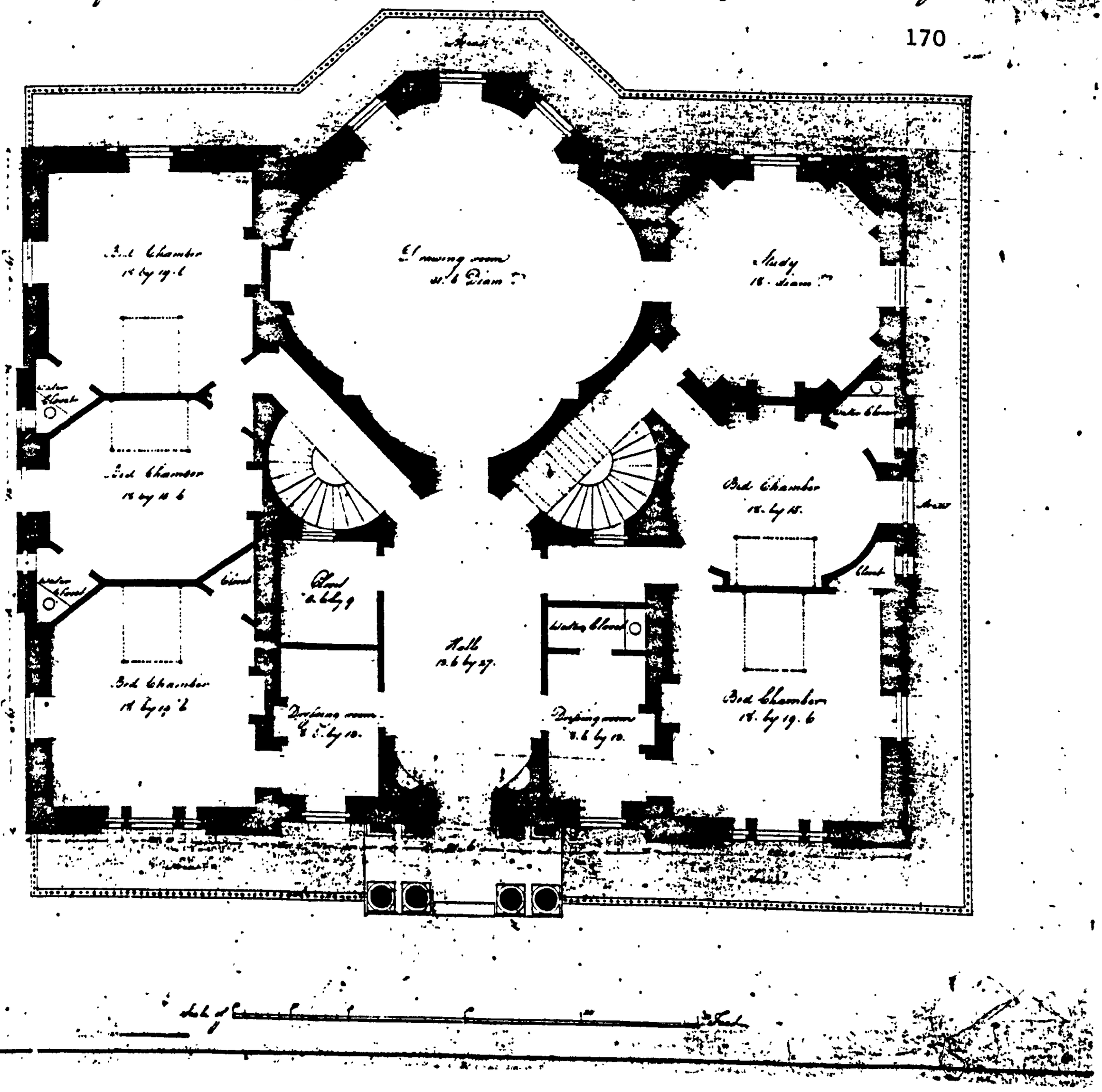

Figure 40

Plan of Elchies Solitude, Robert Adam, Architect, 1783
SRO RHP 2544

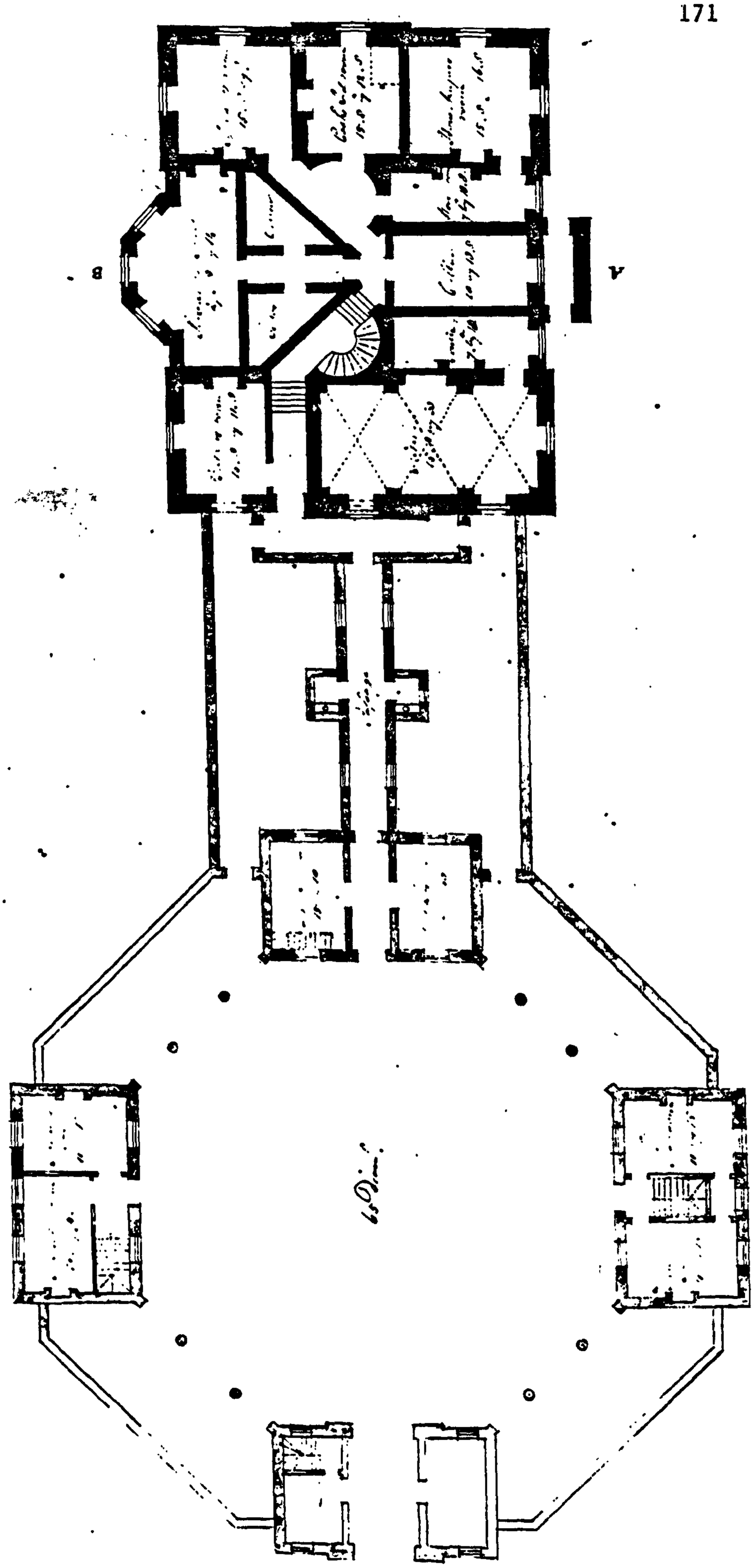

Figure 41 - Plan of Solitude with Offices, 1783, Robert Adam
SRO RHP 2544-2

The third in the series (although it is undated) was entitled "a new design for the principal front of a lodge for the Earl of Findlater".[90] This version provided a more substantial central building with Tuscan portico and connected pavilions. Space was provided in the basement for the servants and for a steward's office. This version was the only one which apparently provided for a permanent factory business office.

An undated, unsigned plan titled "Lodge at Findlater" has found its way into the Soane collection.[91] The austere English Palladian style appears to be John Adam's, however it is an isolated set of drawings without acknowledgement in the records.

In 1783, Findlater also planned improvements to the Elchies policies, and he directed Ross to negotiate with Earl Fife for an exchange of land elsewhere, to be able to control the view from Elchies House. Correspondence fills the archives to 1787, and presumably must have then been discussed personally between Findlater and his "cousin" Fife.[92]

The objective of exchanging 27 acres of arable and 13 acres of pasture at Mudhouse (part of Colleonard) near Banff, for Fife's 40 acres of arable plus 60 acres of pasture at Collargreen (Elchies), and then to remove Collargreen from production merely to satisfy Findlater's aesthetic sensibilities, was unparallelled on such an outlying part of the estate.

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90. SM Vol 36 (Nos. 55-59) No. 57 Elevation, Vol. 36, No. 58 Plan ground story and Vo. 30 No. 59 Plan principal story. The plan is suggestively phallic and may be a reference to the then sensational manuscript by Hamilton and Payne-Knight.
91. SM Vol 36, No. 66 Elevations and No. 67 Plan.
92. SRO GD 248-591-2-187 Wilson to Findlater: 2-03-1783
SRO GD 248-591-2-276 Wilson to Findlater: 15-03-1783
SRO GD 248-799-4 Brown Plan, c. 1784
SRO GD 248-589-2-140 Wilson to Findlater: 17-06-1785
SRO GD 248-799-4 Wilson to Findlater: 28-06-1785
SRO GD 248-799-4-3 Second meeting on site with Brown's memorial 28-10-1785.
SRO GD 248-589-2-117 Fife to Findlater: 13-11-1785
SRO GD 248-(-) Wilson to Findlater: 4-10-1786
SRO GD 248-591-2-138 Ross to Findlater: 19-07-1786
SRO GD 248-589-2-41 Ross to Findlater: 10-10-1786

Excambion, as a means of land exchange by private agreement, was becoming common as the new field patterns were implemented. This allowed for the rational rounding out of farming or agricultural units. An excambion could only succeed with good faith and cooperation on the part of the two landowners. Lord Deskford set the example of proper procedure with the exambion of Woodtown at Towie with Alexander Duff of Hatton. Duff wanted a small piece of ground for policies and Deskford had resolved the situation within one month.[93] His son, the Seventh Earl, spent seven years negotiating without conviction, and only achieved the frustration of an essential ally.[94] This irritated the traditional political and economic rivalry among the Duffs, the Gordons and the Ogilvys to Findlater's disadvantage.[95]

As for the matter of the Elchies and Speyside villas, there does appear to be a logical objective governing the orders to Adam. The estate was growing to the point where it was impossible to reach outlying points from Cullen House within a day's ride. Findlater may have had in mind a series of three residences on the estate's perimeter: Banff Castle, Elchies and perhaps one lodge in lower Speyside for his use during inspections. Previous generations had used their factors' or friends' homes. The villas were not designed to accommodate a resident factor, they were meant as lodges for an Earl's progress, and would be unused for the balance of the time. Such a proposal for secondary residences, beyond being extravagant, did rub against the organizational chart as well, by creating social distance between the landowner and his staff which would be difficult to overcome merely by travel.

Findlater did not shelve the plans for perimeter residences when he began the plans for Findlater Castle. He only temporarily returned to the

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93. SRO GD 248-507-3 Peter May to Alex. Duff of Hatton: 13-05-1764.
SRO GD 248-507-3 Hatton and Lord Deskford communing 12-06-1764.
94. SRO GD 248-949-11 Brown to Wilson 18-11-1787: Brown relates Lord Fife was "fed up with the indecision".
95. Alistair and Henrietta Taylor, Lord Fife and his Factor: being the correspondence of James, second Lord Fife 1729-1809. p. 132.

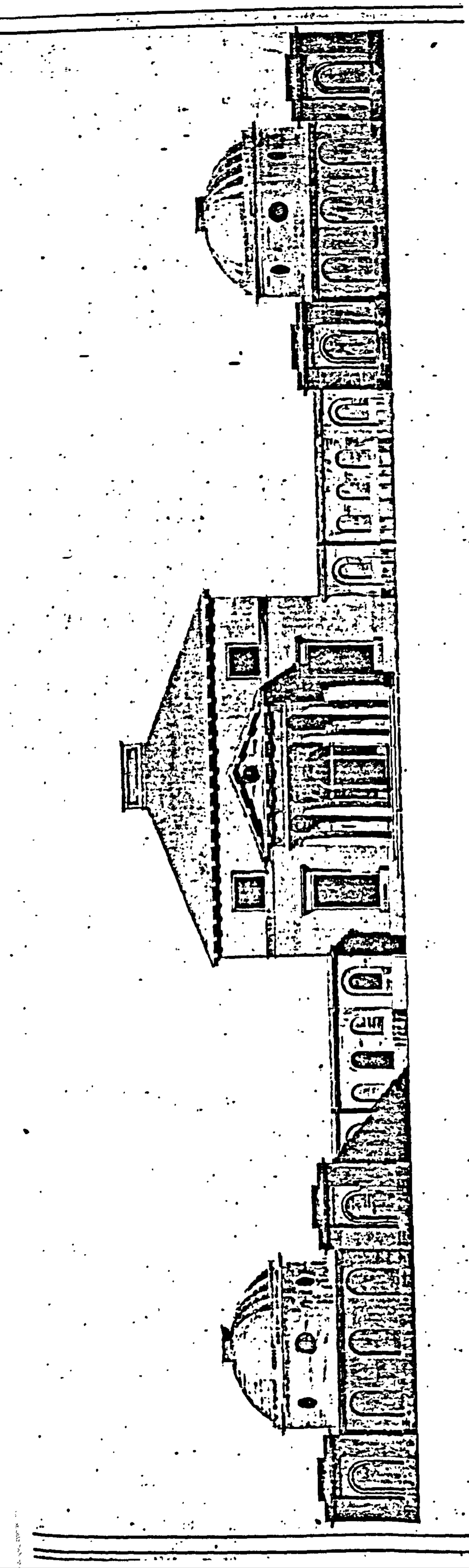
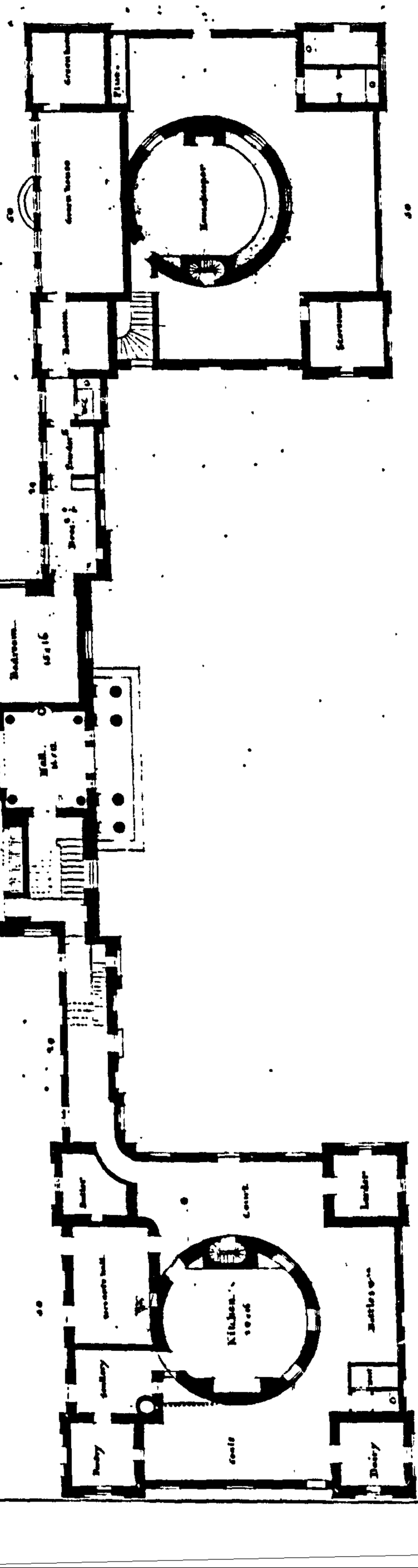


Figure 42

Elevation of a Villa at Elchies,
James Playfair, Architect, 1789
SRO RHP 2547-3

Figure 43

Plan of Elchies Villa,
Playfair, 1789, SRO RHP 2547



previous policy, and had rooms added to factors' houses for his use. For instance a bedroom, dressing room and servant's room was added and furnished at Linkwood for the Earl's use[96] in March 1788.

In August 1789, Findlater authorized James Playfair to prepare another even larger villa at Elchies. (Refer to Figure 42 and 43), for an estimated £ 2,800.[97] Playfair's journal shows the design was made over five days plus four days travelling to be on site.[98]

The design was of a Greek Revival villa with central two story block and symmetrical wings connected by a convex corridor. The main block was marked by a Doric prostyle tetrastyle portico with eye in the pediment and with an undecorated frieze marked by metopes with triglyphs. The symmetrical pavilions had a square ground floor and Boulee domes holding separated male and female servant quarters.[99] The cylindrical massing and Greek primitivism would reappear in designs for Ardkinglas 1791[1] and Cairness, c. 1789-93.[2] The unexecuted design of offices for Cairness dated 1792 are almost identical to the Elchies wings.[3]

6. Capriciousness

With the relatively vast wealth of the estate, the Earls were free to indulge capricious ideas about architecture and planning. This could have positive and negative results. An example of the latter is James Adam's convincing the seventh Earl in 1772 to acquire an option to lease a lot

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96. SRO GD 248-678-1-38 copy of Furniture for the new rooms at Linkwood, March 1788, and SRO GD 248-1280 accounts - 1788 Price of furniture for "his Lordship's apartment at Linkwood" £21.
97. SRO GD 248-984-2-23 Playfair invoice 1790 with estimates for construction.
98. Adv. Mss. 33.5.25.
99. SRO RHP 2547-3
1. Colin McWilliam, "James Playfair's designs for Ardkinglas" pp. 193-198.
2. David Walker and Colin McWilliam: Country Life. Vol. 149, No. 3842 pp. 184-187; Also Crook (1972) op.cit., pp. 125-126.
3. Courtauld Institute, R.I.B.A. Collection, Cairness drawings, James Playfair G6-59B.

for a townhouse at Portland Place on the Cavendish-Harley estate of St. Marylebone in London.[4]

Findlater chose one of the largest lots of over one acre, (across from the present R.I.B.A.offices) commissioned Adam to prepare conceptual drawings for a freestanding three-story mansion of palatial proportions. Robert Adam executed two plans in 1772, a third in 1774 and a fourth in 1775.[5] The first 1772 plan provided offices, house, court and garden for an estimated £17,317, while the second alternative was for £16,543. The invoice for designs was £ 210. Findlater wrote instructions to his mother in 1773 regarding details.[6] When he received the plans, he shelved the idea as too costly.[7] This would have been a wise decision, for the cost estimates were notoriously low. For instance, the extant cost of the much more modest Wynn House at 20 St. James Square, designed 1771, have survived; that total cost including site, fees, construction and furnishings came to £48,900.[8] The Findlater proposals could easily have cost twice that sum.

He reversed his decision a few months later, and Adam was authorized to proceed with the lease[9] but of a smaller parcel.[10] The outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1775, shook the confidence of London Society, and "smart money" retired to the country to wait for more prosperous conditions, rather than build in London.[11] This was certainly true of Lord Kerry who adandoned his planned palace next door to Findlater's block.[12]

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4. Sir John Summerson, Georgian London, p. 147
5. SRO GD 248-588 Invoice Robert and James Adam to Findlater: 9-8-1775. Invoice includes: 9-11-1772 for 2 plans, 8-7-1774 for 3rd plan, 9-8-1775 for 4th plan.
6. SRO GD 248-567-94; 1-10-1773 and 8-11-1773: Findlater to Dowager Countess.
7. SRO GD 248-567; 6-12-1773: Findlater to Countess Dowager.
8. H.H. Reed, The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, Introduction.
9. SRO GD 248-567-94; 13-21-1774: Findlater to Countess Dowager.
10. Arthur T. Bolton, The Architecture of Robert and James Adam (1758-1794), Vol. II, Chapter 22, p. 94.
11. Doreen Yarwood, Robert Adam, p. 164.
12. James Lees Milne, The Age of Adam, pp. 128-129.

Figure 44

Nash's London: Regent's Park to St. James' Palace Through Portland Place

From figure 39, Colin and Rose Bell, City Fathers, The Early History of Town Planning in Britain, pp. 78-107 and also Summerson, The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect, plates 24, 25, 32, 33 and figure 8; and also Terence Davis, John Nash: the Prince Regent's Architect, p. 65.

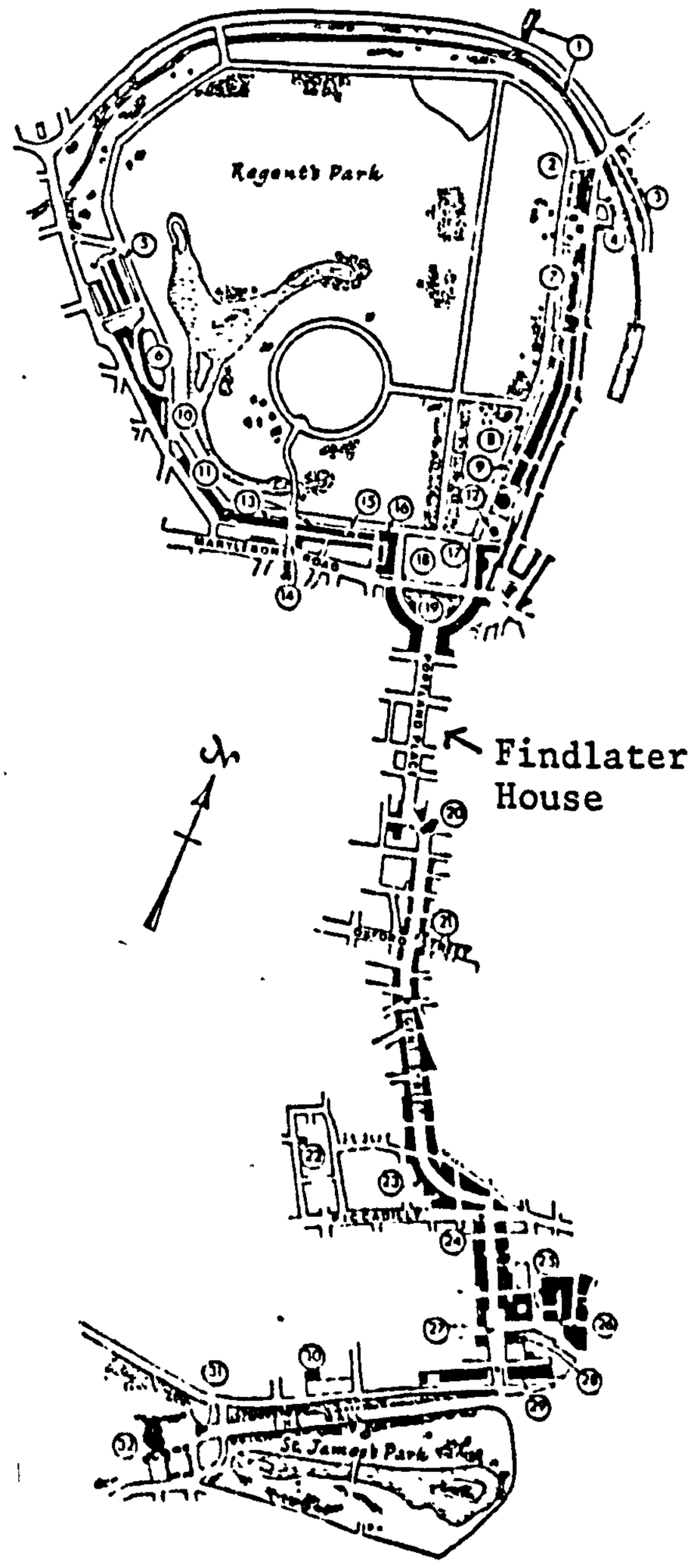
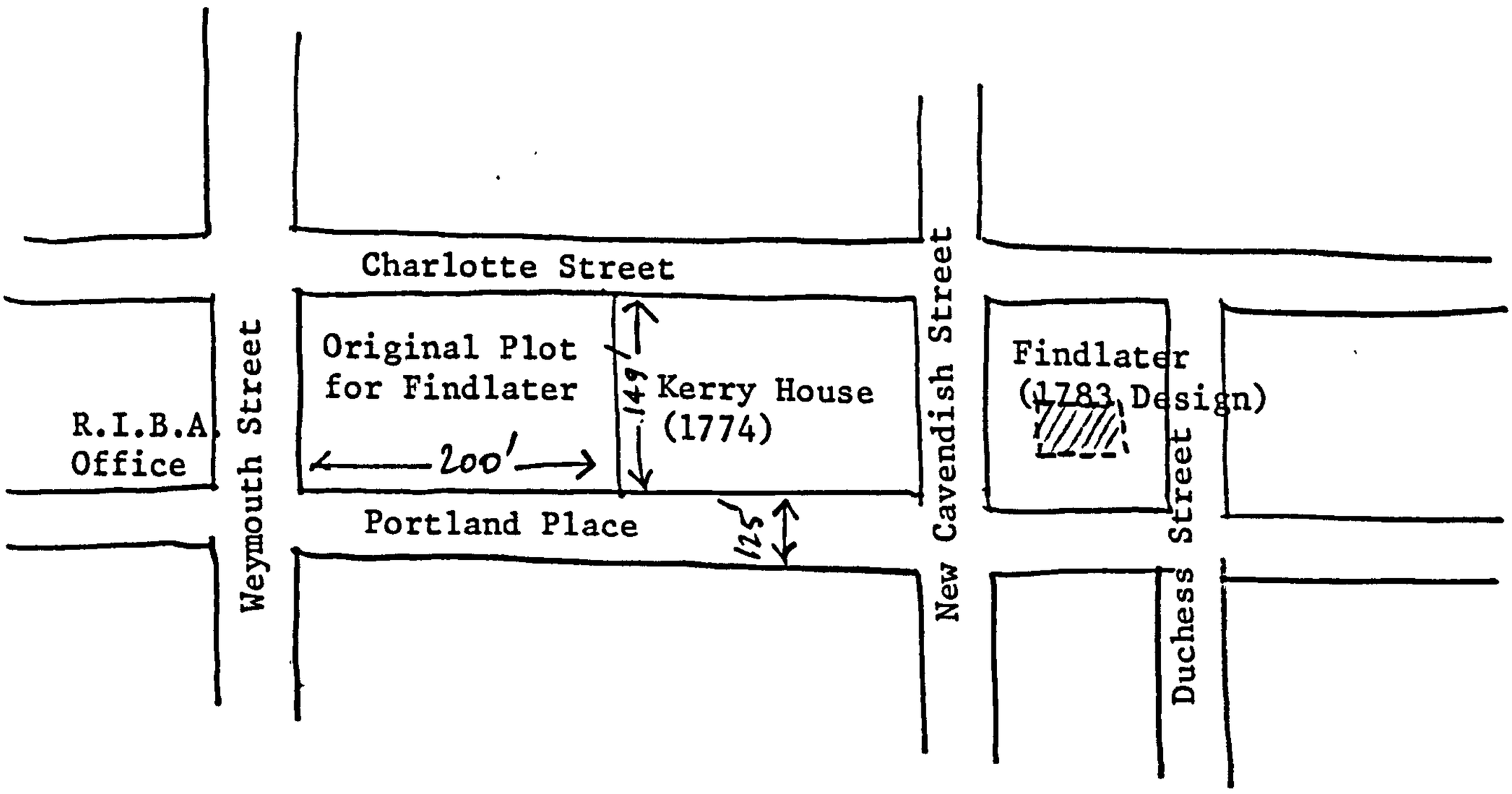


Figure 45

Portland Place, Robert Adam, Architect, c.1783, reproduced from A.T. Bolton, The Architecture of Robert and James Adam 1758-1794, Vol.II, chapter 22,p.94



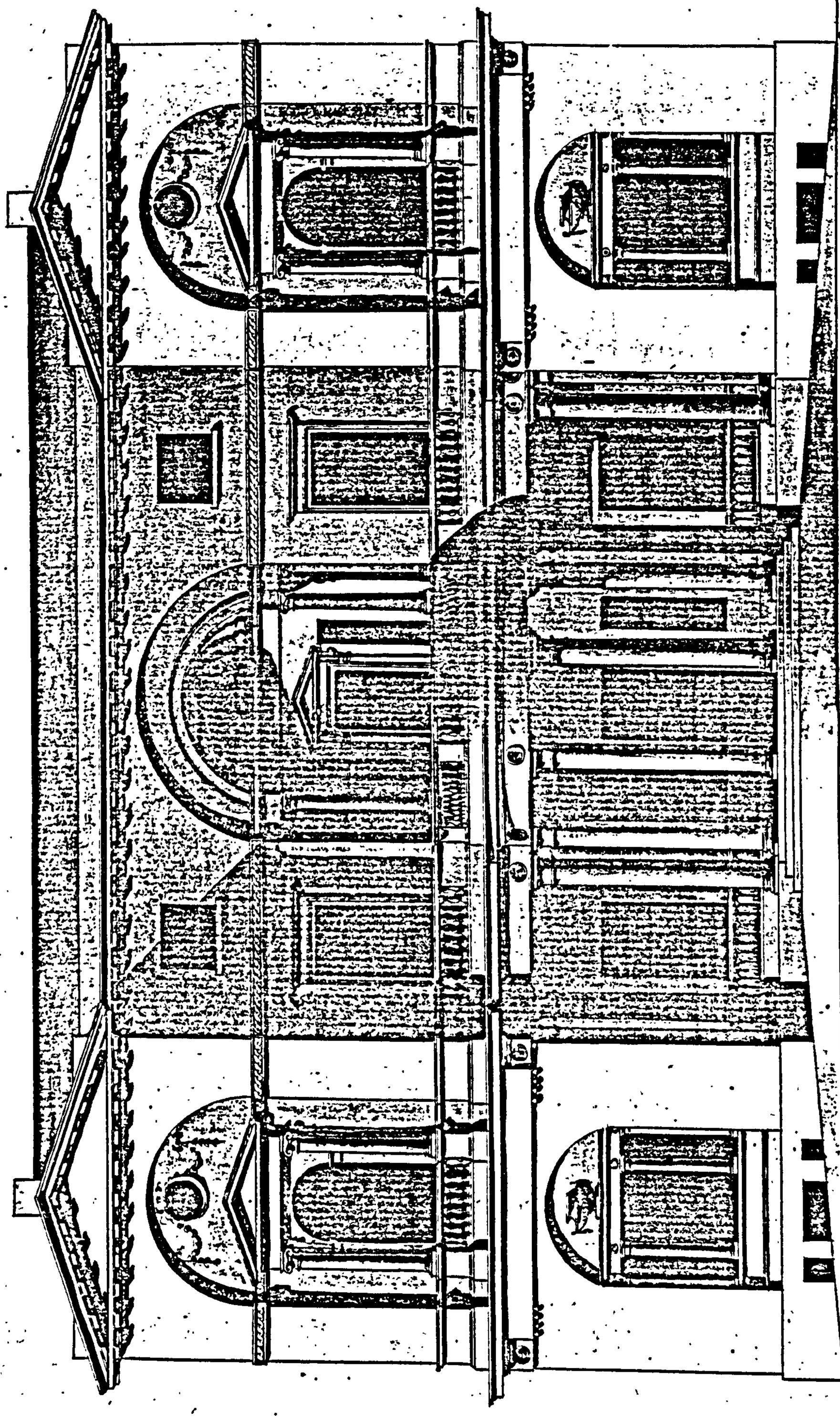


Figure 46

Elevation for a Townhouse at
Portland Place, Robert Adam, Architect
1783, SRO RHP 2544-11

Findlater revived the idea in the summer of 1783, upon his return from the continent. Robert Adam prepared a set of plans for a three storied freestanding mansion with basement.[13] An alternative sketch was made 22 August 1783[14] and one plan on 27 August 1783.[15]

This did not appear to satisfy the Earl's capriciousness, and so one further attempt was made to achieve an acceptable design in September 1783.[16] (Refer to Figure 46.) This sequence of plans show a freestanding palace with 29.7 metre facade on the one half acre Portland Place lot. The facade employed a number of visual tricks to conceal the third floor, such as the ellipsoidal convex portico with Tuscan columns supporting a balustraded loggia. The loggia's form was enhanced through the third floor by means of a shallow recessed Florentine arch and conch semi-dome. The symmetrical towers repeated the third floor concealment by use of a shallow recess with semi-circular arch. The exuberant composition was uncharacteristic of Robert Adam's elevations, but then this was an unusual commission.

A decision regarding construction rested until 1789 when Robert Adam pressed Findlater to discover his intentions of building.[17] Findlater's reply was to postpone construction for three years until Findlater Castle was complete. Had the seventh Earl followed his ancestors' predilliction for public office, a residence in London could have been justified.[18] The expenditure of perhaps as much as ten years estate rental for a house, which would be only occupied during the social season, was however,

questioned by Findlater's Commissioners; it was a project which did not survive their revision of investment priorities once the Earl returned to the continent.

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13. SM Vol. 36 Nos. 10-18
14. SM Vol. 36 No. 21
15. SM Vol. 36 No. 23
16. SRO RHP 2544-11
17. SRO GD 248-570-2 Robert Adam to Findlater: 14-01-1789 and SRO GD 248-590-3-7 Robert Adam to Findlater: 24-02-1789.
18. Although the family had used rented lodgings satisfactorily for four generations previously.

As a speculative project, Portland Place was not successful, however the side streets and some of the principal houses were constructed and are considered architecturally significant.[19] London was growing rapidly with urbanization of the great estate farms surrounding the reconstructed medieval town. The concept of freestanding "strada di palazzi" would not be realized in London as foreign both to the tight sense of urbanity and to a democratic society.[20] Eventually, Portland Place became absorbed into Nash's development of Regent Street between Regent's Park (St. Marylebone Fields) and Kensington Park.[21] (Refer to Figures 44 and 45.)

The sixth Earl's capricious planning for Banff seems to have a more positive effect over the long term. Banff's Deveron flood plain was appropriated by Fife for Duff House and policies in the 1720's. Fife also started the rival community, or suburb, of MacDuff on the East side of Banff Bay. Medieval Banff was dominated by Banff Castle, and that is the location the sixth Earl chose to build his residence in 1749-53. Findlater had assembled most of the town's western peripheral property during the 1730's. The sixth Earl chose not to build upon this farmland for policies, but instead reserved this ground as a "green belt" of unenclosed infield and chose to improve the outlying model farms of Colleonard and Hills of Boyndie. (Refer to Figure 47).

It would appear that Findlater recognized the urban potential for his "green belt" land. Indeed, given Duff House, that was the only land upon which Banff could expand. His strategic plan would begin to be realized when his successors proposed a plan for improvements in 1826 (refer to Figure 48). This would be opposed by the town Council and Fife, however eventually the town did build upon the reserved lands, providing the estate with yet another source of revenue. (Refer to Figures 49a and 49b).

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19. Summerson (1955), op.cit., plate XXIII including number 37 Portland Place and Chandos House.
20. Bolton (1922) op.cit., pp. 102-104
21. G.B. Toby, A History of Landscape Architecture, The Relationship of People to Environment, and Summerson, The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect pp. 76-77.

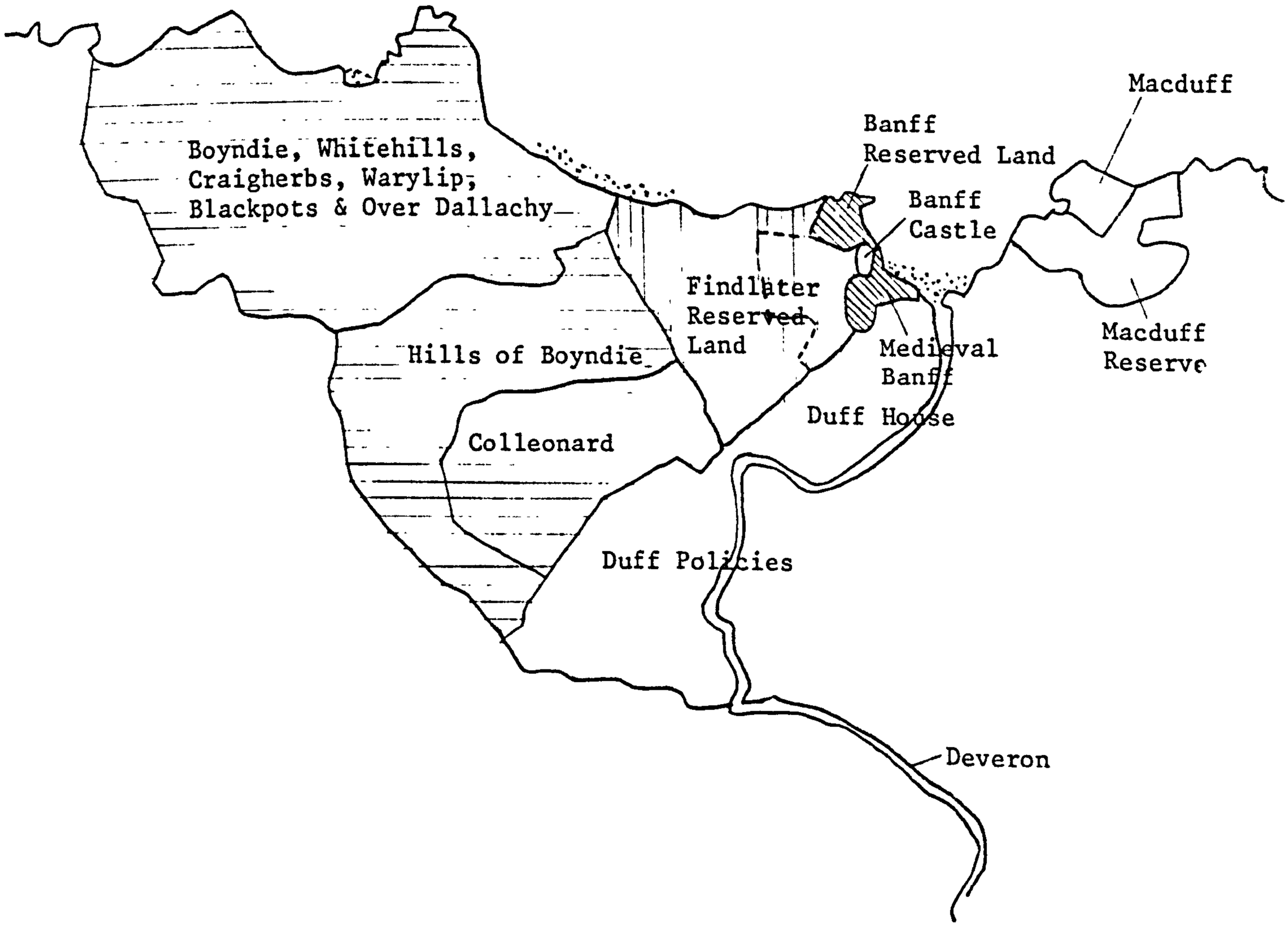

Figure 47

The Sixth Earl's Strategic Plan For Banff,
c. 1755

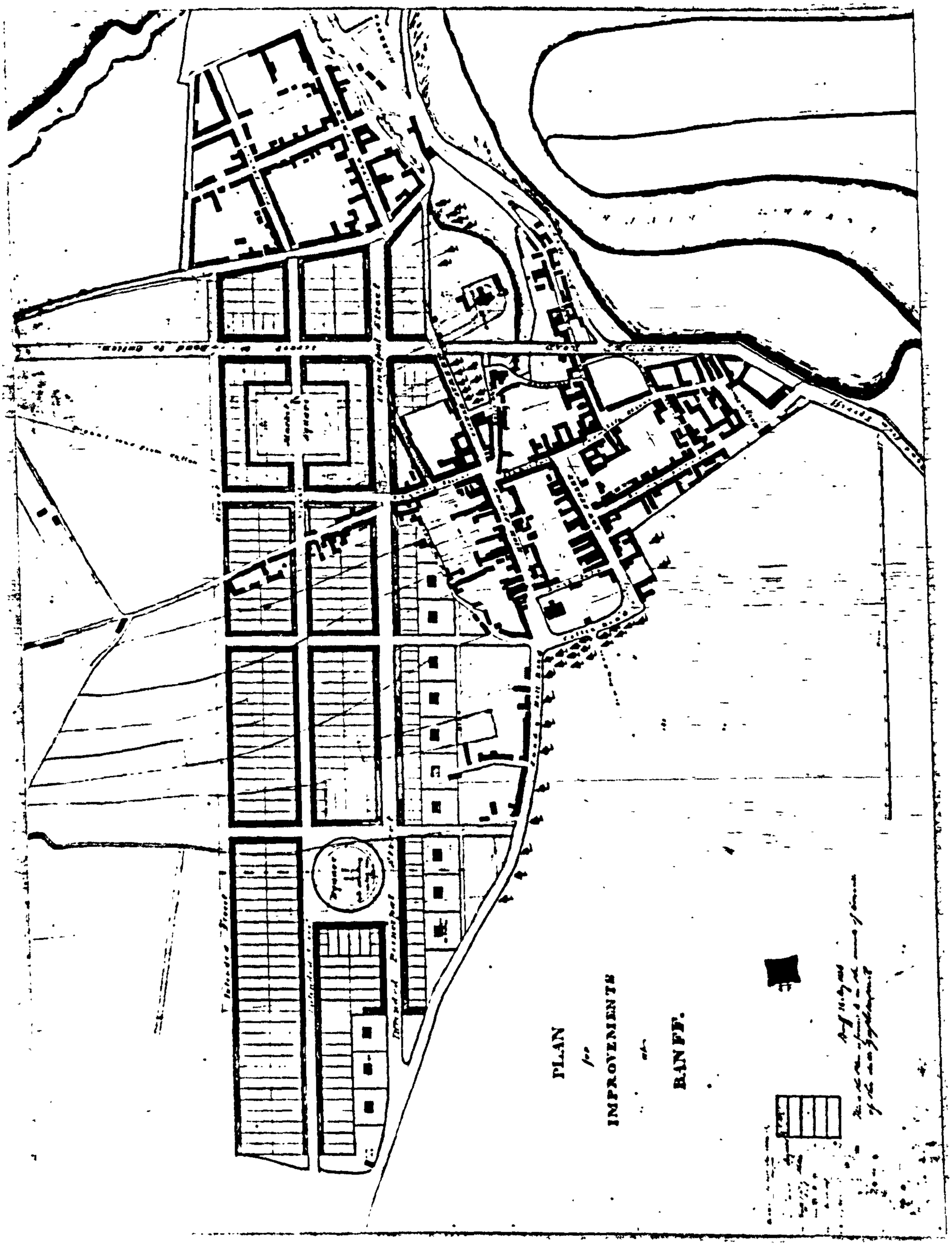

Figure 48

Plan for Improvements to Banff, 1826
BND-34-2

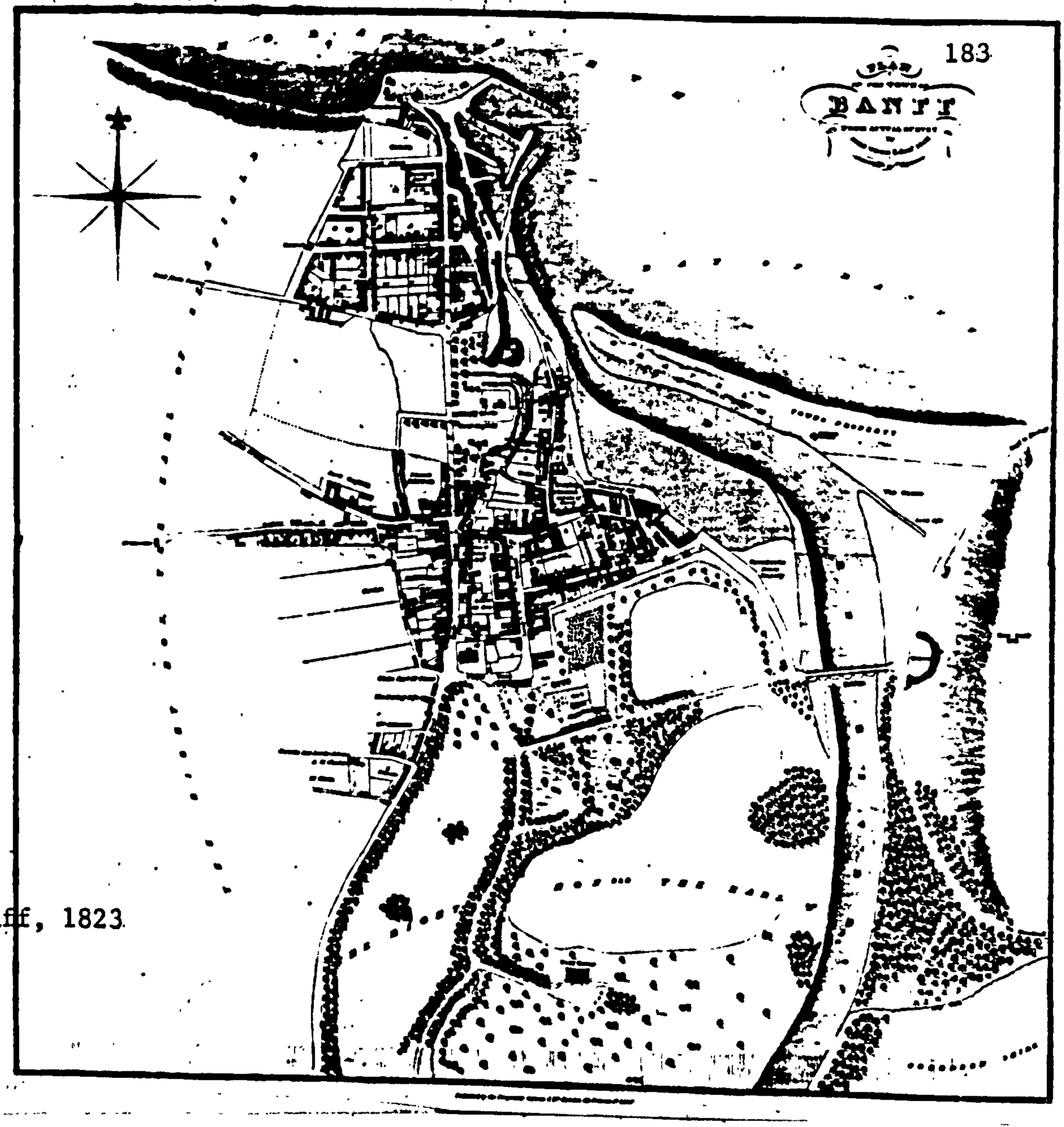

Figure 49a

Plan of Banff, 1823

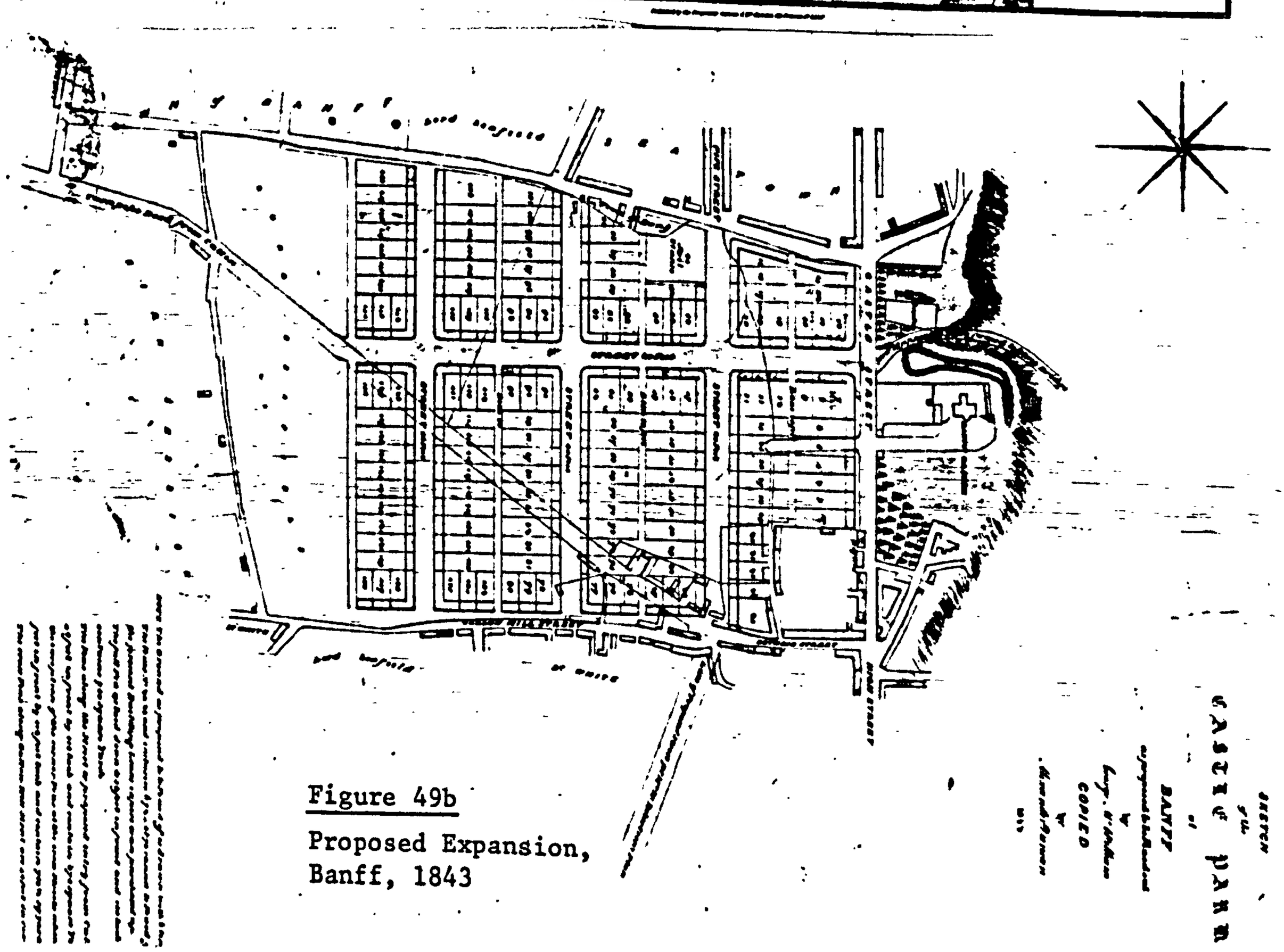

Figure 49b

Proposed Expansion,
Banff, 1843

CHAPTER 5 - CULLEN AREA LAND USE

1. Controls

The sixth Earl's strategic plan for Banff was not an isolated concept for the estate nucleus at Cullen House also affected land use patterns upon that surrounding area in a calculated manner. In the eighteenth century , it was an area subject to special controls: to experimentation, to intensive improvement and to an aggressive afforestation programme. Cullen's strategic plan was revised by each generation.

The dominant element in the plan was the land immediately surrounding the house which was dedicated as the estate grounds or policies. This grew from the fourth Earl's ten or twenty acre formal walled gardens and burn plantings, to the fifth Earl's three hundred acre grid with buffer forest, to the sixth Earl's fifteen hundred acre expanded forest, and finally to the seventh Earl's proposed fifteen thousand acre policies which would have radically altered land use in four parishes. (Refer to Figure 50.)

Topics discussed in this chapter include: a detailed physical geography identifying significant land use determinants; traditional settlement patterns evolving from the arrival of the first humans on Cullen Beach c. 1700 BC; a synopsis of Cullen House's architectural history; selected experimental improvements; evidence of a strategic plan; the seventh Earl's revolutionary plan; and Cullen new town. It will be argued that the strategic plan was not confined to an aesthetic development of the landscape behind the policy walls, but affected land use over a broader area, an area which was administered as Cullen Factory.

2. Physical Geography

Cullen Factory was a composite of approximately 20,000 acres within Cullen, Deskford, Fordyce and Rathven parishes. Its boundaries are the North Sea from Findochty to Portsoy, and five hills: Maud, Altmore, Lurg, Summertown and Durn. The node is Cullen-Deskford Burn.

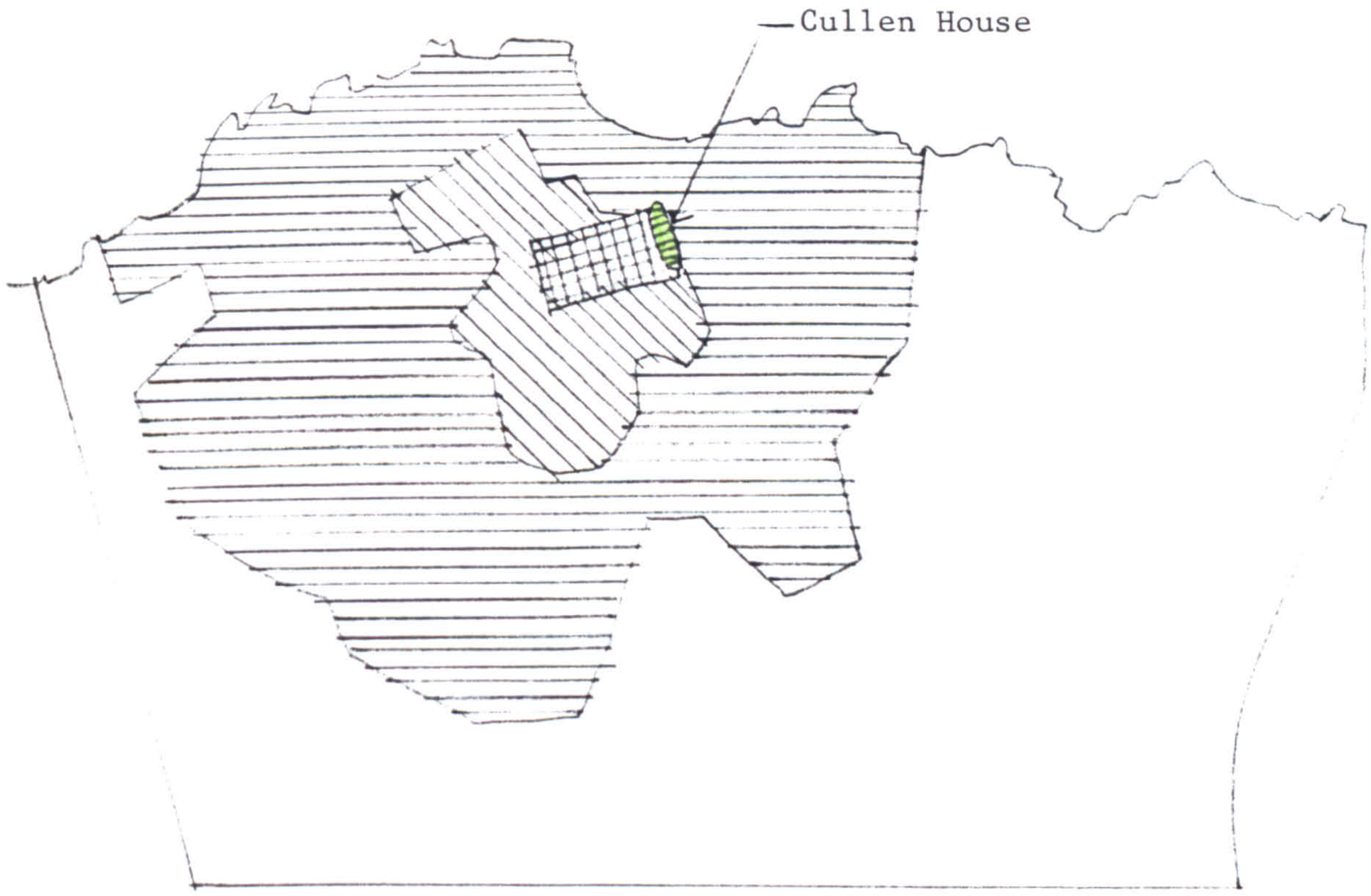

Figure 50 - Proposed Expansion to Cullen Policies

Fourth Earl, c.1720

Fifth Earl, c.1732

Sixth Earl, c.1764

Seventh Earl, proposed 1790

The area's geology reflects the Caledonian geosyncline with concentrated narrow bands of twelve lithological divisions including: quartzite, sandstone conglomerate, garnetiferous mica-schist, flag schists, mica-schists, phyllites, black schist, limestone, foliated granite and augen-gneiss, limestone quartzite graphite schist mica-schist, gabbro epidiorite amphibolite hornblende-schist and pyroxenite serpentine. Evidence suggests faults. (Refer to Figure 51.)

Superficial deposits include the dominant glacial boulder clays and a secondary deposition of glacial sands and gravels. Other smaller deposits include: freshwater alluvial terraces, exposed quartzite, low raised beaches, blown sand at Cullen and Sandend, peat, and flag shists. Quartzite is expected on binn tops, but the presence of quartzite on Crannoch Hill explains the continuing efforts at improvement there during the eighteenth century. Also of interest are the remaining peat bogs of Altmore; all of the smaller deposits around the region have been removed in the past two centuries, except for this one massive area. (Refer to Figure 52.)

The dominant soils are fertile podzols and associated gleys, but smaller deposits include: blown sand beaches, peat podzols and associated gleys, basin peat, skeletal soils on binns, recent alluvium in burns, hill and basin peat on Altmore, and some brown forest soils and associated gleys towards the east. The land classification is predominantly good. (Refer to Figure 53.)

The varied lithological topography created a great many drainage problems. The Hill of Maud is elevation 274 metres, Altmore 262, Lurg 313, Summertown 246, and Durn Binn is 199. The dominant feature is the Binn of Cullen at elevation 320 metres. The region is intersected by three modest burns: the Cullen-Deskford, Fordyce and Durn. These provide the main run-off channels to the North Sea. Localized ponding provided early challenges to the eighteenth century improvers. (Refer to figure 54)

The upland areas were wasteland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and served as buffers for the territorial ambitions of the principal local lairds: Glassaugh, Birkenbog, Hay of Rannas, Durn, Ogilvy of Boyne and Ogilvy of Findlater. Development of wasteland gradually reduced the

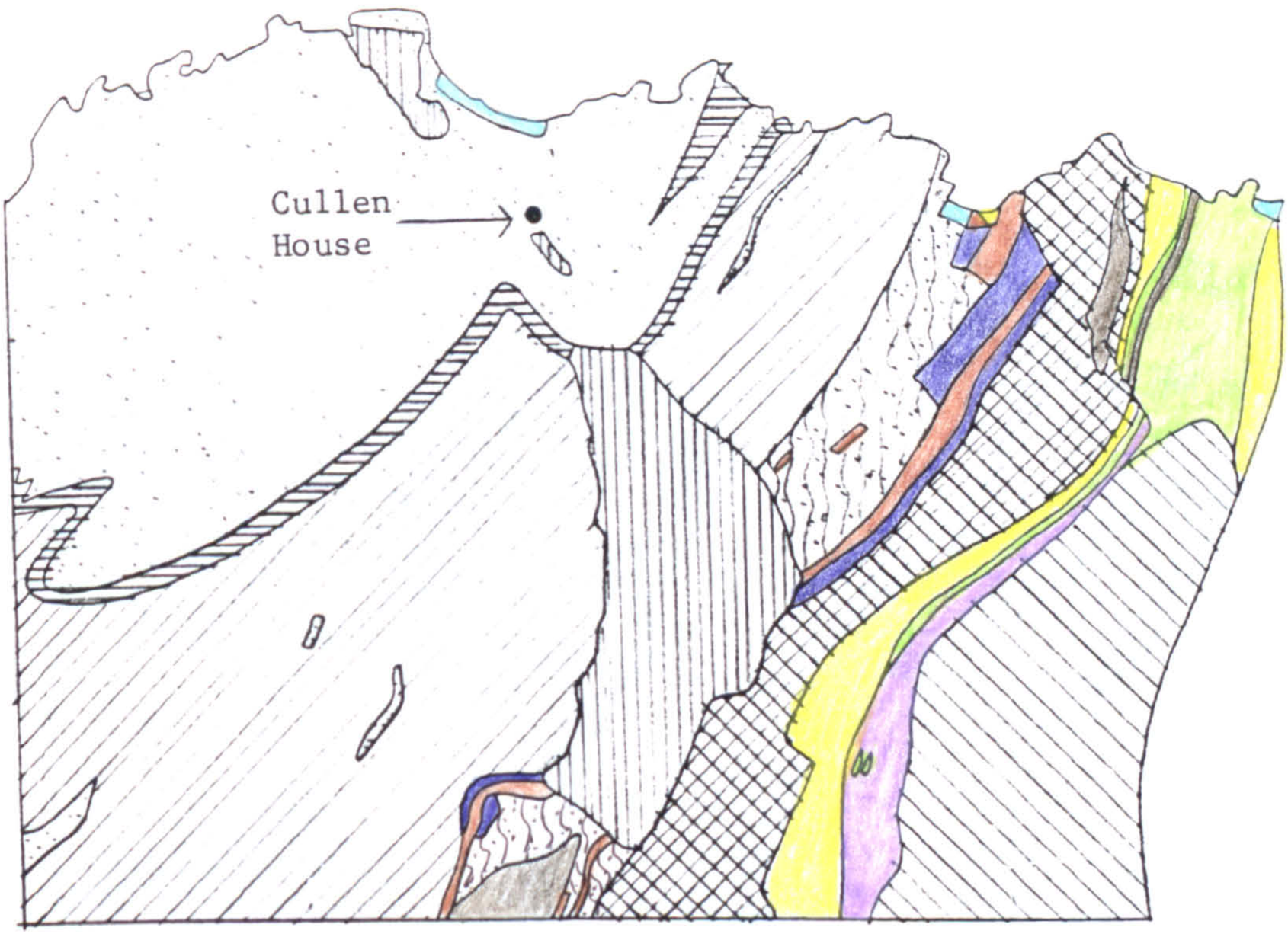

Figure 51 - Solid Geology

Present Beach

Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate

Norite & Hypersthene-gabbro

Foliated Granite & Augen-gneiss

Gabbro, Epidiorite, Amphibolite & Hornblende-schist

Pyroxenite Serpentine

Portsoy Group Limestone, Quartzite,
Graphite-schist & Mica-schist

Durn Hill Group Quartzite & Quartzite Mica-schist

Sandend Group Mica-schists & Phyllites

Sandend Group Black Schist

Sandend Group Limestone

Findlater Flags

West End Sands, Garnetiferous Mica-schist

Cullen Quartzite

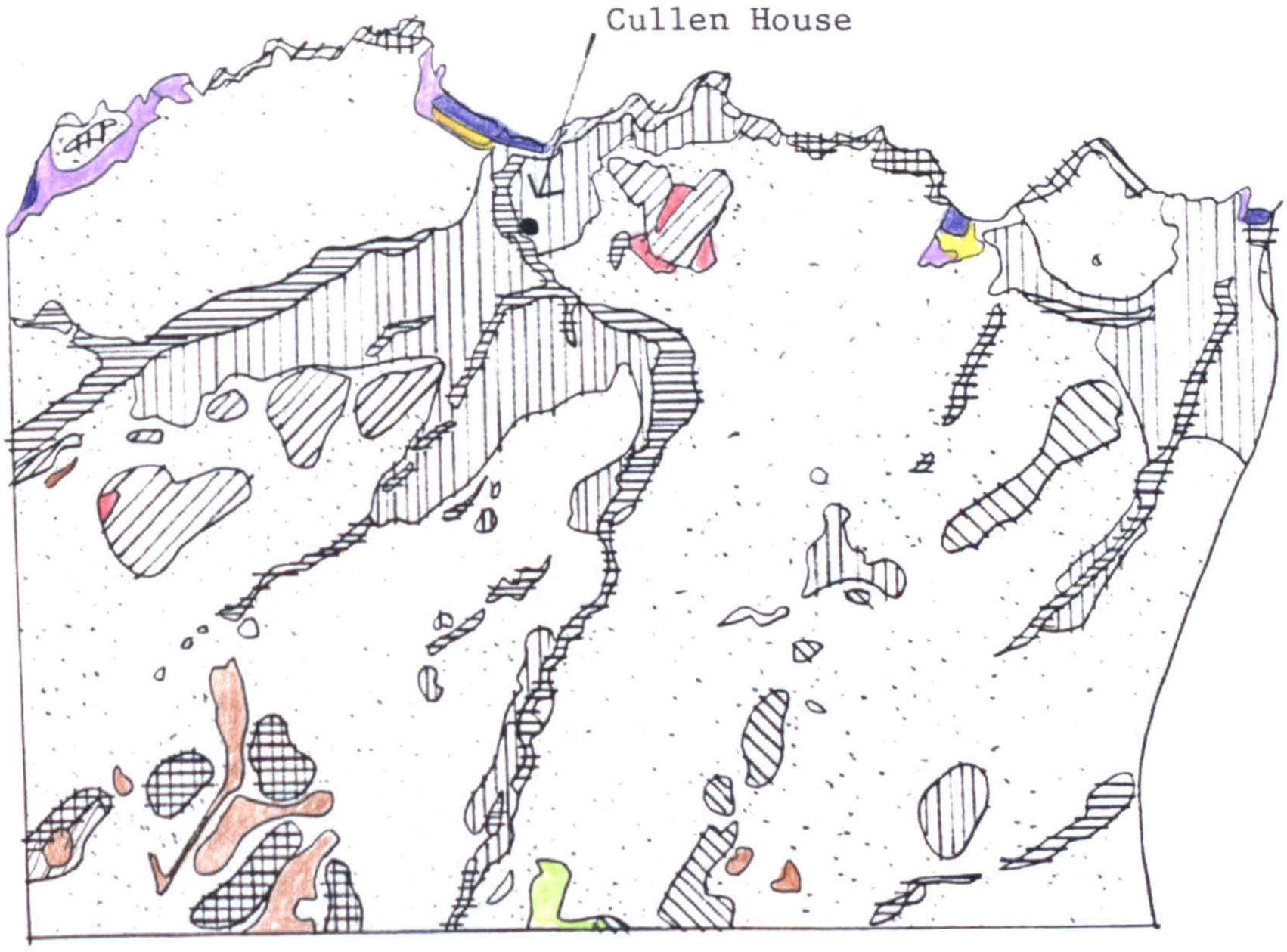

Figure 52 - Surficial Geology

Reproduced from the Geological Survey of Scotland - Sheet 96

- Blown Sand
- Peat
- Freshwater Alluvia - Terraces
- Present Beach
- Raised Beach
- Glacial Sands & Gravels
- Boulder Clay
- Foliated Granite & Augen Gneiss
- Durn Hill Quartzite
- Findlater Flags
- West End Sands, Garnetiferous Mica-schist
- Cullen Quartzite

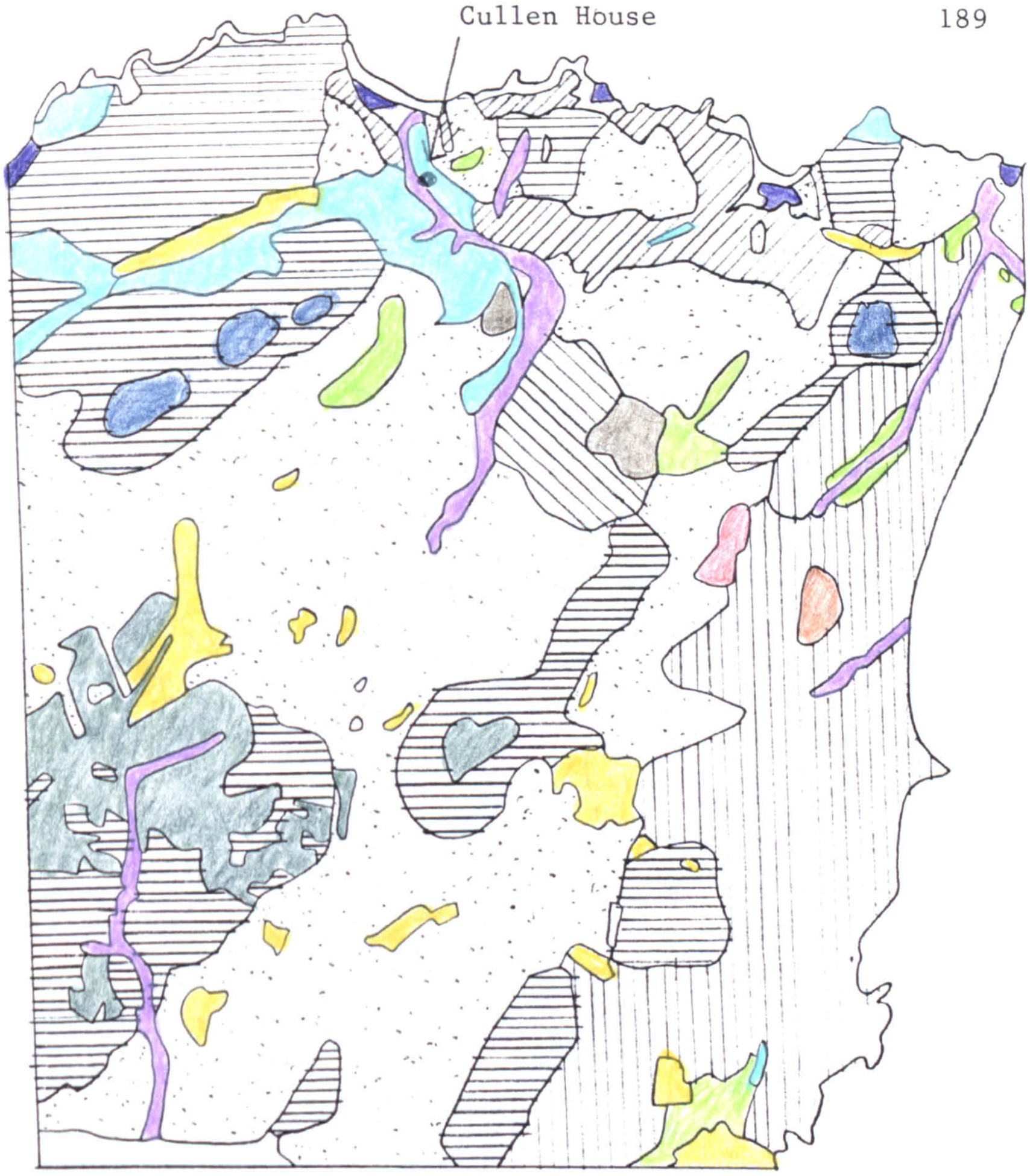

Figure 53 - Soils

Reproduced from the Soil Survey of Scotland - Sheet 96

- Leslie.....Brown Forest Soils & Assoc. Gleys
- Insch..... " " " " " "
- Tarves..... " " " " " "
- Ordley Till.. " " " " " "
- Bogtown Clays " " " " " "
- Strichen.....Podzols & Assoc. Gleys
- Foundland.... " " " "
- Hatton..... " " " "
- Cuminestoun.. " " " "
- Boyndie..... " " " "
- Corbie..... " " " "
- Durnhill Peat Podzols & Associated Gleys
- Alluvium
- Links
- Skeletal Soils
- Hill Peat
- Basin Peat

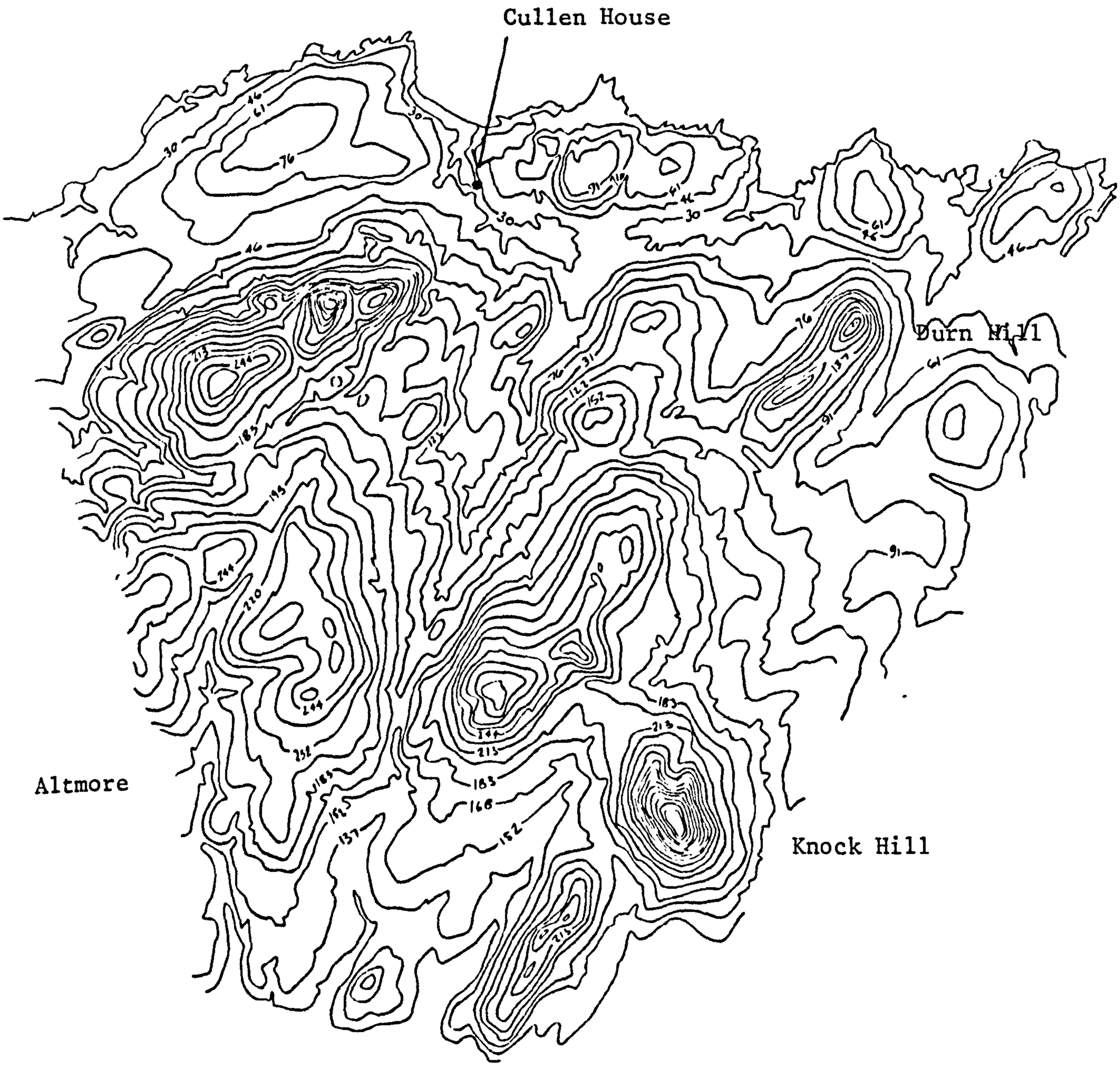

Figure 54 - Topography

15 m. Interval Contours

distances between neighbours and there was a tendency for the smaller estates to be assimilated. By the end of the century, only three landowners remained.

In general, the geography was complicated, but condusive to agricultural settlement. Forty percent of the estate was most likely under tillage with the outfield areas tending towards anthropogenic soils by 1707; the balance would have been wasteland or commonty, and would have been underutilized until the improvement age.

3. Initial Colonization, Inverculan and Findlater Castle

With the natural advantages of Cullen Bay's beach, the Burn's fresh water, and the moderate coastal climate, Cullen must have attracted early settlement. How early is impossible to identify, since very limited archaelogical fieldwork has been conducted in the area. The eighteenth century discovery of bronze age artifacts in Findochty-Portknockie caves, a group of second millenium cairns with cinerary urns at Foulford bridge (within Cullen policies)[1], a cairn at Craigmills of Glassaugh (demolished 1750), a cairn at Kilhillock (c. 1765), cairn at Brankanentim (near Kilhillock c. 1750), a cairn at Brankanentim (near Kilhillock c. 1750), and a fort of triple entrenchment with stone on Durn Hill[2], provides tantalizing evidence.

The areas one serious archaeological excavation occurred at Greencastle. Evidence from the seven seasons of exploration's earliest settlement was carbon dated as 685±40 AD. [3] Greencastle was a Pictish timber laced defensive rampart[4] with one minor stone structure of 4 metres by 8 metres.[5] This exactly corresponded to a network of timber promontory forts throughout the northeast[6] acting as defences against Viking raids.

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1. A. Henshall, "The Early Peoples", pp. 101-102 and 107-108.
2. Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, 1769, pp. 152-157.
3. Proudfoot (1982): the limited topological variation confirmed the radiocarbon analysis.
4. Proudfoot ed., Discovery and Excavation in Scotland, 1979 p.14: "Presence of longitudinal beams interleaved with the wall-face in the manner of Burghead".
5. Ibid 1980
6. Ian Ralston, Scottish Archaeological Forum 10, 1980 pp 27-40.

When and where was the area's first settlement? If the theory of mesolithic-neolithic colonization occurring first along the northeast beaches is accurate, then sometime prior to 1,700 BC, a settlement would have been established on Cullen beach, probably on the site of the present seatoun, where there was fresh water and some shelter.[7] This could have resembled the neolithic village of Skara Brae in the Orkneys, or the bronze age Jarlshof in Shetland.[8] Greencastle fort was of a much later vintage.

The first historical evidence was not until the establishment of a royal burgh at Inverculan c. 1189-1198.[9] This resulted from the Canmore policy of establishing central control over the Moray coast by founding a series of seven royal burghs. Aberdeen c. 1124-1153 was a grant from David I to the Bishop and citizens of Aberdeen; Forres and Elgin both date c. 1130-1153; while Banff and Cullen were a multiple toft grant by William the Lion to the Bishop of Moray c. 1189-1198.[10] These plantations were inhabited by Anglo-Norman and Flemish immigrant tradesmen. Their purpose was to act as a nucleus to a private fiefdom through which local government could be controlled for the benefit of Royal authority. They were to assimilate and to influence living patterns through promoting a more intensive exploitation of natural resources.[11]

Following the logic of continuous settlement on one site outlined in Hoskins' work,[12] some sort of settlement may have emerged between the three thousand year earlier beach village and the twelfth Century Inverculan. A reasonable hypothesis is that a settlement may have existed as an appendage to some sort of fortification [13], and that the designation as a Royal burgh was

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7. Henshall (1976), op.cit., p.95 and Simpson, "The Region Before 1700," pp. 70-86.
8. W. Douglas Simpson, The Ancient Stones of Scotland, chapters 3 & 4.
9. Adams, (1978), op.cit., p. 16, figure 1.3.
10. G.S. Pryde, The Burghs of Scotland: a Critical List, chapter 1.
11. Adams, (1978), op.cit., chapter one. Refer also to Barrow (1980), op.cit., chapter two.
12. Hoskins, Fieldwork in Local History, and The Making of the English Landscape.
13. Adams, (1978), op.cit., p. 31: often a fortification was a pre-urban nucleus.

more of an administrative elevation which carried with it growth from immigrants with trade skills who were specifically encouraged to settle as a result of government intervention.

What did it look like? If Inverculan fits the mould of these Royal burgs, it was at a bridging point or ford, somewhat sheltered from the elements, consisting of one single street in a more or less linear configuration. This is precisely the pattern of the old town of Cullen plotted on Peter May's plans of 1762 and 1764.[14] (Refer to figure 55)

This was not the gridiron plantation of Edward I's later thirteenth century English new towns, [15] but rather an unplanned community with the dignity of a charter. The houses would have been little more than wooden huts,[16] but there would have been four public structures of some substance: a castle, tolbooth, market cross, and chapel. [17] Few towns were substantial enough to have the security of town walls, and there is no evidence of walls on May's plans.

A castle's ruined earthworks does indeed exist mid-point between the head of old Cullen town and the Seatown. It was a strategic position overlooking Bay and Burn; not formidable,[18] but it did correspond to a pattern of coastal fortification at the head of all Burns from Fraserburg to Inverness. It is impossible to attach a date to construction. It may have existed before Cullen was elevated to a Royal Burgh, in which case it may have had some distant resemblance to the northern brochs[19], or the fourth century A.D. Burghead.[20] If construction postdated the Royal Burgh's creation, it could

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14. SRO RHP 12874 (1762) and SRO RHP 12 875 (1764)
15. Bell, City Fathers, the Early History of Town Planning in Britain, pp. 35-61.
16. Adams (1978) op.cit., chapter one: Edinburgh was burned in 1385, and it was rebuilt in three days.
17. Dunbar (1966), op.cit., pp. 94-100: Likely construction was timber with wattle and daub and thatch
18. H.G. Graham, Social Life in Scotland, pp. 5-6: describes location rationales.
19. Simpson (1965), op.cit., chapter 6
20. Small (1976), op.cit., pp. 115-119, and plate 12: Burghead dated from the 4th century AD, however the technology of a timber laced fort was known since the early iron age. Also see Simpson, The Ancient Stones of Scotland, appendix.

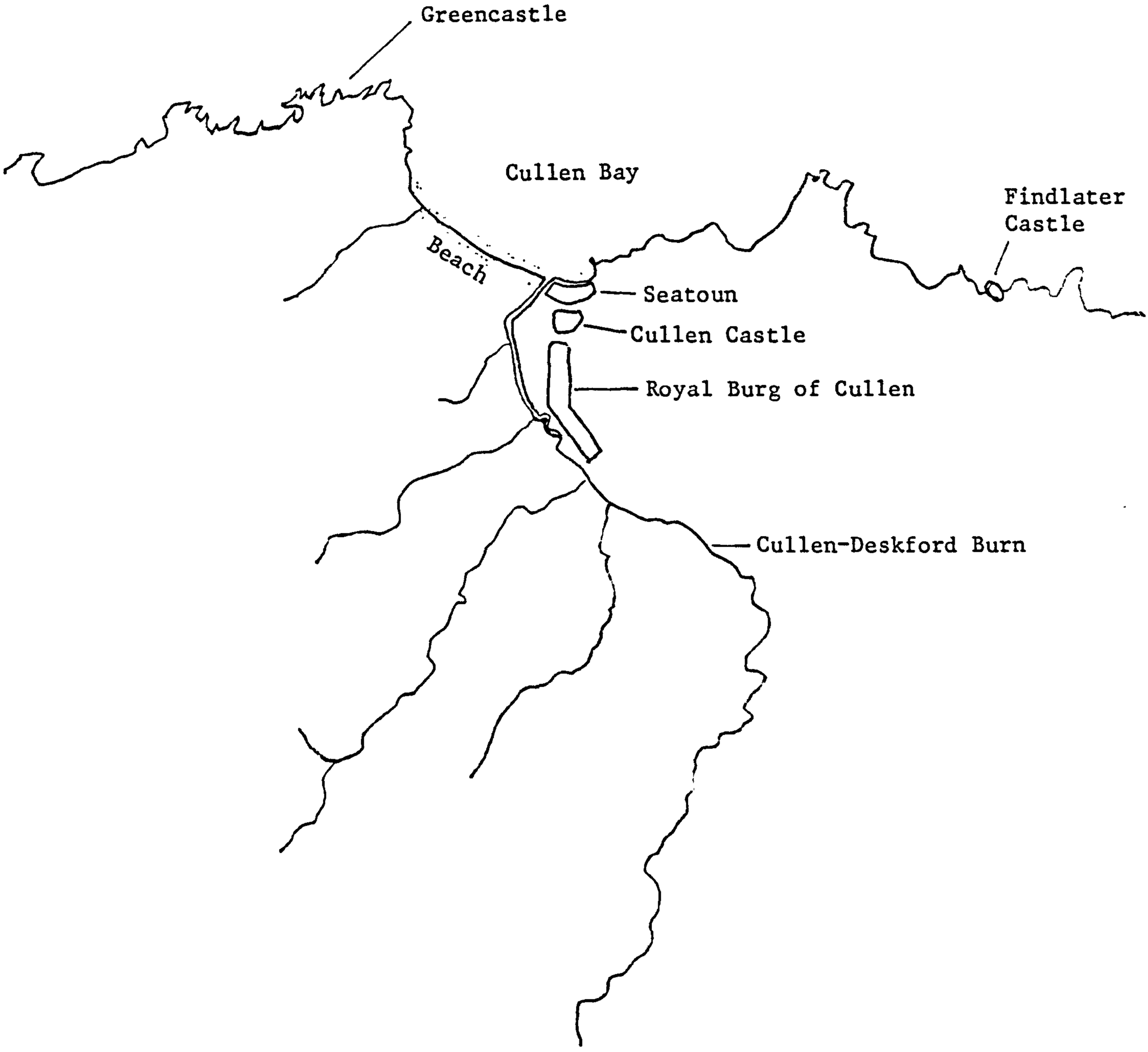

Figure 55

Cullen Castle and Town

have been constructed concurrent with Banff Castle, which guarded the Deveron's mouth to the east, and which was completed by 1242,[21] or with the circa fifteenth century Boyne Castle which protected the Burn of Durn,[22] but the physical evidence does not support either of these hypotheses.

Recent preliminary archeological fieldwork revealed a motte with some slight masonry evidence, and with a bailey of variable width of 120.0 metres with a 6.0 metre wide 1.7 metre deep ditch and an outer bank of 6.0 metres wide by 1.5 metres height. Ralston draws similarities with Kinedard and Elgin Castles, both occupied by 1296.[23]

Such a fortress would probably have begun as earthworks with timber pallisades, and a wooden tower within the compound.[24] It was usual in subsequent generations, for such a castle to be rebuilt with a central stone curtain-wall tower, although Cullen "castle" provides no visual expression of a substantial stone keep in the manner of Duffus castle.[25]

Who presided over the manor? The first reference to the local baron was in the 1381 charter of inheritance by which Richard St. Clair held title to the Regality of Cullen.[26] All of the Scottish Sinclairs claim descent from the Sinclairs of Herdmanston who were Norman knights whose original estate was a few miles north of Saint-Clair sûr l'Elle.[27] There is a possibility that the St. Clairs held the Regality from the original c.1189 foundation, although with the Moray rebellions towards the land redistribution policy, and the scarcity of written records, it is impossible to be certain.[28]

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21. R. Gourlay and A. Turner, "Scottish Burgh Survey, 1977": Historic banff, the archaelogical implications for development.
22. MacGibbon & Ross (1887) op. cit., pp. 301-306.
23. E.V.W. Proudfoot editor., Discovery and Excavation in Scotland, 1980.
24. Dunbar (1966), op.cit., pp. 39-41: at least 200 have been identified.
25. Simpson (1965), op.cit., chapter 10: no enceinte.
26. Spence (1873), op.cit., Marriage of Johanna of Findlater with Richard St. Clair was 1366. This has not been substantiated.
27. G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History, p.80
28. Isabel A. Milne, Land Tenures in Scotland in the XII and XIII Centuries", chapter 2.

The second historical reference to Cullen was in the journal of Edward I's progress to subdue northern Scotland in the year 1269. The journal briefly states: "Sundaie to Banet Castell; the Mundaie to Incolan Maner".[29] The designation "Maner" as opposed to the more substantial "Castell" reinforces an image of Cullen possessing not much more than an earthenwork fortress enclosing a timbered residence.

In the next generation, Elizabeth de Burgh, wife of Robert the Bruce, was in residence at Cullen Manor-Castle at the time of her death (Nov. 1327 in childbirth). The King endowed with a toft grant of £5 forever, the Chaplain of St. Mary's to pray for her soul.[30] This was not the existing St. Mary's Church which can be proven to be a 16th century construction on another site, but rather a Chapel presumably attached to the manor.

The Ogilvy succession is clearer. The last male Sinclair died at the Battle of Harlaw c. 1411, leaving title to his daughter Margaret. Sir Walter Ogilvy, [31] a second son of the later Earl of Airly, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, married her by 1424.[32] A surviving charter to the lands and barony of Deskford and Cullen dates from 1440, and confirms title to the 2,000 acre traditional nucleus of the estate to Ogilvy.[33]

Whether or not Sir Walter Ogilvy regarded Cullen Manor-Castle as "not suitable for the ascendancy of a feudal aristocracy",[34] or whether he was obeying one of the first acts of James I's reign in 1424 for "all barons north of

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29. P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland, pp. 1-6: the record states: "Sundaie to Banet Castell; the Mundaie to Incolan maner".
Refer also the McNeill and Nicholson, An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600 map 55 "Itinerary of Edward I, 1296".
30. William Cramond, "The Church and Churchyard of Cullen", p. 2 Crammond claims there had been a Church at Cullen since 1275, however most of his facts are unsubstantiated or are incorrect.
31. First baron Auchlevyn and Deskford, styled 1419-1464.
32. SRO GD 248-1160 Inventory of Writs at Cullen, Vol I, by William Robertson: this lists a marriage dower charter in 1405 which contradicts much later secondary evidence.
33. SRO GD 248-1160
34. Dunbar, (1978), op.cit., p.41.

the Mounth to repair or rebuild al ancient castles or fortalices, and to reside in them...",[35] he was granted licence to fortallice in 1445, and construction had begun by 1455 on a new castle at Findlater,[36] three kilometres to the east along the coastline. The old Cullen castle was abandoned and by 1760 it had become a turfed garden mount where "a picturesque view of the North Sea could be enjoyed".[37] Ogilvy's preoccupation with defense, and his ability to finance such an ambitious capital program corresponds to his appointment as Sheriff of Banff 1454-56[38] during the period of the Douglas Civil Wars.[39]

It is hard to imagine a more impregnable location. Findlater castle was built on a rocky peninsula projecting into the Moray Firth.[40] Access was restricted to a narrow isthmus with that approach defended by two fosses and a rampart. The castle walls rose from the sheer cliffs. The overall area covered was 77 m by 45 m, with the castle enclosure being 26 m by 58 m.[41] Since it was designed towards the end of the fortifications period, it could take advantage of previous construction.[42] It closely resembles the larger fifteenth century Girnigoe Castle of the Sinclair Earls of Caithness across the Moray Firth.[43]

The changing circumstances of history brought peace to Scotland by the end of the sixteenth century, which resulted in a desire for greater creature comfort. The exposed location of Findlater Castle, with its cold, drafty sea

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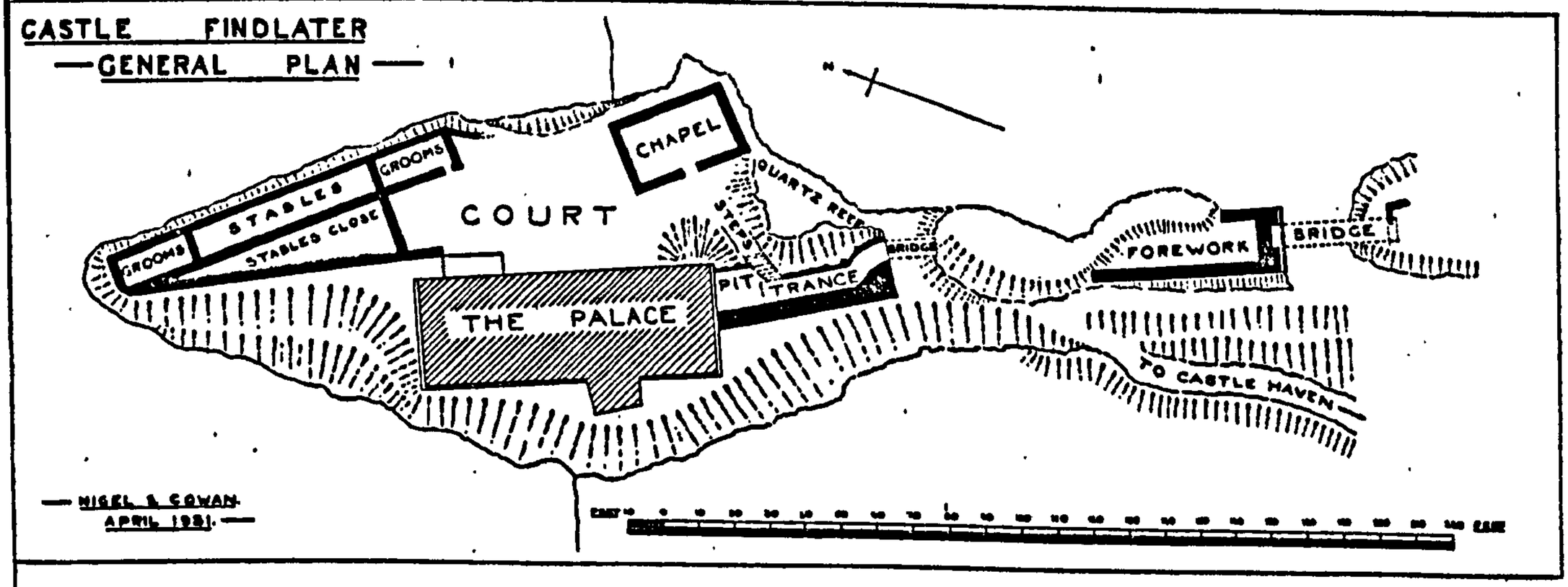
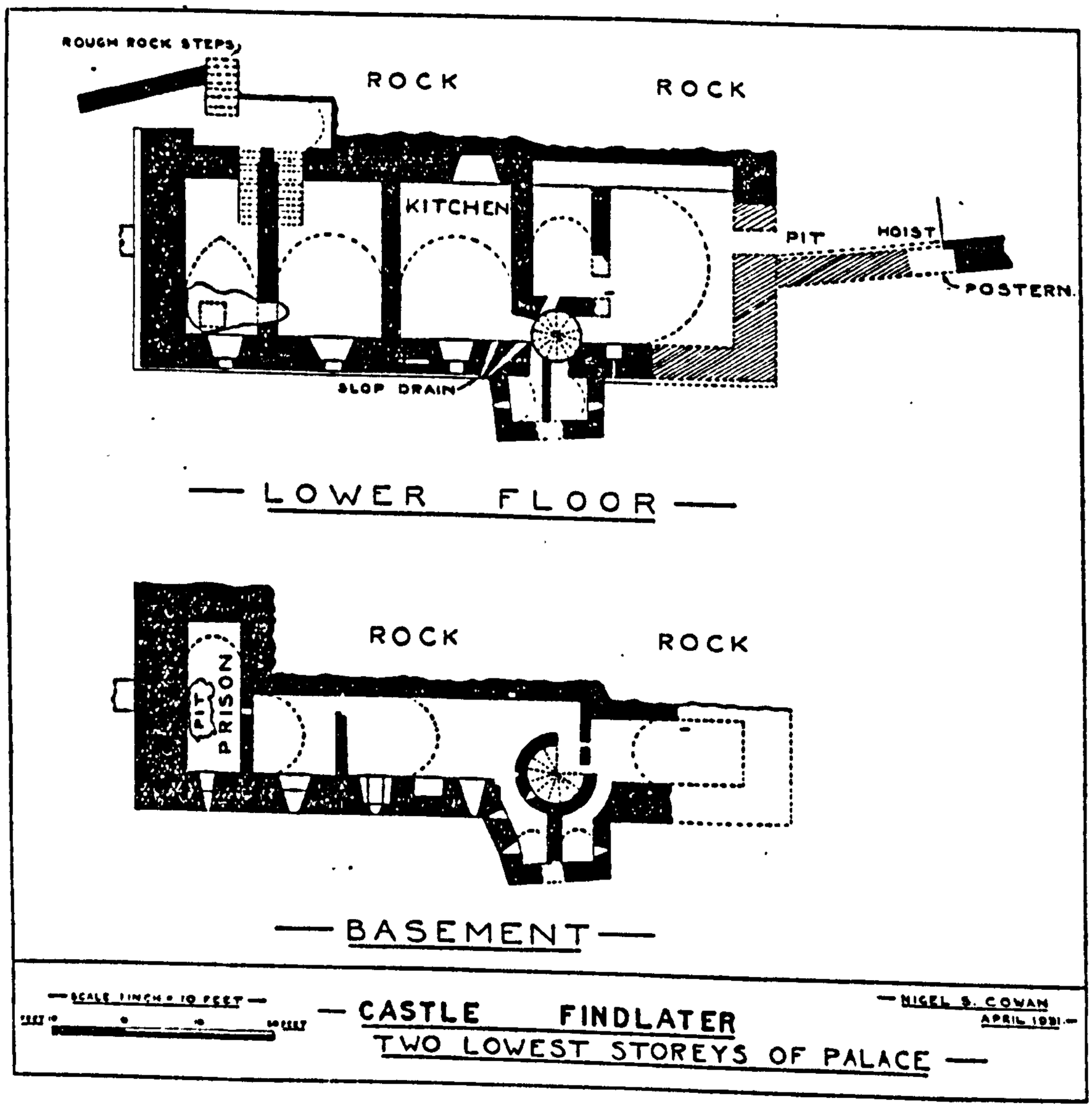
35. William Watt, A History of Aberdeen and Banff, chapter 4. and SRO GD 248-1160, with licence by James II dated 9-02-1445.
36. Scottish Historical Review, Vol. II, p.101: Third Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm. App. 404 Simpson (1931) dates construction however at 1455.
37. Pococke, in Kemp (1887), op. cit., pp. 191-196: this was described as a Danish mount with two terraces on 28-07-1760.
38. Exch, Rolls vi. 171: the Sheriffdom was acquired through the Airly family connection. It was Airly's policy to extend his influence towards the Moray Firth through the acquisition of large land holdings in Banffshire. Most of the property was lost after he became attained in the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, and was purchased by Findlater and Fife.
39. McNeill and Nicholson (1975) op.cit. Map 77 "Sheriffs, Stewards and Bailies 1455". and pp. 69-70.
40. Dunbar (1965), op.cit., pp. 41-45.
41. MacGibbon and Ross, (1887), op.cit., vol. 3. p. 340
42. MacKay MacKenzie, The Medieval Castle in Scotland, part 3.
43. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 306-314.



· THREE BANFFSHIRE CASTLES· Fig. 1.

Figure 56

Findlater Castle Plans
Reproduced from W.D. Simpson, "Three Banffshire Castles", pp.69-96



breezes coupled with changing fashions, proved far more damaging to the structure than an enemy attack had ever been, for in 1600-1602, Sir Alexander Ogilvy's dynastic ambition led to Findlater Castle's abandonment, and to the return to Cullen.[44]

4. Royal Forests and Development

Although the area had been settled for thousands of years and presumably would have been largely cleared, portions of the inland region were still described as royal forests until the late fifteenth century, and in fact Boyne carried the name and rights of a forest until the 1747 abolition of heritable rights. The first impression of a primeval wilderness associated with the legislated forests has been incorrectly reinforced by economic historians such as Anderson[45] and Steven and Carlysle.

The early eighteenth century survival of "the Forest of Boyne" was in fact inconsistent with the reality of an overgrazed and deforested landscape. Gilbert's treatise explains that even during the time of the medieval foundation, designation as "forest" did not necessarily connotate a woodland but rather it was an area whose land use was controlled and administered as a hunting reserve.[46]

The region has supported a good number of hunting reserves since the 13th century. The royal forest of Inverculan first was recorded in 1226[47] and disappears an entity about 1382. The royal forest of Banff first appeared in 1242.[48] The Enzie was a separate creation from 1292 to c. 1327.[49] Boyne and Enzie was first recorded 1326-7[50] when Gilbert Hay of Locherwood was

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44. There is a family legend that the castle was abandoned due to the tragic death of a child falling from a window to the rocks below.
45. Anderson, (1967) op.cit. pp. 200-203.
46. J.M. Gilbert, Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland, Introduction.
47. Ibid, p. 27 and Appendix D. Refer also to Moray Reg., 29.
48. Ab. Antiquities, ii. 109.
49. Rot. Scot., i, 9a.
50. R.M.S., i, App. 1,65.

appointed forester. The Sinclairs of St. Clair Sùr l'Elle were vassals of the Hays of Haye Bellfonds,[51] and this may explain how the Sinclairs came to colonize Cullen.

Over the years, the authority of the Crown in the Moray forests was diminished through land grants. Land use must have rendered it less than a pristine wilderness, for Forester Hay was authorized to keep twenty-four cows, one bull, three hundred ewes, three hundred sheep; his eighteen subordinates were each permitted twenty cows and three horses to pasture in return for maintaining the forest.[52] Economic pressure of agricultural encroachment progressively came in conflict with the objectives of maintaining a managed game preserve.[53] In each case, reserves were compromised to permit the increased exploitation of natural resources.

By 1327, Boyne and Enzie were under such strong development pressure that a walled enclosure or "clausura" was required to protect the King's deer. The dykes remained as late as the eighteenth century serving as the boundaries between the forest and thanedom of Boyne.[54]

By 1492, Boyne had become the property of the Earl of Huntly who granted Walter Ogilvy the right to plough previous uncultivated land. This received Royal confirmation in 1495.[55] Later the forests of Boyne-Enzie and

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51. Gilbert (1975), op.cit., Map A and Map B.
52. Ibid; p. 148 and 311.
53. Ibid; p. 313.
54. Anderson, op.cit, p. 201: "In the parishes of Boyndie and Fordyce, there is the marks of an old stone dyke, dividing the Boyne in Thaindome (lying towards the sun to the north and east) and the Forest of Boyne (lying south and west)"; also see Spence (1873), op.cit., p. 50.
55. Anderson, op.cit., p. 201: The 1495 charter of James IV to William Ogilvie read: "Of the lands of Auchannoquhy lying within my Forest of Boyne extending to the lands of Knokdurne to the west...to Ordyies with the Coukschaw to the east... and of Tullinaught extneding to Knokdurne to the south...thanage to the north...with woods and especially the wood of Killatoquhy to Lesewynis Cairn...south the stream of Boyne...with free forestry." Further, Ogilvy was granted the right on lands not previously tilled extracting thistles, thorns, willows, old trees, roots and making ditches and hedges.

Banff were divided into the ownership of numerous landowners. The remaining land known as the Forest of Boyne was held by the Boyne Cadet Branch of the Findlater Ogilvy's until this was reacquired by the fourth Earl.[56]

Evidence of the gradual establishment of a properous and peaceful order with increasing population came with the creation of new parishes. Deskford was disjoined from Fordyce Parish in 1543[57] at the time of the establishment of St. Mary's Church in Cullen. (Refer to Figure 75 and Chapter 6) Deskford sacremental house was constructed in 1551 as a foundation of Sir Alexander Ogilvy and his wife Elizabth Gordon.[58] Deskford was created a Burg of Regality in 1698. Portsoy in 1550. The new Town of Fordyce was created as Burg of Baron in 1499 by the Earl of Huntly.[59] Fordyce castle was constructed by Thomas Menzies, a wealthy merchant in 1592.[60] (Refer to figure 60)

Further examples of a prosperous feudal community rising from what had previously been legislated forest include: Findlater Castle c. 1445, Findlater's Beehive-type Dovecot c. 1550,[61] Boyne Castle, c. 1590, Deskford Castle c. 1551 and several substantial farmhouses.[62]

Boyne Castle, also known as "Craig O'Boyne" or "House of Boyne"[63] (refer to chapter four) was a rectangular plan with four 7.1 metre diameter projecting towers joined by a 1.6 metre thick enciente enclosing a space of 28.7 by 33.6 metres. The bailey was joined to three sides of the enciente. The

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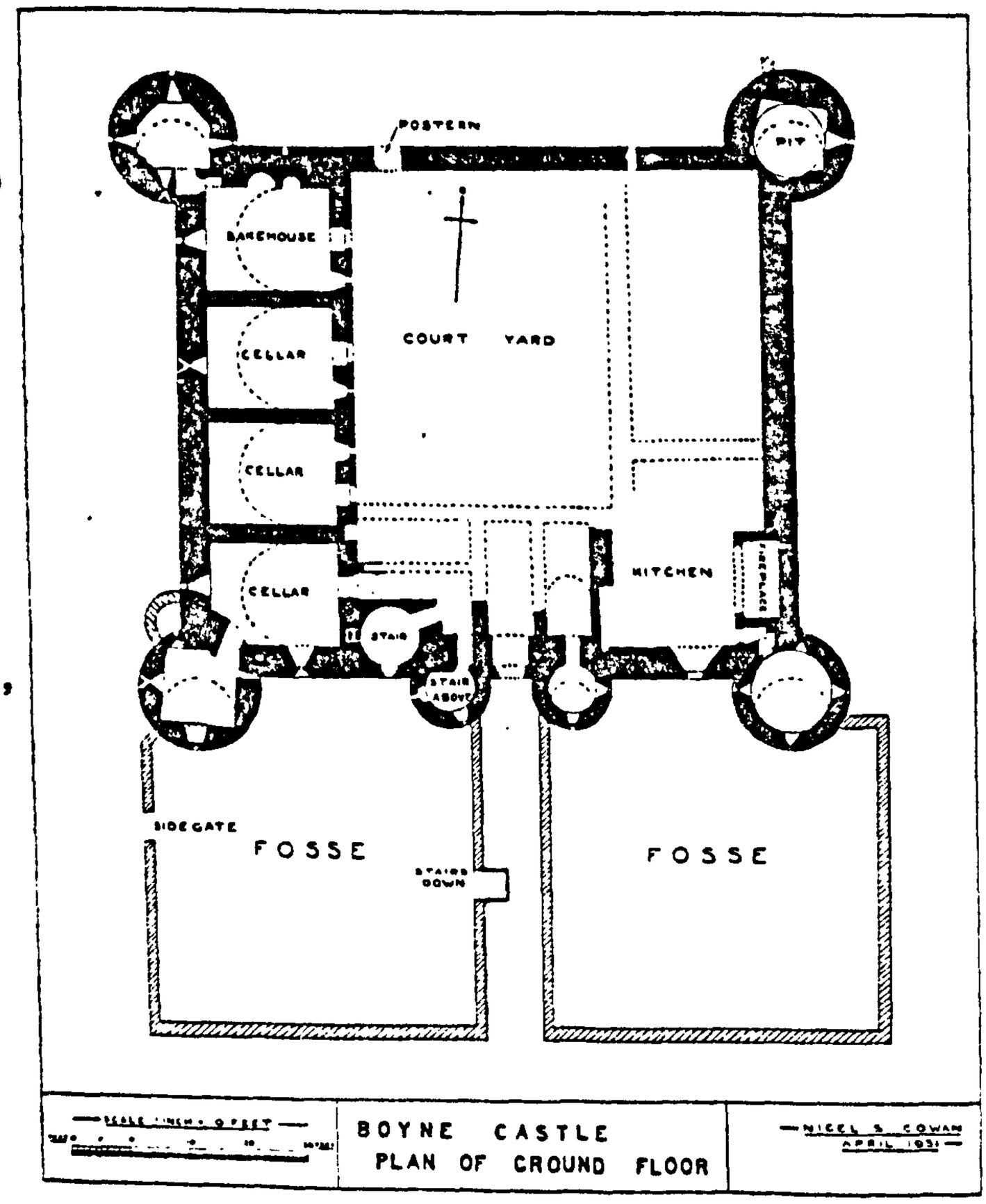
56. Gilbert (1975), op.cit., chapter 4.
57. SRO GD 248-571-3 Oct.1543.
58. Simpson (1965) op.cit.; Appendix. See also BN 731 and BN 708.
59. Adams (1978) op.cit., Appendix.
60. Herbert Fenwick, Fordyce, n.d. Constructed by Thomas Menzies of Durn and his wife Margaret Ogilvy. Refer also the SRO RHP 2548-7 & 8, c.1850.
61. G.A.G Peterkin, Scottish Dovecots
62. A detailed description is contained within Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., Vol. 3.
63. Labelled "House of Boyne" on plan SRO RHP 11857.

Figure 57

Boyne Castle, Drawn by John Clerk of Eldin, c.1779 National Galleries of Scotland, 3095

Figure 58

Boyne Castle Plan, Reproduced from Simpson, "Three Banffshire Castles", pp. 69-96



southern postern was defended by smaller towers and by a fosse, while the castle was defended to the north by the Burns cliffs[64]. There was no keep.

The castle was occupied in 1717 by Lord Deskford's family, and was used in the next generation as a granary. John Clerk of Eldin's sketch c. 1779 shows a picturesque ruin.[65] An 1880 photo shows that the enceinte walls were still largely intact.[66] Preliminary field work in 1967 revealed the enceinte to be of massive limed construction.[67] (Refer to Figures 57 and 58.)

What was the date of Boyne's construction? The classic development of the defenses of the bailey made it unnecesary to have a keep, by the thirteenth century,[68] that coupled with the records of appointment of one Gilbert Hay of Lockerwood as forester of Boyne-Enzie in 1327, suggests an early fourteenth century date. Dunbar, however, has placed it in the late sixteenth century as a conservatively designed, courtyard mansion, bearing a strong resemblance to Tolquhon, Aberdeen, (1584-89).[69]

Deskford Castle was built joined to the sacramental house. The latter was donated in 1551 by Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Deskford; presumably the

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64. MacGibbon and Ross (1887), op.cit., pp. 301-306.
65. Sketch by John Clerk of Eldin c.1779 and sketch by S. Hooper Nov. 1790.
66. BN 1170.
67. C.B.A. Group 1, Discovery and Excavation in Scotland, 1967, p. 16: by L.M. Maclagan-Wedderburn.
68. Dunbar, The Historic Architecture of Scotland p. 26: "One of the most notable developments in the thirteenth century fortification was the strengthening of the defenses of the bailey to a degree which made it unnecesary to have a separate keep, and the dual function of the keep as a strong point and baronial residence was increasingly fulfilled by a well-defended bailey containing ample room both for residential buildings and for service quarters.
69. op.cit. p. 52: "one of the most interesting of these, and one which shows the lengths to which native conservatism could go, is Boyne Castle, Banffshire, erected by one of Ogilvies of Dunlugas towards the end of the sixteenth century. With its highwall of enceinte, massive circular angle-towers, and strong gatehouse, Boyne might well be taken at first glance for a great thirteenth century castle of enclosure, but the symmetrical grouping of the courtyard buildings, now largely ruinous, and the distinctive character of the gun-ports, are more accurate indicators of its true date.

DESKFORD CASTLE.

Figure 59

Deskford Castle, Drawn by C. Cordiner, c. 1788

Figure 60 - Fordyce Castle, 1980

residence was built concurrently.[70] The Reverend Charles Cordiner's etching c. 1788 (refer to figure 59), shows a simple rectangular chapel with bellcot joined to a four storied towerhouse with projecting ruinous wing. The tower had ruinous turrets, corbie stepped ends, but a sound looking roof and looked occupied. Cramond states that it was entirely ruinous c. 1820, and by 1880 most of the stones had been reused for other purposes, leaving almost no trace of the castle, and little trace of the chapel.

Deskford's abandonment may have been due to its poor siting on a flood plain. For instance, the 1708 fall flood caused damage to the manor's garden dykes. Seafield ordered a feasibility study to be made of measures to prevent further flooding.[71] Flood damage in 1722 led to a bulwark being contructed upstream at Skeith to protect the Haugh.[72] Repairs had to be made in 1765.[73]

Another Estate, Glassaugh, was created by a Charter to former Fordyce parish church lands by William, Bishop of Aberdeen, to the grandson of James Ogilvy of Deskford in 1539.[74] This was due to the Bishop's policy of increasing the number of church vassals by granting feu charters to subdivided Episcopal Domains in anticipation of the secularization of church lands; it had no anti-clerical sentiment.[75]

Other surviving substantial farm houses include the early seventeenth century Rannas, [76] and the 1621 Mains of Edingight.[77] Both are of harled stone. Rannas and Muldavit were minor estates carved by entrepreneurs from reformation lands.[78] The mains of Muldavit have been entirely removed.

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70. William Cramond, The Church and Churchyard of Deskford: William Ogilvie in 1724 stated that the tower and church were built at the same time.
71. SRO GD 248 - 560-42-40 Seafield to Deskford 19-09-1708.
72. SRO GD 248 - 563-67-53 Whyte to Findlater 28-01-1723.
73. SRO GD 248-1197 Repairs 1765.
74. Mary Mackie, The Lairds of Glasshaugh. The estate was later purchased by the Abercrombies of Birkenbog.
75. Watt (1900), op.cit., Chapter 5.
76. James Spence, Ruined Castles, Monuments of Former Men in the Vicinity of Banff (1873). Alexander Fenton and Bruce Walker, Rural Architecture of Scotland.
77. BN 668 and 669.
78. Grant (1912), op.cit. pp. 30-31.

5. Experimental Land Use

The belief that changes in land use only occurred from the mid-eighteenth century has been rightly challenged by numerous scholars. On the Findlater Estate, land use tended to be evolutionary, at a slow but methodical pace until mid-century. The fourth Earl initiated a great many small improvements throughout Cullen Factory from 1708; for instance: Hillocks farm was enclosed and the soil was improved. Findlater park was enclosed and forested. Waste ground at Whitehouse Moss was enclosed and the soil was made suitable for farming.

Hillocks was an underused farm to the southwest of Findlater Park. Construction of stone dykes began in 1711.[79] By 1725 a new house was built.[80] Evidently soil conditions proved unsatisfactory, and Findlater advocated soil enrichment with dovecot dung and sheep dung mixed with sand and lyme.[81] Factor Mackie reported a continuing drainage problem resulting in marsh ponds to the south of the enclosure.[82] The 1762 survey[83] (refer to Figure 61) shows this small area of poor drainage to be unresolved. On the acre enclosure, the evidence points to a clear understanding of improvement principles, two generations before the mid-century period of intense activity.

Castlefield was a part of the land later known as the Shirralds and Pattenbringan. Dyking and planting were undertaken 1724-26 by the fourth Earl along the same lines as Hillocks.[84] By 1770 it has been completely surrounded by woodland.[85] Public reaction to early enclosures was not always favorable. However, since lack of respect for the Earl's dykes resulted in court fines or imprisonment, hostility was soon curbed.[86] (Refer to Figures 61 and 62.)

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79. SRO GD 248-560-46-36 Lorimer to Seafield 28-07-1711 and SRO GD 248-916 Enclosure Vouchers 398 Scots.
80. SRO GD 248-564-71-15 Whyte to Findlater 31-01-1725.
81. SRO GD 248-564-74-16 Whyte to Findlater 11-04-1726.
82. SRO GD 248-565-80-6 Mackie to Findlater 17-04-1731.
83. SRO RHP 12874. Lands of Cullen - East Part.
84. SRO GD 248-563-68-10 Findlater to Lorimer 26-10-1724 and SRO GD 248-564-74-45 Whyte to Findlater 31-01-1726.
85. SRO RHP 11856.
86. SRO GD 248-801-2 Court book of the Regality of Ogilvy, for instance: 21-6-1716, 17-6-1717 and 13-1-1719.

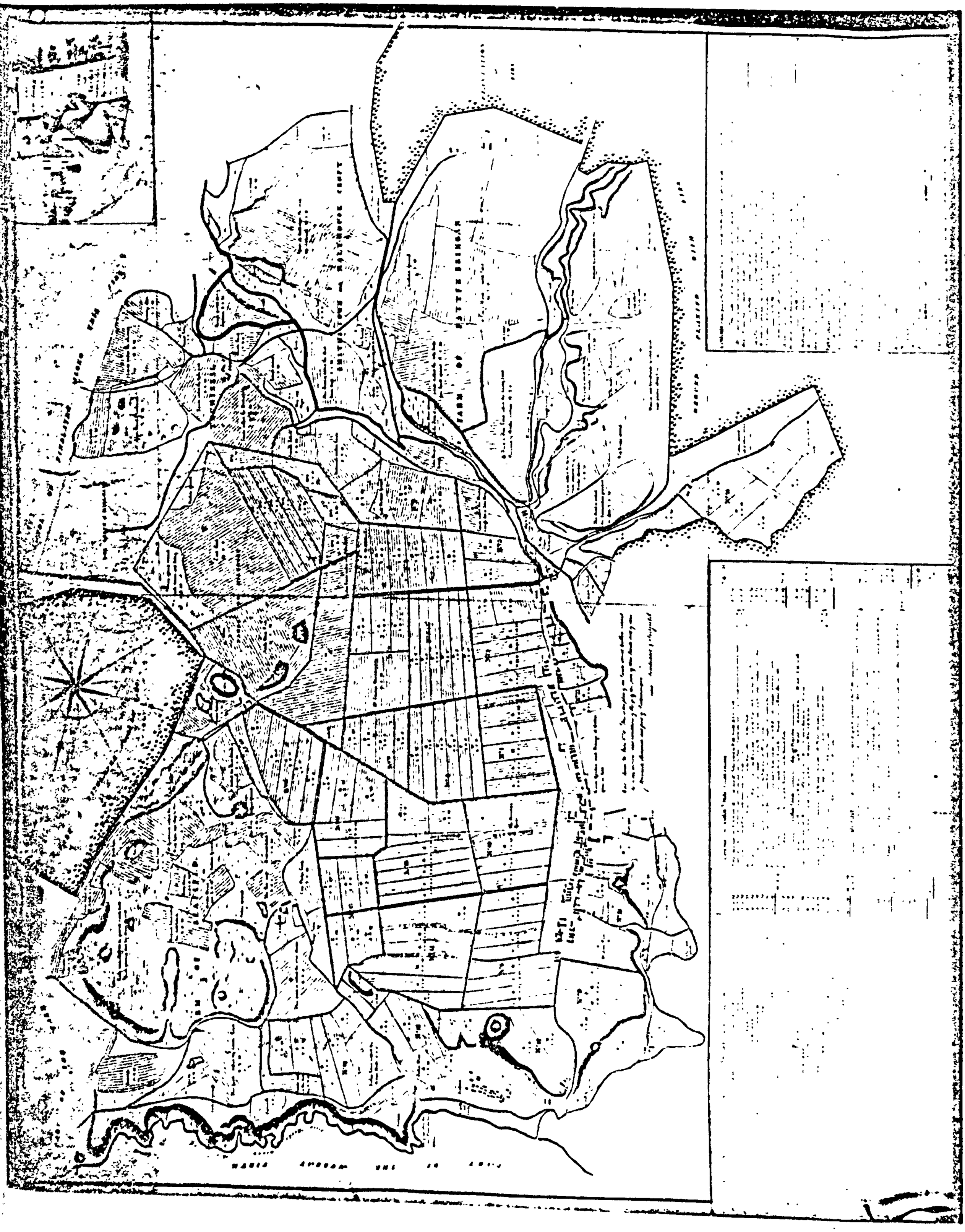

Figure 61

Plan of Lands of Cullen, 1762, Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 12874

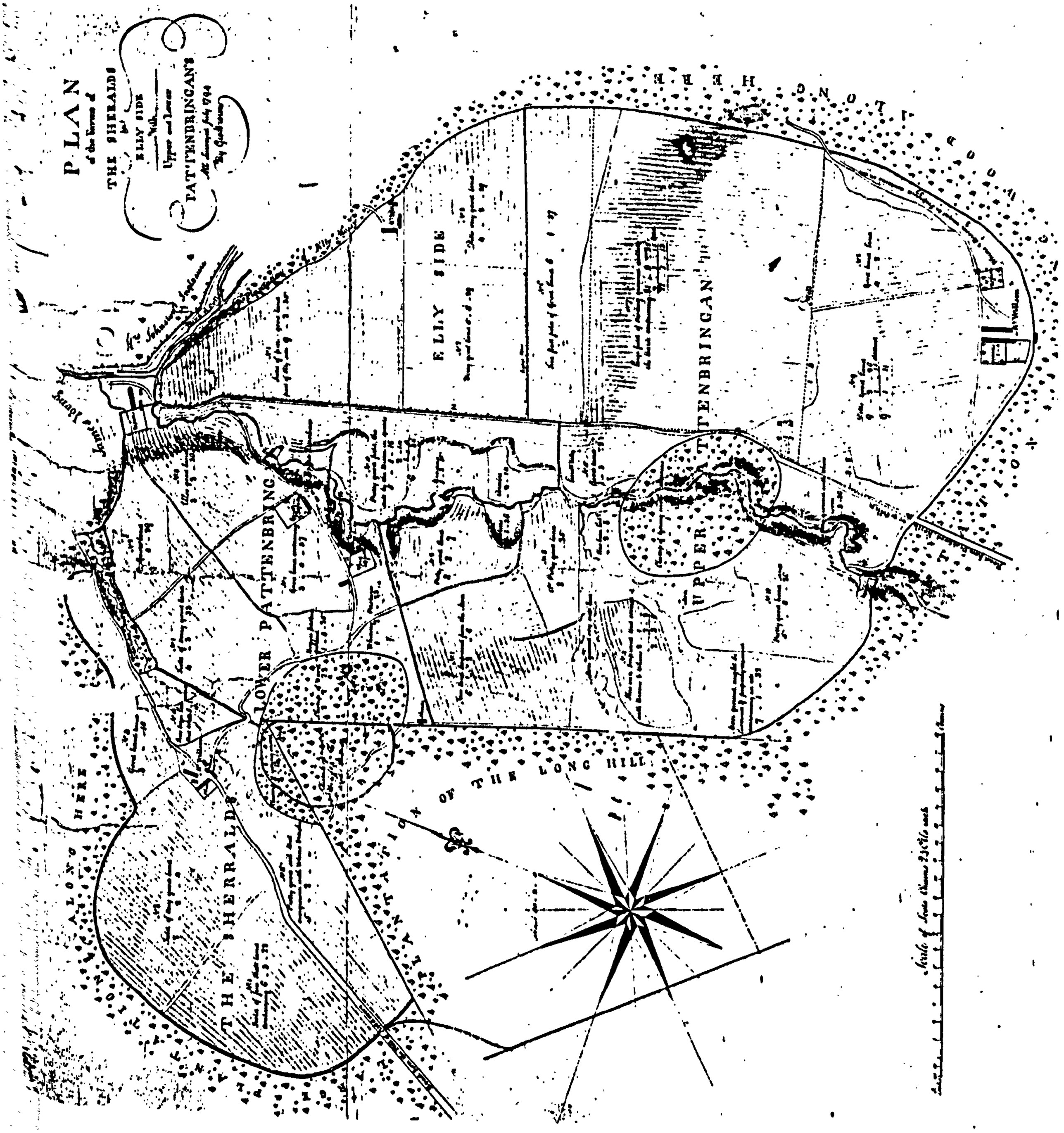

Figure 62

Plan of Farms of Shirrald's, Ellyside and Pattenbringan 1794, SRO RHP 11856

Findlater Park (also known as Crannoch Hill plantation) was first mentioned in 1708 with Lord Seafield's request to his son to prepare a feasibility study of the possibly enclosure of Crannoch Hill; this had been first recommended by Chamberlain Lorimer. The report with potential rental was to be forwarded to Seafield for consideration.[87] By December 1708, Seafield wrote to Lorimer approving the project, and authorizing work to proceed on stone dykes;[88] correspondence states work was proceeding that winter.[89] This is likely the park dyking referred to in 1709 and 1710.[90] Seafield forwarded trees for windbreaks to be planted in his nurseries.

What was accomplished at Findlater Park, was an enclosure of 129 acres. It was on very infertile rocky soil which must have proven poorly suited to crops, for during Nicholson's tenure 1747-65, it was planted with 220,000 trees. The 1761 survey shows a woodland. The form was not geometrically rigid, but rather the boundaries conformed to the existing periferal medieval boundaries. The only straight line is to the northern barren where no boundary existed before.[91] (Refer to Figure 63.)

The Barony of Findlater was reorganized in 1761 to consolidate small holdings into twelve farms (plus Findlater Park) of about 100 acres each. The new rectangular boundaries were superimposed on the old runrig and wasteland and eventually the landscape became a checkerboard of roads, plantings and stone walls.[92]

Two improvements illustrate the different approach to improvement of the Fourth Earl's generation and that of his grandson. (Refer to Figures 63 and 64.) Dytach was Seafield's Chamberlain William Lorimer's home farm. The

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87. SRO GD 248-560-42-40 Seafield to Deskford 19-09-1708.
88. SRO GD 24-571-2 Seafield to Lorimer 18-12-1708 also Seafield to Lormier 8-12-1708.
89. SRO GD 248-560-43-54 Seafield to Lorimer 6-01-1709.
90. SRO GD 248-560-43-11 Seafield to Deskford 29-10-1709.
SRO GD 248-560-45-18 Seafield to Findlater 18-04-1710.
SRO GD 248-560-44-32 Seafield to Lorimer 6-06-1710.
91. SRO RHP 11840 Plan of the Barony of Findlater 1761.
92. SRO RHP 11840 Barony of Findlater by Peter May 1761, Redrawn RHP 12887 without change 1798.

Figure 63

Plan of Barony of Findlater, 1761
Peter May, Surveyor, SRO RHP 12887

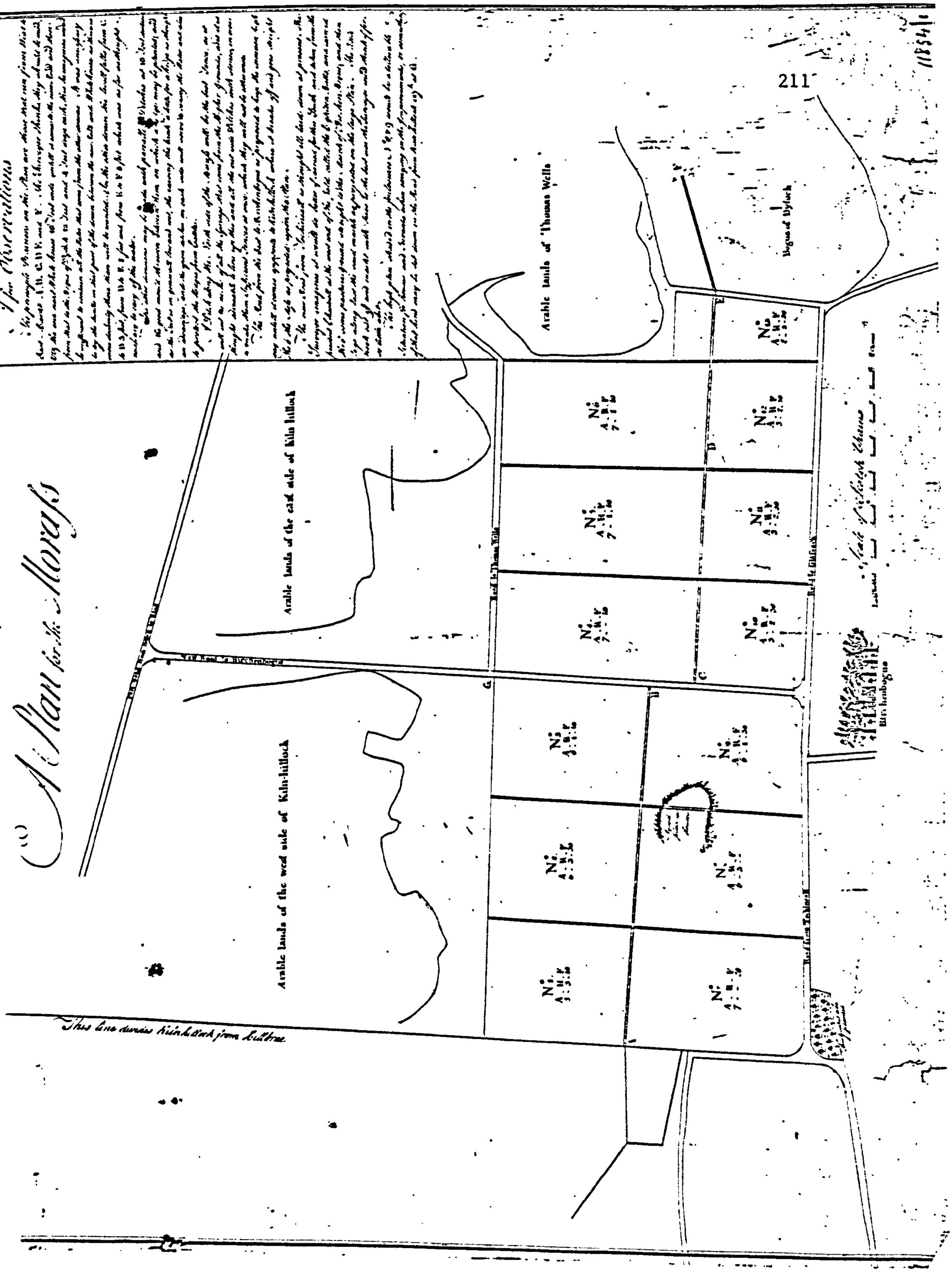

Figure 64

Plan of the Whitehouse Moss, 1760, Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 11854

curvilinear boundaries were enclosed prior to 1720, adjusted to the surrounding holdings; acres were dyked, converted from runrig strips to larger fields; acres of bog and wasteground were drained and forested. It is essentially the same design that survives on early nineteenth century plans. Dytach represents a model farm of Seafield's generation.

The other later improvement was that of the adjacent Whitehouse Moss. Moss of Whitehouse was an improvement on a moss of 76 acres acquired by Lord Deskford. The detailed survey of c. 1761[93] shows a gridiron imposed over very irregular ground with a written explanation of how the improvement was to be achieved. The uncompromising geometry was relatively expensive,[94] but the difficulties in draining and improving the soil were even greater. Such experience made Deskford consider alternative designs which were adapted more closely with existing terrain for future improvements.

The Barony was one of the longest settled portions of the estate. The 1776 inventory list 1,485 acres. If the eighteenth century enclosures of Dytach, Whitehouse and Findlater are removed from the 1761 map, the total amount of improved land is 534 acres which represents 36.0% of the barony; the balance was unimproved hill and moss used for rough grazings. The effect of the improvement age was to transform most of the wasteland to some more productive use.

Redhythe (also know as Reidhaven) was a long-term project to improve soil conditions on a 110 acre farm at Sandend Bay. The Macauley Institute maps show poorly drained peat podzols and associated gleys interspersed with soil basin peat. The surficial map shows outcroppings of limestone exposed on the Sandend cliffs. The objective of the improvements conducted in fourteen phases from 1775 to 1784[95] was to dyke and drain the land, and mix in lyme. The lymeworks at the Bay are shown on a 1803 map.[96] John Wilson described

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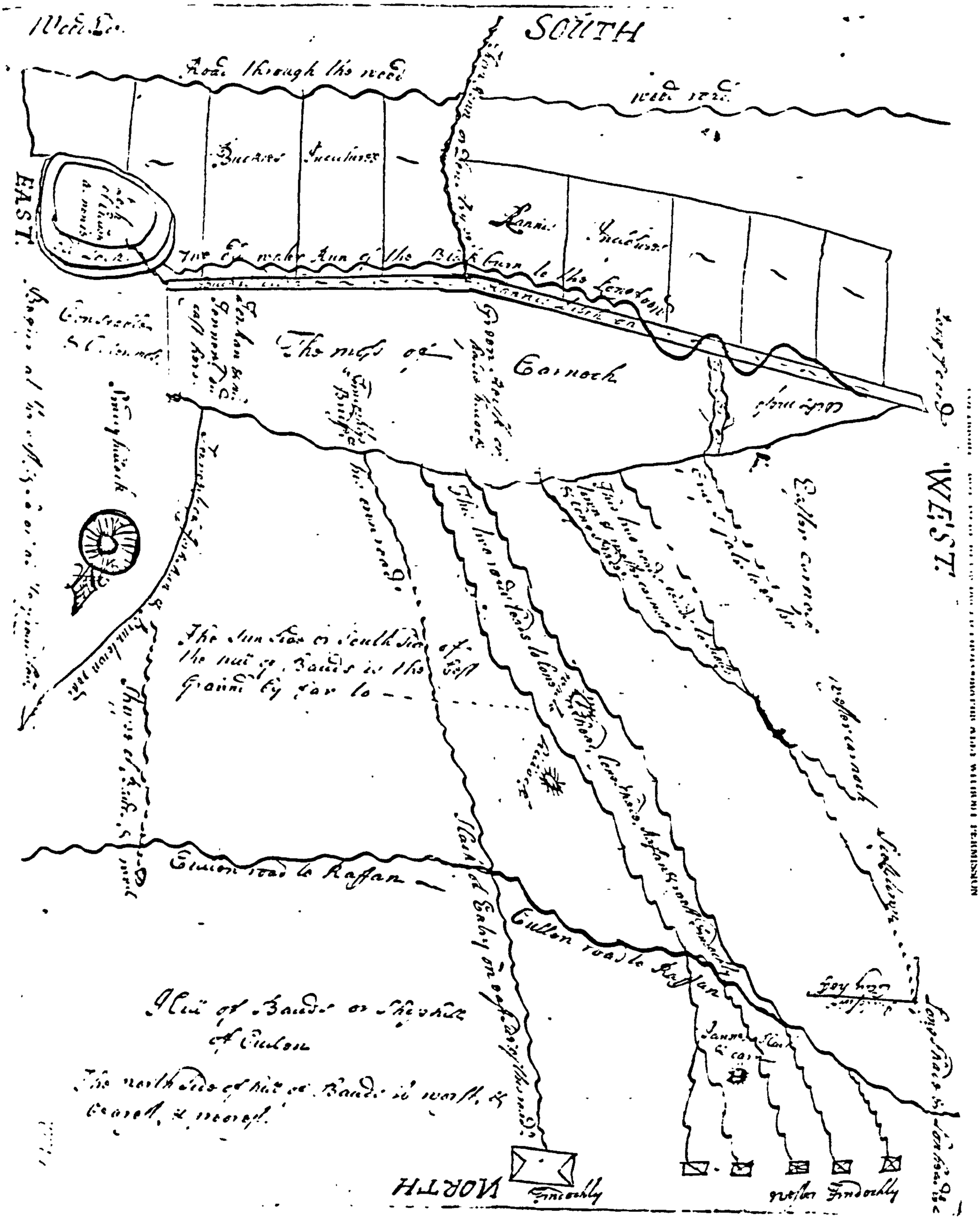
93. SRO RHP 11854.
94. SRO GD 248-900-3 Expenses Paid Labourers on the Moss of Whitehouse Dec. 1763 to Oct. 1764, £ 29 and summer 1764 Expenses for Enclosures.
95. SRO GD 248-1155 Improvement Accounts.
96. SRO RHP 8851.


SOUTH
EAST
WEST
NORTH
Road through the moss
Bauds Inclosures
Lands Inclosures
The Commoner Part of the Black Moss to the Lordship
The moss of Carnoch
Carnoch
Carnoch Burn
Carnoch Burn
The Commoner Part of the Black Moss to the Lordship
Glenlivet Road to Keith
Glenlivet Road to Keith
Glenlivet Road to Keith

the work during the 1783 depression as "a trenching project over 15 acres which will keep thirty to forty people alive who would have otherwise been destitute."[97]

6. Evidence of a Strategic Plan

From the early 1730's several underdeveloped large sections of Cullen Factory were systematically evaluated for their long term potential. For instance, the mosses and poorly drained moor (or baud) of Cullen were improved by forestry, while the detailed mapping of Deskford parish provides the opportunity of relating an improvement strategy to resource limitations.

The Bauds of Cullen (otherwise known as the Moss of Cullen, Moor of Burntoun, Moor of Findochty, or Moss of Carnoch) was a two thousand acre common in Cullen and Rathven parishes. Competition for use by encroachment began to flare up in the early part of the century. In 1732, Findlater recognized that there would be a need to properly divide the Moss proportionately amongst the three heritors: namely, himself, Rannas, and Buckie.[1] That was postponed, and the pace of small enclosures at the edges progressed.

In April 1736, Findlater wrote that the parks of Portknockie and Greencastle (small dyked fields about Portknockie) were complete, and promoted the request of his tenants to improve the Hill of Bauds by granting nineteen year tacks with the comment: "The Hill of Bauds may be of value in twenty or thirty years because the tenants in Faskan and Bruntown want to improve them."[2]

By June, 1736, Findlater acknowledged that the matter of division could not be postponed further; he met with Buckie and Rannas to set the method

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97. SRO GD 248-591-2-187 Wilson to Findlater 2-03-1783.
and SRO GD 248-589-2-138 Wilson to Findlater 24-08-1785.
1. SRO GD 248-565-81-(17) Findlater to (Philp) 23-10-1732.
2. SRO GD 248-784-6-6 Findlater to (Whyte) 19-04-1736.

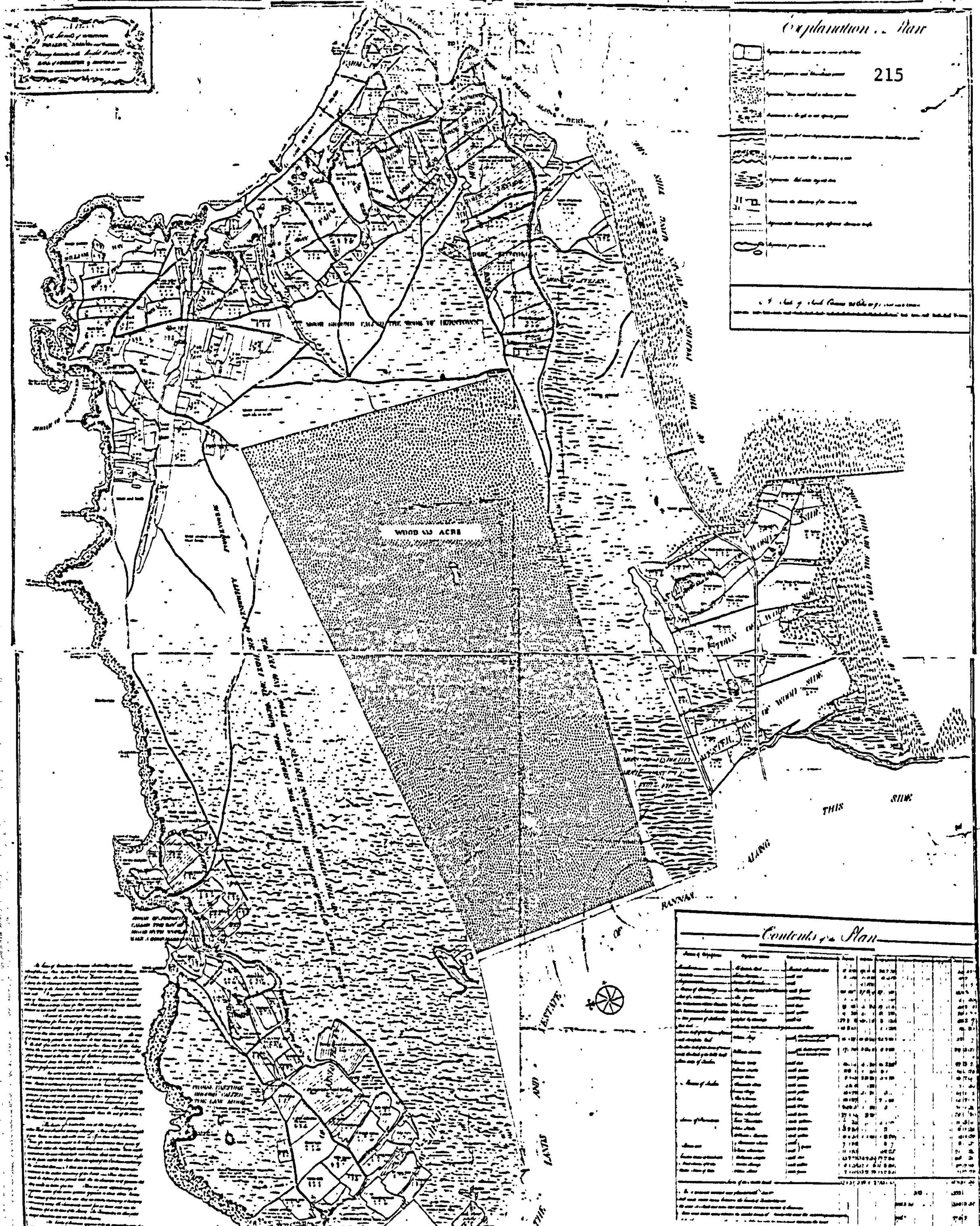

Figure 66

Plan of Bruntown, Farskane, Findochty, and Woodside, 1766
Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 11839

and date for arbitration.[3] Both he and Rannas submitted memorials through their laywers concerning their respective claims. Findlater's sixteen page memorial[4] lists his ownership and the various properties' right of common. Quoting charters, he states that the principal farms such as Bruntown and Farskan had been feued three hundred years earlier. Those charters showed that gradual enclosure of the common occurred from the sixteenth century with Portknockie and Greencastle being feued about 1670. The memorial stated that the conflict with Rannas had been going on for generations with the latest dispute being over Rannas' attempt to drain Blackburn as that would result in the drying of the peat needed for tenants' fuel. Hay of Rannas' nine page memorial states the opposing position, with his claim being derived from a more recent 1560 charter.[5] A sketch of the common was made about this time locating road and enclosures.[6] (Refer to Figure 65.)

In August, Findlater wrote to his agent in Edinburgh concerning the boundary details as part of the process of discovery.[7] He later elaborated on his opposition to the ditching and drainage of Blackburn, but agreed to "resolved the dispute amiably" so that all parties could proceed with enclosure.[8]

The next month, the customary six old men and other witnesses gave depostions on their understanding of the traditional use of the common.[9] A John Richardson, aged 80, stated that "the Binn Loch was twice as big as it was now," giving a general idea of the impact the improvements had effected within a lifetime. Reference to the Macauley Institute soil and superficial geology mapping shows an area of basin Peat and freshwater alluvia extending

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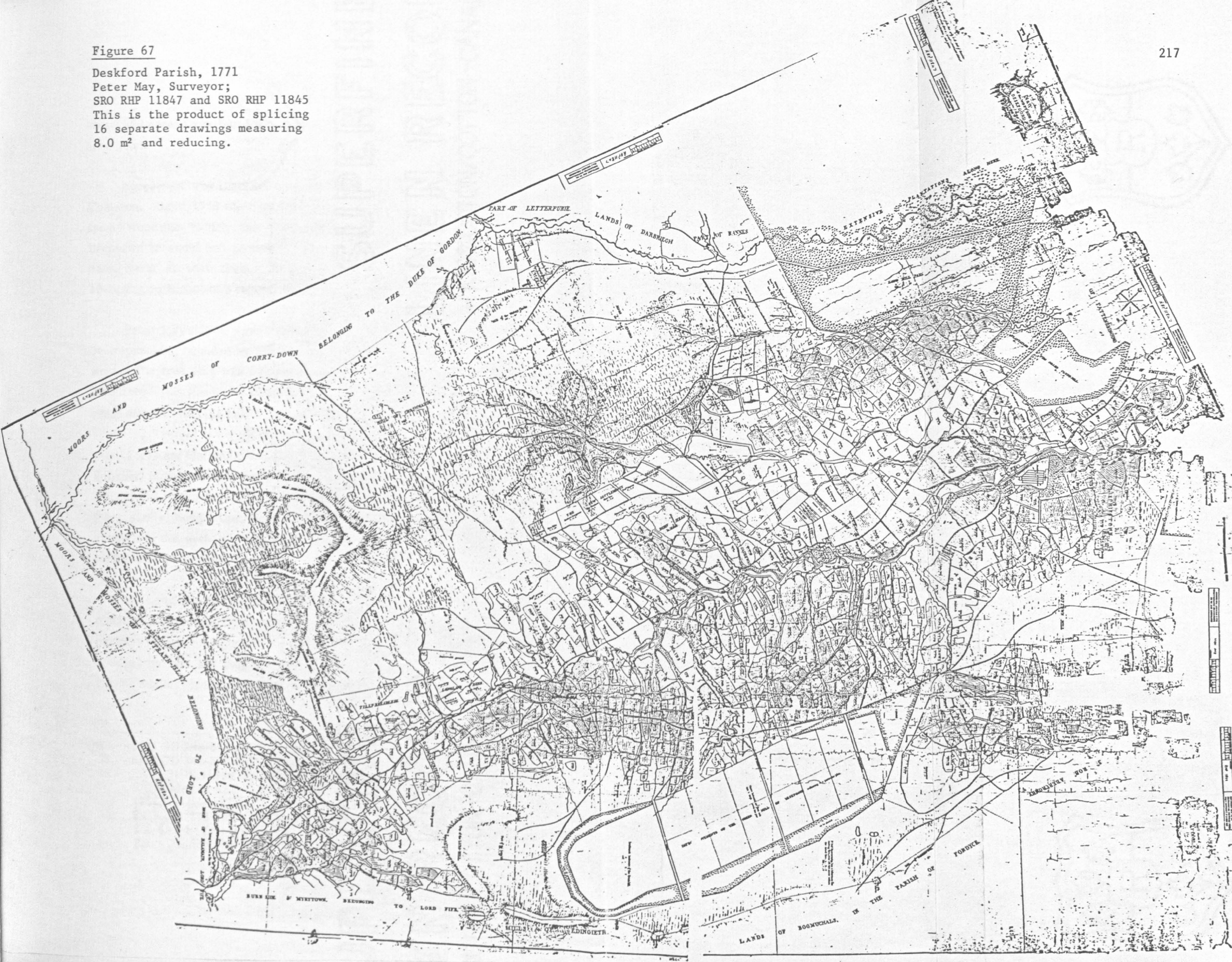
3. SRO GD 248-784-6 Findlater to (Philip) 21-06-1736 and
   SRO GD 248-784-6-5 Findlater to (Philip) 28-06-1736.
4. SRO GD 248-784-618 Rathven Parish Boundaries Memorial by the Earl of Findlater.
5. SRO GD 248-784-6-9 Memorial by Charles Hay of Rannas.
6. SRO RHP 8877 Moss of Carnoch and Hill of Bauds.
7. SRO GD 248-784-6-3 Findlater to William Robison, Writer-in-Signet 9-08-1736.
8. SRO GD 248-784-6-7 Findlater to Robison 30-08-1736.
9. SRO GD 248-640-3-14 Witnesses' Depositions 29-09-1736.

Figure 67

Deskford Parish, 1771
Peter May, Surveyor;
SRO RHP 11847 and SRO RHP 11845
This is the product of splicing
16 separate drawings measuring
8.0 m² and reducing.



about 300 acres from Burntown to Rannas. The 1766 survey shows only a 10 acre pond.

Agreement was reached, with Findlater obtaining the lion's share to the Common. About 1756 the road from Cullen was reoriented to the Bauds away from Woodside (which the Fifth Earl acquired from Buckie) but above Bruntown to avoid bad passes.[10] The enclosure of Hill of Bauds must have been made at that time. It was planted sometime between 1746-1765, according to Nicholson's report, with 878,400 fir trees.[11]

Peter May's 1766 survey plan [12] (refer to Figure 66) shows this wood to be trapezoidal, bounded by the Moss of Cullen to the south and Rannas to the west. The true size was 533 acres which was confirmed on the 1776 estate inventory. This was a remarkable achievement, for it was only a hundred or so acres smaller than the entire Cullen policies of that date.

Foresters McDonald and Nish's January, 1789 report "On the State of the Policies" indicated that the wood was in fine condition, but required thinning and repairs to the drains.[13] The woods were harvested during the First World War, and although the field patterns and roads continue to reflect the geometry, the area was not reforested. The exposed sea location was not sufficiently productive.

A significantly greater and more comprehensive example of strategic planning is presented by an analysis of changing land use patterns in Deskford parish. (Refer to Figure 67.) Deskford parish is a ten kilometre long valley bounded by two low ridges: Altmore to the west (Blackhill 262 m, Hill of Clashmaddin 258, Binnhill of Cullen 320) and Lurg Hill to the east (Lurghill

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10. SRO GD 248-954-5-19 Alex. Grant to Deskford 9-02-1756.
11. SRO GD 248-590-1-21 Nicholson Report 1765.
12. SRO RHP 11839 Bruntown, Farskine, Findochty, and Woodside 1766. Refer also to SRO GD 248-966-2-80, Contents and measures, Peter May 1766.
13. SRO GD 248-588 McDonald & Nish 6-01-1789. Refer also to SRO GD 248-591-2 (122) Wilson to Findlater 13-01-1787: Gardeners thinning the Bauds "which now make a very fine appearance".

313, Hill of Summertown 246, Cottonhill 167). The area is a drainage basin with a northernly plain elevation of 148 m dropping to 30 m as it enters the lands of Cullen, Deskford burn has a gentle slope of just over one percent to the North Sea.

Upland soil conditions are dominated by large deposits of hill and upland peat and by poorly drained podzols and associated gleys. The lowland soils are complicated, but generally fertile intermediate drained podzols and associated gleys. Surficial geology is predominantly glacial boulder clay.

Deskford's prehistory must have closely paralleled that of Cullen, with the rich farmland about Deskford Burn being colonized for some three thousand years prior to the start of historical records, with the 1440 confirmation of Sir Walter Ogilvy by Royal Charter to the lands of Cullen and Deskford. Since that time, it has remained closely associated with the Findlater estate, being part of the Ogilvy Regality.

The extent of development prior to the Eighteenth Century can be surmised from the 1771 survey plans[14] and the 1776 estate inventory.[15] The latter lists a total of 7,800 acres composed of 1,517 acres Arable infield, 474 acres Arable outfield, 1,314 acres meadow, 519 acres woodland, 3,215 acres hill and moor and 758 acres moss. The total wasteland or common was then 3,973 acres or 50.9% of the parish. Analysis of the 1771 plans shows a minimum of 1,060 acres of land, or 13.6% of the parish, which are distinctly enclosures on the edges of commonty of the improvement age. Supporting evidence in the archives reveals these to be Greenhill 491 acres. New Settlements in Deskford 56 acres, miscellaneous enclosures 151 acres and the plantations of Long Hill, Cullen Hill and Clune Hill at 362 acres. The resulting maximum land which could have been developed prior to 1700 was 2,767 acres, or 35.5% of the parish.

Of that 35.5%, the complicated amorphic field pattern of ridge and furrow interspersed with waste ground prove medieval foundations, although

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14. SRO RHP 11845 Plan of East Side of Deskford 1771, and SRO RHP 11847 Plan of West Side of Deskford 1771.
15. SRO GD 248-965-2 Estate Inventory c.1776.

the principal central farms of Ardoch, Squaredach, Kirktown of Deskford, Caretown and Skeith, with their regular fields, windbreaks, orchards and ditching and dyking, are characteristic of Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Century improvements.

It is impossible to follow the improvement records on these larger farms or small estates in the archives; however, the policy of the Fourth Earl was quite clear. He found ownership in the parish to be distributed through wadsets and clear title to many gentlemen farmers or tacksmen. Findlater consistently redeemed the wadsets and purchased freehold as it became available, consolidating property and leasing it to tenant farmers directly under his control. For example, the 340 acre Skeith Estate wadsets were redeemed by 1706,[16] and by 1714 Findlater was pressuring the Abercrombies of Skeith to remove.[17] Skeith was a gentleman of some substance who intended to continue; Findlater frustrated his every effort to expand by enclosing ground to sublet it.[18] When Skeith acquired a lease to property from the Duke of Gordon in the Enzie, Findlater read him the fine print of the renegotiated Skeith lease, which stated that he must be resident.[19] By mid-century the Abercrombies were gone, and Skeith had been subdivided into three farms. Findlater was determined that if there were to be profits from the Deskford land, that it would fall entirely to his family's interest.

The Fifth Earl followed the acquisitive policy of his father; he was responsible for purchasing the last of the parish small holdings. He expressed interest in improvement, and in January, 1725 William Whyte was directed to prepare an estimate for ditching the Wards of Broadrashes, the common of five farms adjacent to the Hill of Summertown.[20] Whyte's report states that the boundaries had been determined by traditional use (as determined by six old men and other witnesses), and he provided estimates for the dyking with a

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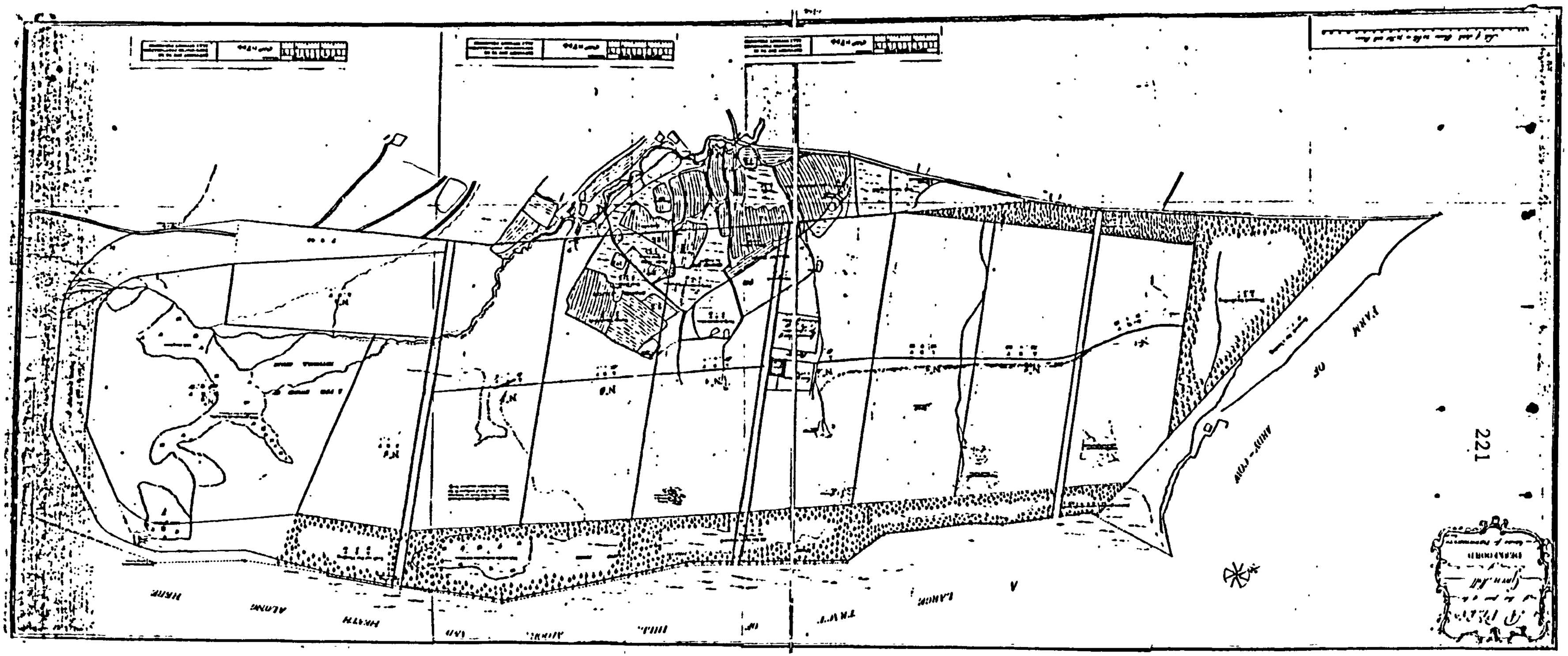
16. SRO GD 248-560-40-1 Skeith Wadsets Redeemed 27-11-1706.
17. SRO GD 248-561-50-7 Findlater to Lormer 1-06-1714.
18. SRO GD 248-564-70-32 Whyte to Findlater 13-12-1725.
19. SRO GD 248-564-72-16 Whyte to Findlater 13-02-1726.
20. SRO GD 248-564-71-15 Whyte to Findlater 31-01-1725.

Figure 68

Plan of that Part of the Greenhill of Deskford
Intended for Improvement, 1766
Peter May, Surveyor, SRO RHP 11844



proposal to set the enclosure as a tack for eleven years. Whyte concluded that the cost benefit could not justify the expense of the enclosure.[21]

The Sixth Earl reassessed Broadrashes forty years later, and determined to create a model farm which he named Greenhill. The elongated, rectalinear enclosure of 491 acres with large fields and woodland windbreaks was planned and surveyed in 1766.[22] In terms of geometry, this experimental design effected more subtlety in its relationship to the land than either the Bauds or Cullen or Colleonard of a slightly earlier vintage. The design was neatly adapted to the terrain, with the northern boundary responding to the shape of Lurg Hill; this reflected the mature confidence of Deskford and his surveyor-factor Peter May. (Refer to Figures 67 and 68.)

Initial capital cost was irrelevant to Deskford, for his motivation was to create an expression of his enlightened agricultural philosophy,[23] reflecting the attitude expressed by Arthur Young: "What a noble acquisition will it be to change nine hundred acres from being a barren desert, to a finely cutilvated farm";[24] or Lord Kames famous dictum to Sir James Grant that estate improvements were "The noblest plan for the conduct of life".[25]

Progress on the model farm office quadrangle and house designed by John Adam, appears to have been constructed from 1768 to 1771[26] with additional stone fences, planting and soil enrichment resumed from 1776. Adam idealistically placed the hollow quadrangle farm offices in the centre of the arable land, next to a small stream.[27] Construction records do not provide a cost summary. The average cost of farm offices was £ 2,000 at that time,

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21. SRO GD 248-564-71-40 Whyte to Findlater 8-02-1725.
22. SRO RHP 11844 Plan of that Part of the Greenhill of Deskford Intended for Improvement.
23. Grant (1978) op.cit., pp. 94-96 and Appendix 24.
24. Arthur Young, A Six Month's Tour (1771) Vo. II p. 416.
25. SRO GD 248-672-5 Kames to Grant 14-03-1763.
26. SRO GD 248-964-5 Note to Alex. Duffus about Wright Work; stables at Greenhill to be Roofed, 1770 and note to John Mark to Construct the stair at the pavilion at Greenhill. SRO GD 248 invoice for work at Greenhill 1769-70.
27. One is reminded of Sir John Sinclair's 1814 description of a model farm of over 300 acres, in Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., pp. 324-5.

and that figure appears about right... a very modest sum compared to Coke of Holkham's record £ 500,000 for four offices on 3,000 acres of improved ground.[28]

Unfortunately, Deskford did not live to see his work completed. Peter May prepared a report to the estate's Commissioners in December, 1770.[29] He states that improvements have just begun, and a plan for annual expenses was required. He presented two options, one to continue improvement at a yearly cost of £76 and the other to stabilize improvement. Apparently forty acres to the south had been successfully enriched with ashes and lime and was laid down with grass seed. A lime kiln, fired by peat and coal, was operating. The Commissioners agreed to continue to complete Greenhill as Deskford had intended and by Crop 1776, Greenhill was generating revenue.[30]

Lord Deskford's impact on the parish between 1750 and 1770 resulted in 1,060 acres of enclosure being made from common, half in woodland at Greenhill, Longhill, Cullen Hill, and Clune Hill parks, and the other half as enriched farmland. This increased the amount of improved land by 13.6%.

The success of the Eighteenth Century improvers on the parish can be seen from the 1706 rental of £182.1 rising five hundred percent by 1792 to £913.2. while it is true that a portion of this revenue was the result of property acquisition, much of it was also due to the effects of development and management. The increases are not limited to the model enclosures, but are spread over the individual farms on the lowlands. This land, which had been used for thousands of years, experienced renewed productivity as the technological advances reached the ground.

Intensive improvements to overused lowland farms does not account for the balanced picture. The upland commons, such as Altmore, also presented great opportunities. Altmore (Oldmore) had been described as a great mass of wasteland stretching from the sea, inland to Huntley[31] and thus covered many parishes.

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28. J.M. Robinson, "Model Farm Buildings of the Age of Improvement", pp. 17-31.
29. SRO GD 248-982-3 Notes respecting the improvements at Greenhill. 5-12-1770.
30. Accounts Crop 1776.
31. SRO GD 248-784-6-3 Findlater to Robison 9-08-1736.

Encroachments on all sides proceeded from the 1730's resulting in such improvements as the Bauds of Cullen, The Cullen Policies and the enclosures of Deskford. An attempt was made in 1732 to define the boundaries between the two major landlords: the Fifth Earl of Findlater and the Duke of Gordon.[32] A sketch plan done about that time shows the outline of Findlater's claim to the part of Altmore lying in Deskford; it was essentially identical to that shown on the 1771 plan of the west side of Deskford except for the earlier pretention to rights of Corrie Down to the southwest.[33] (Refer to Figure 69.)

Disputes with smaller landowners over commonty rights continued[34] until a plan of division was prepared in 1788[35] between the Duke of Gordon, Sir James Gordon of Letterfourie, Major Alexander Dunbar of Nether Buckie, Charles Gordon of Clune, Adam Gordon of Cairnfield, George Stewart of Tannachy and Findlater. Even then, the decrete arbitral was not issued until 1820 when the remaining 2,874 acres of hill and moor and 730 acres of moss were finally divided.[36] The Sixth Earl of Seafield was responsible for the afforestation of Altmore between 1820 and 1850. The changing interest of the Ogilvy-Grants towards forestry as well as the negative economics of continued soil enrichment led to much of Greenhill becoming a plantation.[37] The long term result was that the uplands of Deskford became largely woodland, while the fertile lowlands became prosperous farms. (Refer to Figures 70 and 71.)

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32. SRO GD 248-565-81 Findlater to (Philip) 23-10-1732 "Will the Marches with the Late Duke of Gordon Stand Good in Law?"
33. SRO RHP 8878 Hill of Clashmaddin n.d.
34. SRO GD 348-800-3-72 Findlater to John Philp 13-01-1733 in spite of the agreement with the late Glengerrack concerning the mosses of Altmore, his heir continues to enclose ground beyond his limit. SRO GD 248-567-93-21 John Lorimer to Findlater (c.1738) Lorimer has taken legal steps against Glengerrack for enclosure.
35. SRO RHP 2453 Plan by Thomas Milne, 1788.
36. Adams, in Directory of Former Scottish Commonties.
37. SRO RHP 11876 Plan of the Improvements of Altmore, 1824.

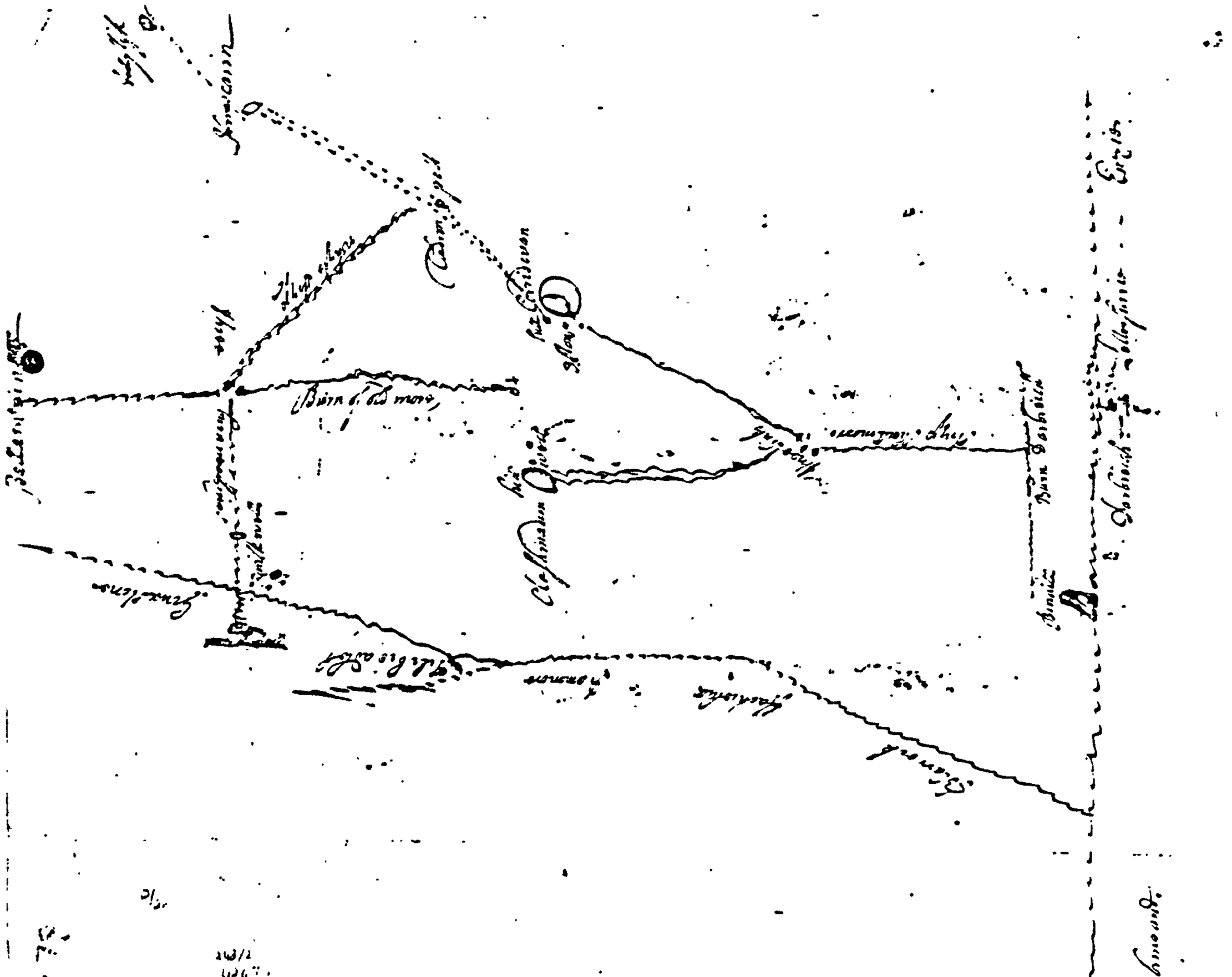

Figure 69

Plan of Area Around Clashmaddin Hill
c.1730, SRO RHP 8878

Figure 70

Deskford Parish Looking Towards Deskford Castle, 1980

Figure 71

Binns of Cullen, North End of Altmore, with Cullen House in Foreground, 1980

7. The Seventh Earl's Revolutionary Plan

Medieval Cullen has been vividly recorded in the archives.[38] The 1762 rental lists 140 houses and yards in various states of repair.[39] Peter May's 1762 survey of the town includes an ink perspective of the central street.[40] It was a dismal community of one story houses constructed with half stone walls, Flemish gabled ends and turf and clay roofs. Reverend William Cramond's description of the town after it had suffered from the decline of the linen industry and was on the verge of demolition in 1818, elaborated upon the medieval inconveniences.[41] Cramond included a detailed plan by W. Whyte, carpenter.

Many houses were below street grade resulting in flooding of the interiors, a form of running water housewives could do without! On the other hand, there was only one good spring in the area, and that was over a kilometre away in the Earl's policies. Water was brought from near the Binn in an open ditch which was then conveyed in pipes as it came closer to town, to a central cistern. The Burgh appeared partly rural in that the yards behind the streets were filled with pigs, poultry and gardens. Sanitation was less than hygienic. The dillapidation had to be repaired as a continuing expense by the landlord.[42]

The continuing repair bill, combined with the Fochabers example of relocation, made demolition and reconstruction attractive, however, as late as 1777 Findlater still felt a commitment to improve the old town. He retained Baxter to design a church and tollhouse.[43] The last investment appears to

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38. Surviving writs to property in Cullen Town date from 1424 refer to SRO GD 248-555 also 553-4 for 1480.
39. SRO GD 248-592-6. Rental of estate 1762. See also 592-1 inventory of houses on the estate 1712-1743.
40. SRO RHP 12874.
41. William Cramond, "Reminiscences of the Old Town of Cullen 1812-18 with Plans of the Town".
42. Such as SRO GD 248-918 Bills for Repairs 1743-45 and SRO GD 248-948 Commissioners directed that tenants should be responsible for repairs 26-04-1775 (without success).
43. SRO GD 248-800-4-1 Findlater to Ross 29-03-1777 and SRO RHP 2550

have been the 1788 demolition of a ruined house to make a moderate addition to the Cullen factor's house on the high street.[44]

The next year, Robert Adam and Thomas White convinced the seventh Earl that demolition was proper, with reconstruction at some distance from "Findlater Castle". (Refer to Figure 72.)

The resulting 1790 gridiron plan on Cullen beach was an outstanding mistake that fortunately never got off the drawing board.[45] Exile though, did not entirely deter Findlater from continuing on his course. Findlater's response to estimates for the 1796 repairs to Birdsbank, Cullen Church and the Manse,[46] was to order his Commissioners to have Brown prepare plans for his new town.[47] The Commissioners had little interest in obeying the command, and so a conflict soon arose over selecting a site.[48] Judgement was reserved pending the Earl's return, which of course, never happened.

Still, the issue did not die, for notes on the 1805 proposed Cullen to Portsoy Turnpike road, in the seventh Earl's hand writing, reveal his revised thoughts. The medieval castle ruins overlooking Cullen Bay were to be the site of a round or octagonal church in a style similar to the Greek Revival Church on the site of the deserted village at Nuneham Courtney. The new linear plan town was to be relocated near Seafield Farm, with the policy wall moved beyond the precincts of the demolished town. A new private road with relocated main gate was to be constructed with a new Cullen Burn bridge to afford the principal approach to Cullen House from both east and west to be across William Adam's great bridge. Findlater's comments on the proposed section of turnpike which was to have intruded upon the policies' privacy was: "not to be suffered by any means."[49] (Refer to Figure 73.)

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44. SRO GD 248-589-2-69 Ross to Findlater 20-04-1788.
45. SRO RHP 12877.
46. SRO GD 248-3439-8
47. SRO GD 248-3413-8 Ross to Wilson 5.11.1796 Brown preparing plans.
48. Grant (1978), op.cit. p. 237. Preliminary plans were prepared (Now lost) but remained inactive. Refer also to SRO GD 248-3408-9 23-02-1797 and 24-03-1797.
49. SRO RHP 8851 road plan and RHP 8853 copy with written notes.

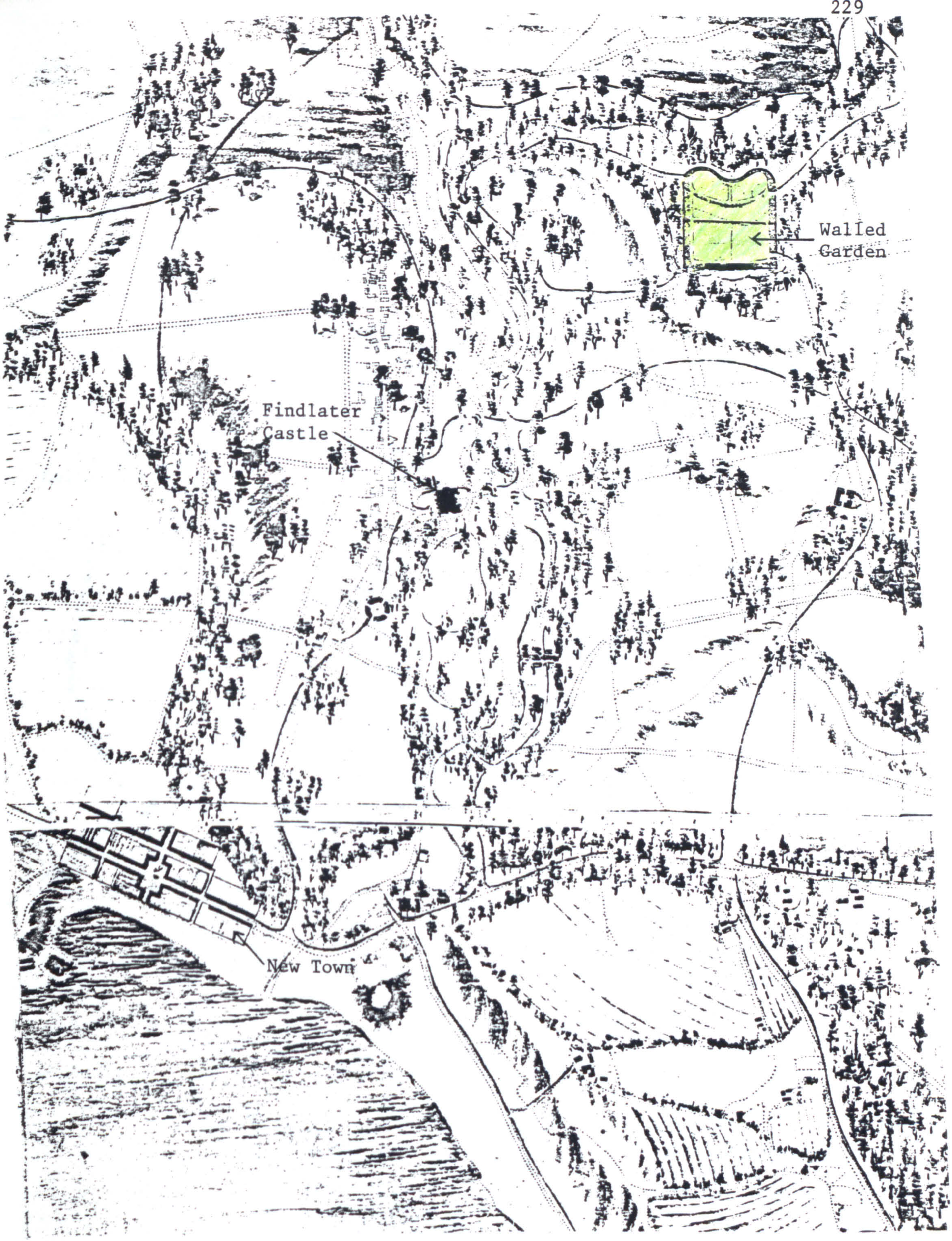

Figure 72

Cullen Policies Detail showing the Proposed New Town of Cullen, Thomas White, Landscape Gardener, 1790
SRO RHP 12877

Cullen House

Cullen Seatoun

Figure 73

Proposed Ammendments to Intended Design of 1803 Turnpike, SRO RHP 8823

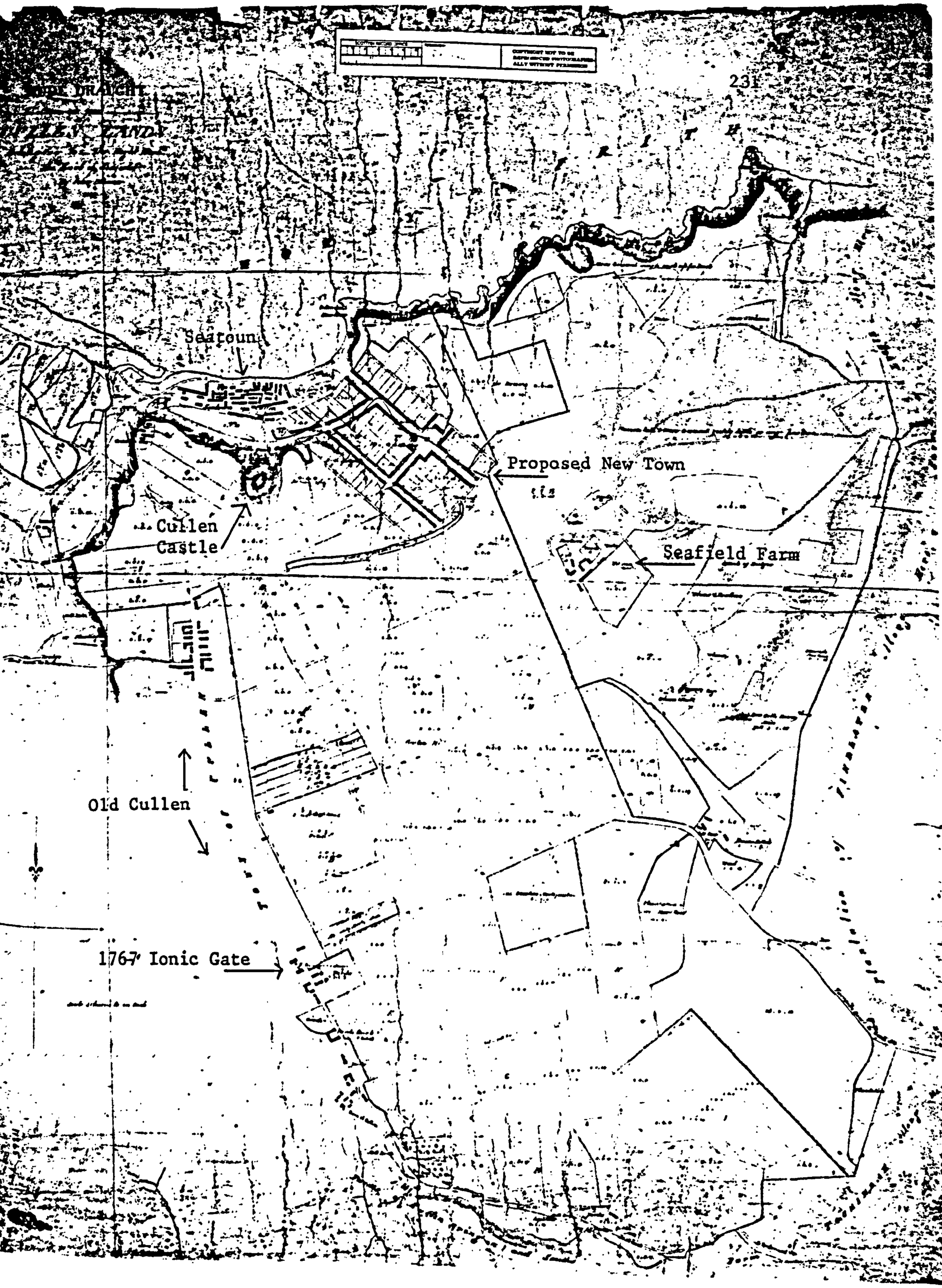

Figure 74 - Plan of Cullen New Town, 1817
SRO RHP 11865

To an astonishing extent, Findlater's 1805 notes correspond closely to what actually happened to the town in the next generation.[50] From 1716[51] correspondence and plans[52] and plans from 1817[53] (refer to Figure 74), 1822-3[54] and 1825[55] show a rectilinear layout in the tradition of Wren's London, and the later Edinburgh new town of 1766,[56] and Aberdeen new town of 1799[57]. This was typical of town grids that concurrently came to dominate the frontiers of British North America[58] and the United States.[59] There is no archival evidence that the townspeople were in the least dispair at being relocated to a new town without consultation.[60]

Chapter five has provided evidence of planning continuity in the seventh Earl's new town, in the fifth Earl's rationale for improving the Bauds of Cullen, and in the sixth Earl's aggressive improvements to Deskford hill land such as Greenhill. Of overwhelming importance to the area's future was the presence of the estate headquarters at Cullen House. Chapters six and seven will discuss the particular architectural form of the house and of the policies.

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50. Nuttgens (1959) op.cit., pp. 386-388 Medieval and pp. 409-412 New Town of Cullen Described.
51. SRO GD 248-1555 Correspondence shos the idea was revived in 20-01-1716.
52. SRO RHP 12882. undated. Also RHP 11865 Cullen lands. (perhaps by Brown 1796-7?)
53. SRO RHP 12878 new town plan with turnpike road and new harbour.
54. SRO GD 248-784-5 Specifications, Estimates and Contracts for the erection and repair of buildings and labour of the New Town of Cullen 1821-23.
55. SRO RHP 12880 plan dated 1825 extension with Telford's Harbour of c.1821.
56. T.A. Markus, ed., Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment, p. 116.
57. Adam (1978), Chapter four.
58. J. David Wood, "Grand Design on the Fringes of Empire: New Towns for British North America". pp. 243-255.
59. John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America - A History of City Planning in the United States; such as Philadelphia modelled after London, pp. 160-163.
60. Mavis Batey "The Deserted Village at Nuneham Courtney 1761", a response to Oliver Goldsmith's indictment of paternalism in "The Deserted Village".

CHAPTER 6 - CULLEN HOUSE

1. Adaptive and Cumulative Architecture

Cullen House served as the estate's corporate headquarters for four centuries. Changing stylistic and functional requirements over that period brought it continual revision. Some projects were realized as additions, alterations or demolitions, while considerably more remained on paper. Within the broad history of form, Cullen House is not an architectural masterpiece; rather its value and interest derives from the adaptive and cumulative uses and forms contributed to by a great many people over a long period of time, and which reflected its position at the centre of a great estate.[1]

On balance the architectural archives reflect both continuity and radical departures in decision taking. Discussion will attempt to address three questions: was there a predetermined concept which each generation followed according to a phase by phase plan? Were embellishments merely aristocratic exercises of capriciousness? Did the programme reflect prevailing attitudes as they responded to changing circumstances?

The physical and archival evidence is obscure. Reconstruction of the various projects implemented over the four centuries began with the present structure and worked backwards. Bryce's mid-nineteenth century drawings proved useful since removal of his additions left the outline of the house as it would have been in 1793. From that point, each plan or morsel of written evidence was compared to the structure to produce a chronologically reverse image of each generation's construction. Purely for reasons of presentation style, the description was then counter-rotated for the following two chapters. The format for Chapter Six provides for a discussion of the house's form as it had been derived to 1707, and a description of each generation's objectives to the death of the sixth Earl in 1770. The seventh Earl was unique, and so his objectives are described separately in Chapter Seven. Each generation's achievements have been evaluated relative to the questions raised above.

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1. Girouard (1978), op. cit., Chapter One.

Better minds have chosen less brave paths when confronted with obscure records,[2] and so qualifying remarks appear in the text wherever interpretations have been made from inadequate evidence. Clarity suffers.

2. Cullen Tower House

Cullen House began not as the nucleus of a great estate, but as a modest prebendary house constructed to shelter six monks assigned to Cullen's Collegiate Church of St. Mary's.[3] This church replaced the abandoned Chapel of St. Mary's associated with the Manor Castle of Cullen. While the chapel benefited from royal consecration, with endowment from a Royal Bruce grant c. 1327, the Collegiate Church and prebendary house were quite different. They were founded by the 1543 endowment of several parish lairds[4] (including Sir Alexander Ogilvy and the Baillies and Council of Cullen) under the patronage of the Bishop of Aberdeen.[5]

Cowan and Easson's survey of religious foundations in medieval Scotland remained uncertain of the 1543 monk's commission, although there was a possibility that St. Mary's prebendary house functioned as a hospital.[6]

The archives suggest church construction dates from the 1543 endowment following a cruciform plan typical to collegiate churches[7] with a

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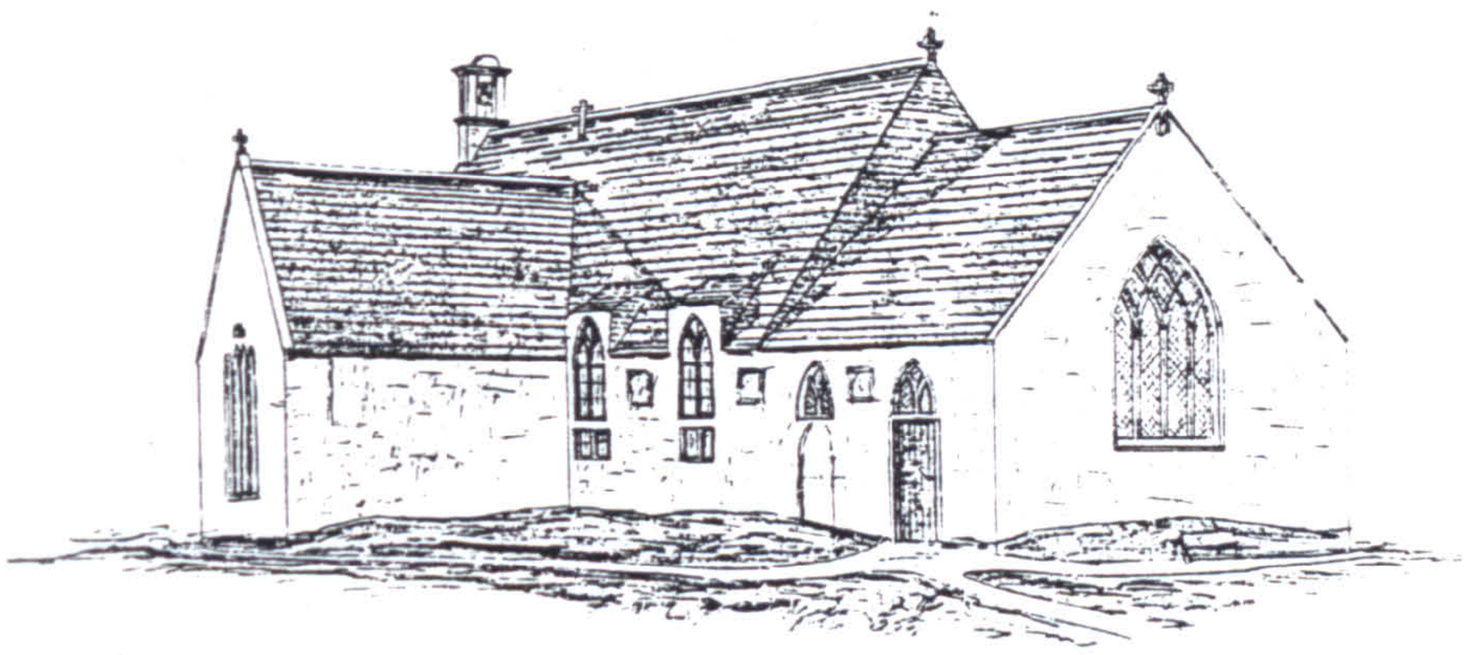
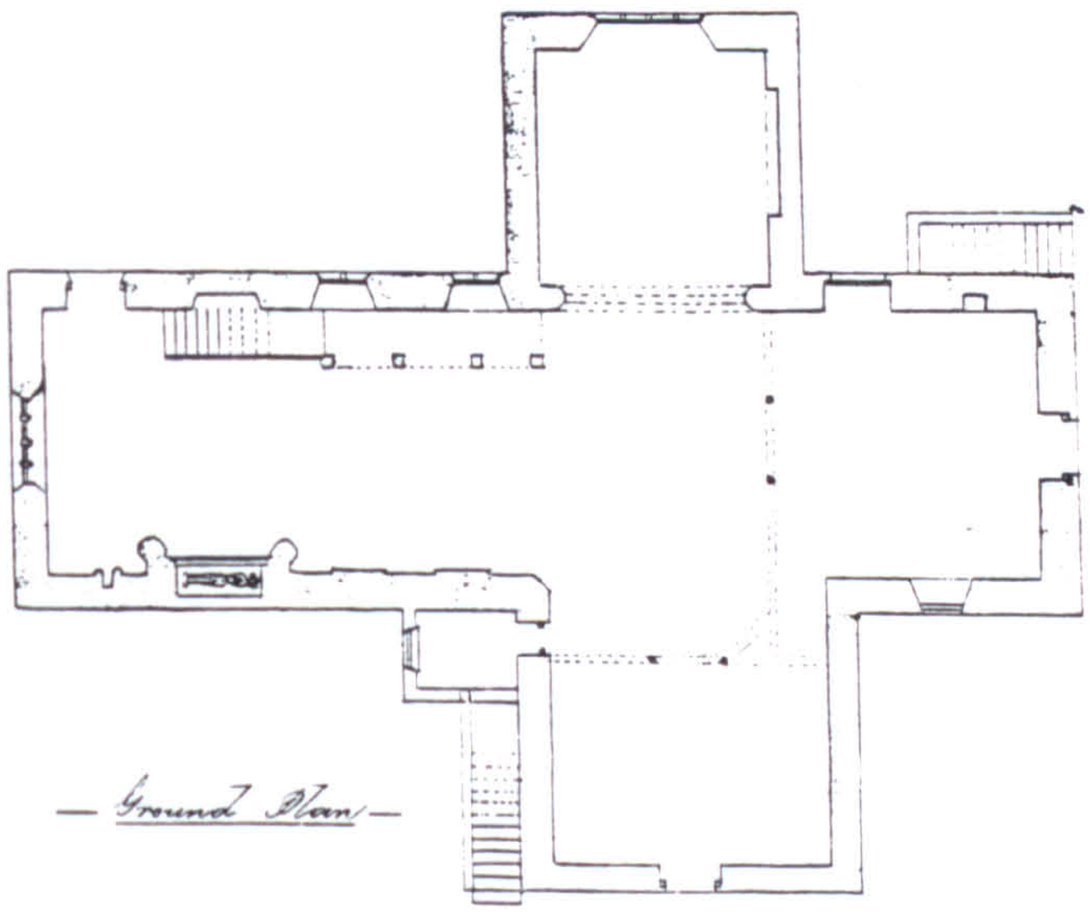
2. Downes, Vanbrugh, p. 178: The especially careful account of Vanbrugh's Estate at Greenwich 1717 - 1726 influenced this description.
3. William Cramond, The Church and Churchyard of Cullen, p.2.
4. SRO GD 248-571-4 Charter confirming St. Mary's in 1552, by the Bishop of Aberdeen. Also: Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, I, 210.
5. Simpson (1965), p. 195. Also, Cramond (1883) identifies the founders as: Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Alexander Dick (Archdeacon of Glasgow), John Duff of Muldavit and the Baillies and Council of Cullen.
6. Ian B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland, p. 196.
7. Dunbar (1978), op.cit., pp. 36-38: "During the later Middle Ages the munificent piety of the Scottish baronial class found its chief expression not, as previously, in the foundations of monasteries and parish churches, but in the endowment of non-monastic communities of secular clergy known as collegiate churches."



—Perspective view from the South East.—



— Ground Plan —

10 5 0 10 20 30'

Figure 75a

St. Mary's Church, Cullen, built c.1543, drawn 1947 by H.J.A. Findlay, Architect
SRO RHP 12914

Figure 75b - St. Mary's Church, 1980

large choir, square east end, heavily buttressed barrelled vault roof and massive stone walls broken by large end windows.[8] (Refer to Figures 75a and 75b.) Rev. William Crammond's 1886 analysis of St. Mary's construction contradicts the archival evidence in stating that the cruciform plan was the result of many construction phases. St. Anne's chapel was said to date from 1536-39,[9] the main construction dated 1543, and the north aisle with galleries was added in 1797[10] to increase seating to 800. MacGibbon and Ross in 1897 agreed that the one chapel appeared to predate the main construction.[11] Construction on the prebendary house dates from 1543.

The house also followed a formula design:[13] that of a modified offset "L" tower-house. (Refer to Figure 77.) In massing it would have resembled Fordyce Castle (Refer to Figure 60.) The formula required the entrance to be defensively protected at the re-entrant angle, [14] which in this case, would have been to the north. Since that corresponds exactly to the direct line from church to house, the original entry may have been obscured; similarly, the internal turnpike stair to the first floor may not have been original. Conversely, the extruded corbelled turnpike stair which gives rise to some three levels was a common device[15] to exact more living space from a tight plan, and would have been known to the mid-sixteenth century builder. The north-east corner turret provided flanking coverage for small arms. The particular siting also reflects this continuing concern with military security, in that the house was built close to the edge to Cullen Burn on a bedrock escarpment, however it was far from being an easily defended position. Cullen policies began as not much more than an acre or two of vegetable gardens and an orchard tended by the monks, between the church and house.

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8. SRO RHP 2548 Old Church of Cullen, Plans and Prespectives; No architect, c. 1850.
9. William Crammond, The Church and Churchyard of Cullen, p. 12.
10. ibid, pp. 81-82.
11. MacGibbon and Ross, The Ecclessiastical Architecture of Scotland, p. 398.
12. Cruden, The Scottish Castle, p. 103, and Dunbar (1966) op.cit. p. 37: "Its popularity rose perhaps due primarily to the fact that in a society which was economically straitened and politically unstable, the house struck just the right balance between the claims of domestic comfort and those of defence."
13. Simpson, "The Tower-Houses of Scotland", pp. 229-230: "In the later Scottish tower-house there therefore emerges a state of tension between these conflicting requirements, strength and comfort."
14. Simpson (1965), chapter 15, and Simpson (1961) op.cit., pp. 238-239.
15. Dunbar (1978) op.cit., pp. 47-53 Also Dunbar (1966) p. 74.

Less than a generation after it's construction, the Reformation placed the continued existence of the collegiate church in doubt. In theory, after 1560, church property could have been reallocated by the Crown with the authority of Parliament. Complicating redistribution was the inheritance dispute between Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater's son, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Cardell and Sir John Gordon, son the Earl of Huntly and heir at law to Sir Alexander by mysterious circumstances. This dispute proved to be the catalyst for open rebellion by Huntly.[16] Queen Mary's defeat of Huntly rewarded Sir Patrick (who was Master of the Queen's Household, both to Mary of Lorraine and Queen Mary of Scots), with title to the Findlater Estate by right of primogeniture. Cardell prudently sided with James VI's regency thus consolidating his position. The decreat arbitral, Crown charters and Acts of Parliament confirming title do not appear to specifically mention the addition of Cullen prebendary house.[17]

The Prebend of Cullen appears to have remained in residence at least until 1583 and probably until Sir Walter Ogilvy determined to relocate to Cullen at the turn of the century. The five volumed "Inventory of Seafield Writs at Cullen" c. 1770 catalogues the gradual erosion of Church property and authority through continuous Prebend assignments throughout the 1560-80's including a major resignation of property 31 August 1583, in favour of Sir Walter Ogilvy.[18] Cullen prebendary house was not specifically mentioned in any of the surviving documents. That does not imply that the Ogilvys' title was not valid, for the family did provide the original endowment, and there is no doubt that the Prebend must have resigned formally at some point. The point to be made is that the Reformation did not effect a revolution on the estate. The pattern of Catholic or Episcopalian survival throughout the northeast led to a slow transition. Cullen remained an ecclessiastical house until its Ogilvy patron and the reduced circumstances of church livings determined a different use.

The estate operations remained centralized at Findlater Castle until 1600, mostly due to the tumultuous civil unrest, during which a fortress was a

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16. William Watt, A History of Aberdeen and Banff, Chapter 7.
17. Decreet Arbitral 21-05-1556, Acta. Parl. Scot., iii. 469. Crown Charter: Reg. Mag. Sig., 12-02-1563, Reg. Mag. Sig. 8-02-1564 and 28-02-1564. Ratified Acta Parl. Scot., ii, 560, 14-04-1567 and confirmed by James VI in Acta. Parl. Scot., iii. 613.
18. Inventory of Seafield Writs, Vol. I, pp. 378-380.

sensible means of securing domestic safety. To some extent, the Ogilvys followed the post Reformation pattern of reluctance to invest capital on newly acquired property, for fear of redistribution from some future religious settlement.[19]

Eventually secure tenure, civil order, ambition, recognition of the hostile environmental conditions of a castle built on the virtual edge of the North Sea, and a family legend of a child falling from a castle window ledge to drown, all combined to draw Sir Walter Ogilvy inland. Between 1600-02 Ogilvy extended the north and west wings of Cullen Tower House to more than quadruple the accommodation. Ogilvy's affluence came through service at court. He was further rewarded in 1615 with the title: first Lord Deskford.

3. Seventeenth Century Additions

The architect of the 1600-02 renovation remains anonymous. The design process in Scotland at that time favoured individual craftsmen submitting design details to owner-builders through a phased contract system. It was unlikely that an overall plan existed, or if one was made, it was by collaboration of the owner with his master mason. Very few vernacular building designs and contracts have survived.[20]

An antiquarian attempt at reconstruction of the house c.1700 was commissioned c. 1850 at the height of the Medieval Revival, and probably predates David Bryce's renovations.[21] (Refer to Figure 76). A comparison of this reconstructon with the 1709 as found Smith and McGill measured drawings shows some probability of accuracy. The question presented is: whether or not the 1600-02 renovations achieved the extensive quadrangle shown, or whether there were subsequent additions and renovations during the intervening century. The creation of the Findlater Earldom in 1638 as a reward for James Ogilvy's service as a Privy Councillor, together with the demands of changing styles must logically have resulted in some construction, and therefore figure 76 should not be interpreted as being entirely complete in 1600.

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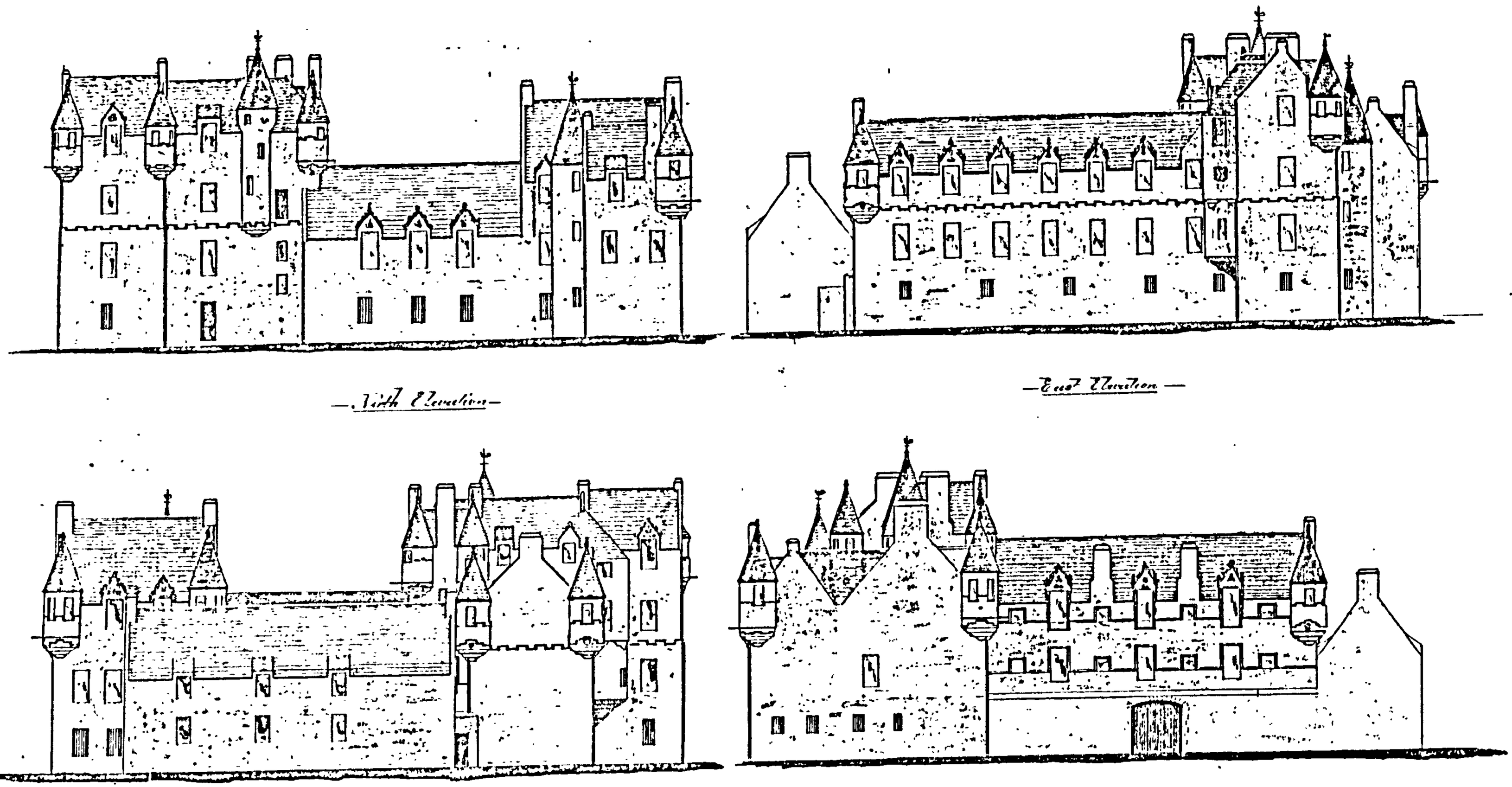
19. Airs (1975), op.cit., Chapter 2
20. Airs (1975), op.cit., p. 32 and J.G. Dunbar, "The Organization of the Building Industry in Scotland During the Seventeenth Century" pp. 7-15.
21. SRO RHP 2548 (1-6)

Figure 76 - Elevations of Cullen House, c.1700, drawn c.1850
SRO RHP 2548



The additions continued the indigenous tower-house tradition, with an open parapet of crenellation on the middle northeast wing and a pack-saddle roof between corbie-stepped gables lit by dormer windows. There were several round turrets, with pointed helmets at wall head angles. The exuberant detailing of cartouches, grotesques, and intricate patterned strapwork was characteristic of the regional northeast mason school.[22] The armorial panels and commemorative inscriptions around the frontispiece and many dormer window pediments were of Anglo-Flemish origin and were added during the course of the seventeenth century. The architectural detailing was meant to serve as a literary record of the inhabitants.[23] It seems now to be a curious contradiction, that the Reformation encouraged aeseticism and austerity for church architecture, but tolerated an explosion of Renaissance ornament for the secular construction of the heritors.

Internally, the floor plans are consistent with Medieval typology, falling into "the End Hall" plan[24], but with several innovations such as the inclusion of a gallery leading from the earlier prebendary house upper hall; more of this later. Entry to the house was shifted to one corner of the courtyard with convenient access to the turnpike stairs and to the great hall. The great hall was the administrative and judicial centre of the estate.[25] Evidence suggests that this was originally one story. The double arch at the end of this hall led to a kitchen-buttery-pantry. The coincidence of dimensions between this hall and the hall at Findlater Castle being identical (6.9 x 14.5 metres) suggests that roof timbers from Findlater may have been reused, but it may also have been due to structural considerations or even tradition.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the hall decreased in importance as judicial functions shifted to Cullen tolbooth, and feudal clan obligations began to devolve in favour of a capitalist system of land tenure

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22. Dunbar (1966) op. cit. p. 68 Executed details of Crathes were similar to Cullen.
23. Simpson (1965) op.cit., pp. 53-62.
24. P.A. Faulkner, "Domestic Planning From the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries" pp. 150-183.
25. Girouard (1978) op.cit., Chapter Three.

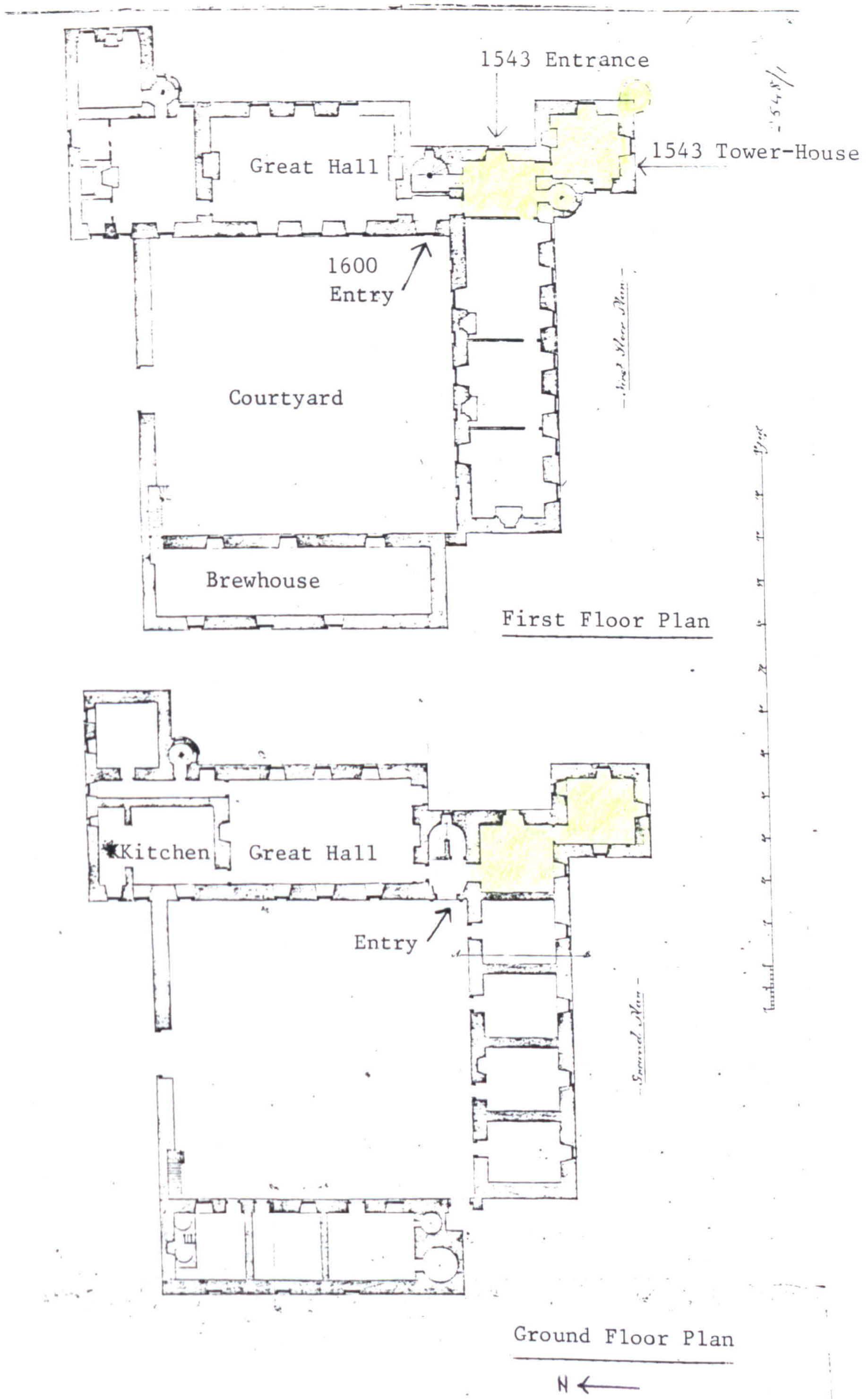

Figure 77

Plans of Seventeenth Century Cullen House
Anon. Architect, c.1850, SRO RHP 2548

based upon tenant leases. At that point, a solar or a full first timbered floor was constructed to subdivide the north hall wing. Presumably the less prestigious ground floor space continued a multi-purpose function where general business was conducted, while the first floor provided two great chambers for the lord, his family and significant guests. This is however conjectural; the first floor could easily have been original.[25a]

The east wing had ground floor storage cells with barrel vaults to support the loading of a stone first floor of three interconnected rooms and the second floor gallery. Each storage cell was opened by separate doors to the courtyard. Above this was the second floor gallery designed for masques and other entertainments. The gallery was a remarkable innovation for 1600 in the northeast,[26] and would have predated Fyvie's gallery by at least fifteen years.

The boarded and painted Jacobean ceiling in the form of a pent roof had on one side a party of horsemen, the other side held the seige of Troy; the fantastic ceiling was of blue sky with Mercury, Nepturn, Flora and Luna intersperced between gilded stars and dreamlike clouds.[27] The surviving portion, known as the "Astral Ceiling" had been boarded up, until the 1860 Bryce renovations led to its discovery. Most of the ceiling had been destroyed during the mid eighteenth century conversion of two thirds of the gallery to a new use as the library. Dating the ceiling beyond a period of 1600-1650, when Flemish artists were active at the Scottish Court, is not possible.[28] The appearance of James, first Earl of Findlater's initials on an external window entablature and the Court associations of Findlater suggest that he may have been the client rather than his father. If so, the date of execution would have been closer to the painted ceiling at Fyvie and other surviving examples.[29]

25a. Simpson (1961) op.cit., pp. 234-235.
26. Dunbar (1978) op.cit., p. 73 Galleries began to appear towards the end of Sixteenth Century in private houses.
27. Oliver Hill, Scottish Country Castles of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p. 109.
28. Apted and Hannabuss, Painters in Scotland 1301-1700.
29. Dunbar (1966) op.cit., pp. 68-71.

The third side of the courtyard was a two storied detached structure called variously "the women house or the brewhouse". This provided for the domestic functions of the household except for the kitchen, which remained, until about 1765, in the north wing.

A high wall with a great gate which could be bolted securely, enclosed the fourth side of the quadrangle. The garden area between the church and the house must have been enclosed into three separate courtyard gardens about 1600.

Summarizing, Cullen House at the beginning of the eighteenth century presented a considerable capital investment in the conservative form of a quadrangle[30] with a variable elevation of two to five stories distinguished by some Jacobean ornament. The coherence of the ground floor plan dominated by the great hall did not match the incoherence of the elevations, which appeared to have been added piecemeal as space and functions changed. It was a substantial structure which preconditioned all subsequent architectural renovations.

4. The Third Earl's Objectives

By 1707, Cullen House was 164 years old. The owner, James, third Earl of Findlater, was 72 years old and was intent upon playing the role of indulgent grandfather by planning for the further renovation of Cullen. His plan was to extend the west wing to provide a family apartment, including a nursery. This was an attempt to separate personal spaces from spaces for entertainment and business.

Some minor alterations to the west wing were made in 1707-08, for Seafield wrote to the Chamberlain, Lorimer: "Keep my wife in mind to send for wrights and glassiers to complete the house particularly the Gallery and

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30. Dunbar (1966) op.cit., pp. 53 and 62-65. Untouched by classical principles.

Gallery expansion."[31] Correspondence between Seafield and his father commenting upon completion, suggests that this may have been limited to installing sash windows, extending the gallery into the old tower-house hall and perhaps some interior decoration in the east wing to reflect the new aesthetic of light, space and comfort.[32]

Achievement of the third Earl's expansion plans must have involved some debate between the Earl and Seafield, with the terms of reference not being entirely resolved before the architectural firm of Smith and McGill were retained early in 1709. Labelling on the back of plans by the clerk at Cullen identifies that Seafield retained the architects, not Findlater; various alternatives were prepared which ended with Seafield acquiesing to his father's intention to improve the house "as you first designed it".[33] The third Earl's concept was drafted by Smith and McGill with the note "If the whole old building be kept up as was communed."[34] Figure 78 shows a rectangular extension to the east wing of some 10.0 by 16.0 metres joined to the woman's house, providing a central staircase and a family apartment separated from the rest of the house. This was meant to accommodate Seafield's family, for the third Earl's quarters were diagonally opposite on the second floor of the north tower.

Seafield's concept was more sophisticated. Figure 79, drafted by Smith and McGill, shows a first floor alteration with a complete reorganization of the internal space. The family apartment would be built, but the rooms would be more spacious and there would be more of them, since the woman's house was to be converted to apartments, and the domestic function was to be removed from the quadrangle. The old entry and turnpike stairs were removed to be replaced by a new entry hall and a great staircase. The north front facing the courtyard garden was to have been made symmetrical by an extension to the old tower house. This concept was too ambitious for the old

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31. SRO GD 248-560-42-10 Seafield to Lorimer 25-02-1708 and SRO GD 248-560-42-24 Seafield to Findlater, 10-08-1708: "you would find the house very convenient for you".
32. H.G. Graham, Social Life in Scotland, Chapter 2
33. SRO GD 248-560-43-8. Seafield to Findlater 6-12-1709: "Freely consent to your building as your first designed it ... it will tend to accommodate the family much better."
34. SRO RHP 2541-7 Smith and McGill, 1709.

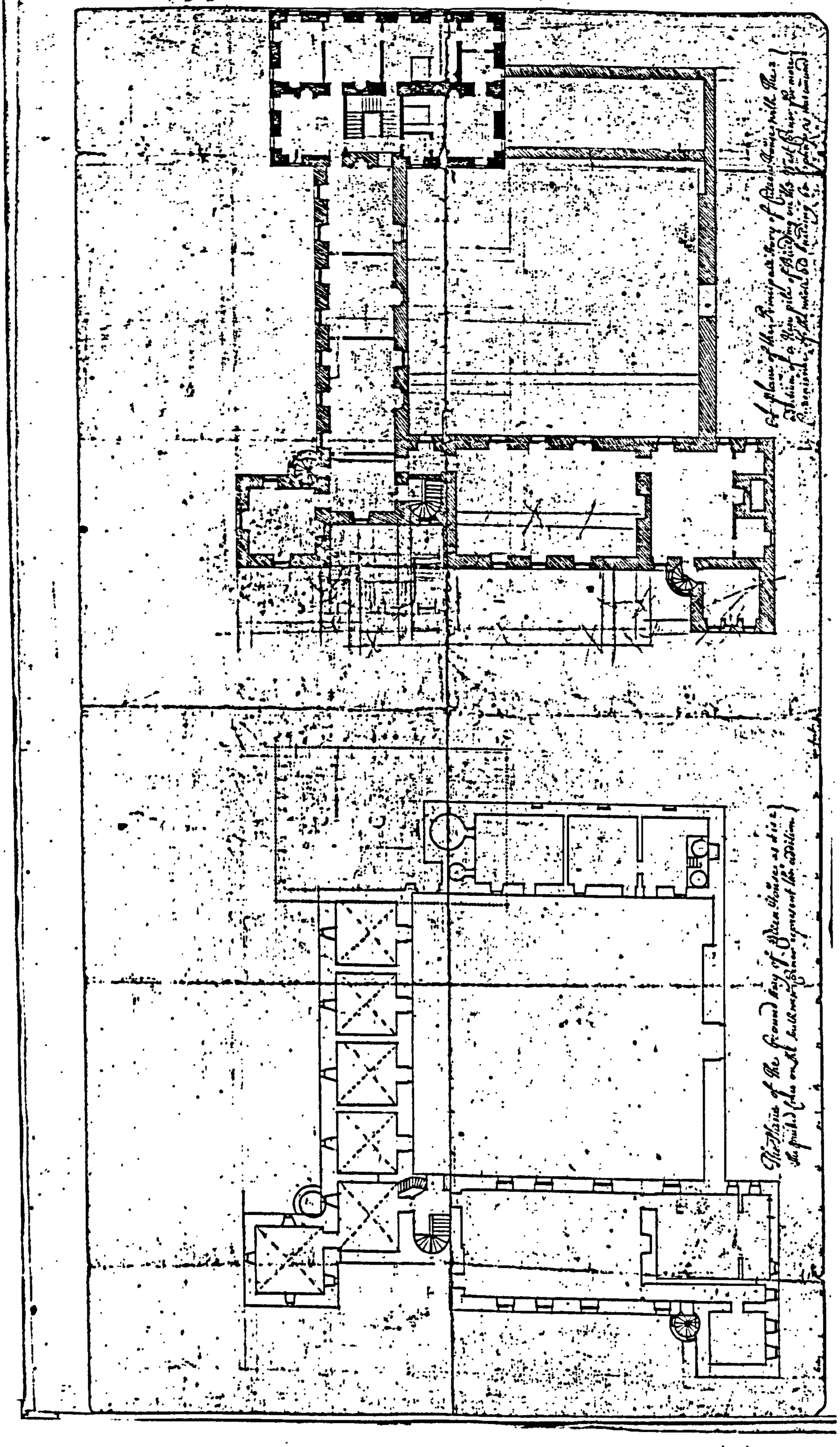

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Figure 78 - Plans of an Addition to Cullen House "As it was first communed", Smith and McGill, Architects, 1709, SRO RHP 2541-7

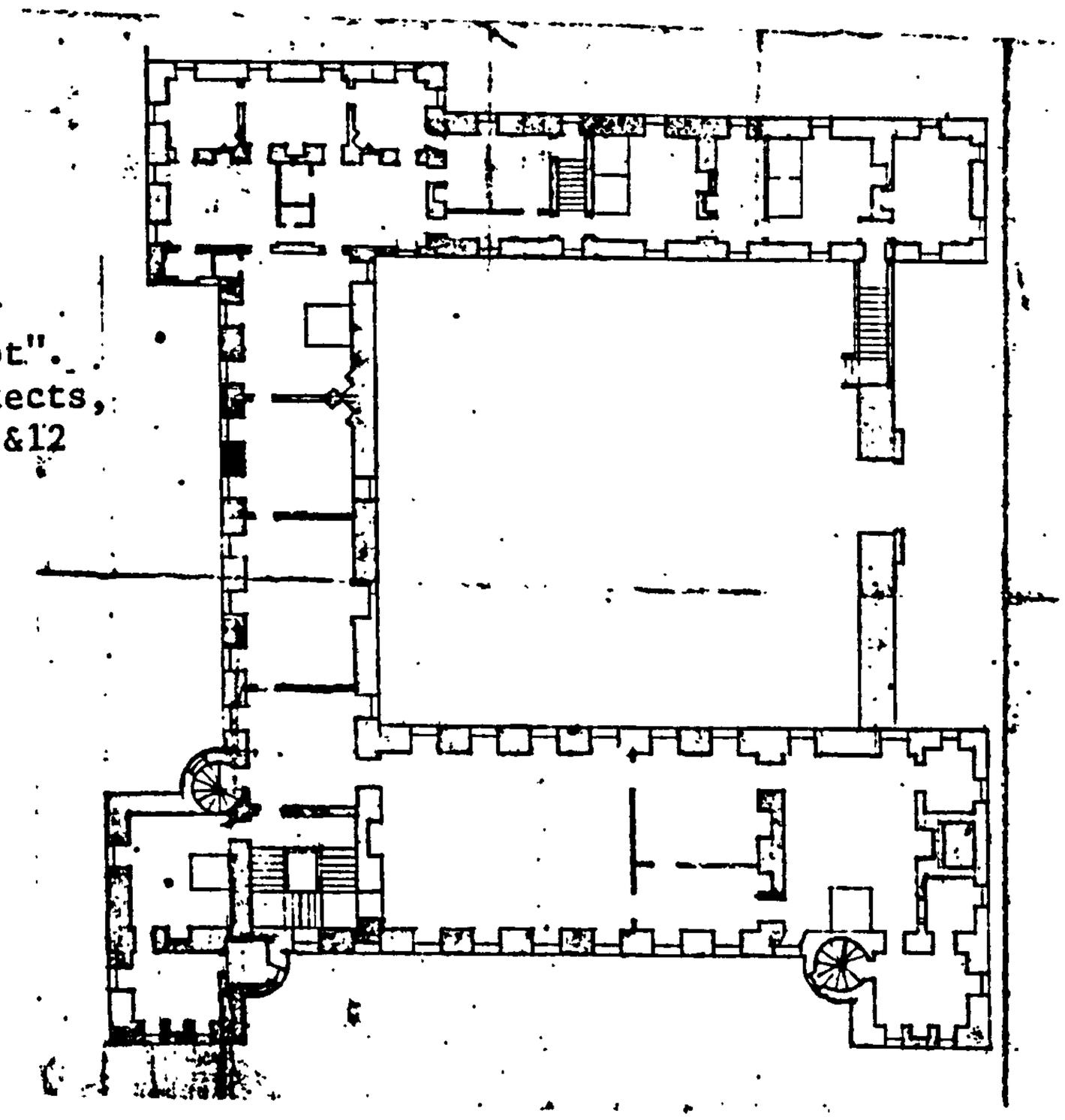

Figure 79

Cullen House First Floor Plan, "Seafield's Concept". Smith and McGill, Architects, 1709, SRO RHP 2541-9,11 &12

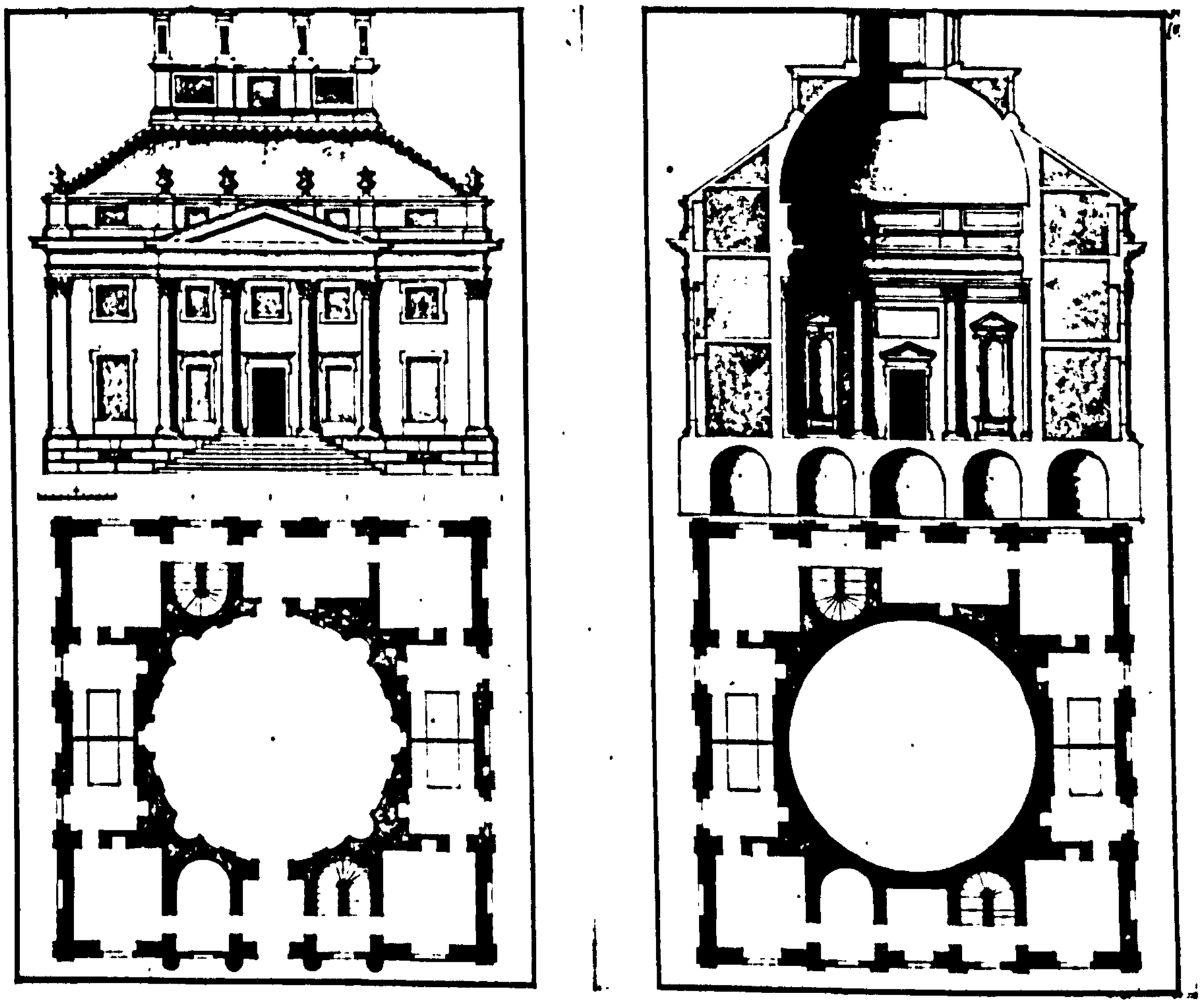

Figure 80

Plan and Sections of an Ideal Villa, Attributed to James Smith, R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection

Earl, and was not pursued during the balance of his lifetime. It does however contain the genesis of Seafield's thoughts, which would later materialize once he inherited as fourth Earl.

While Smith and McGill initially served as executants, there are several subsequent designs in which they attempted to reconcile the client's differences through creative solutions.

5. Smith and McGill's Commission

The choice of architects was not entirely arbitrary, for Smith and McGill were the most consequential Scottish architects of the day. Sir William Bruce was not considered, for in 1709 he was aged 79, and was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for fear of participation with the potential Jacobite Rebellion of 1708.[35] Smith was also an Episcopalian, but he maintained a clear separation between religion and politics and was not attainted with the Jacobite cause. He was therefore "safe" for a Government Minister such as Seafield, to retain.

Smith (c. 1645-1731) was senior. He was Bruce's architectural heir, having worked under the "Scottish Jones" at Holyrood and other commissions, later becoming Surveyor of Royal Castles and Palaces in Scotland 1683-1707 and Surveyor of Highland Forts (1707-1717). He was well connected to the traditional master mason, being son-in-law to Robert Milne.[36] Alexander McGill (d. 1734) seems to have become associated with Smith about 1700; the limited evidence suggests that the 1709 Cullen House designs were one of the first joint commissions. McGill's public life was limited to being architect to Edinburgh City 1720-25. His architectural and engineering career was overshadowed first by Smith, and then by William Adam.

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35. Fenwick, Architect Royal, Chapter 9
36. Ibid, p.71

Smith's mature work has been criticized as being inconsistent. For instance, Dunbar assessed Smith's execution of Drumlanrig Castle (1679-90) as being Scots Baronial translated into Baroque, with a complete lack of understanding of Classical principles.[37] This seems an unfair assessment, for Smith was merely executant of an earlier 1620 Wallace plan favored by his client. His contribution to the design involvement was limited to a minor change to the Caroline show front to model it along the lines of Holyrood. Other work shows Smith to have favoured an austere Scots Palladian style derivative of Bruce. Colvin suggests that he used it with an Anglo-French emphasis.[38] Inconsistency could be said to be true of all notable architects, of that period, for even Wren, Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor worked with a variety of styles.

Smith has attracted attention recently, not for his executed work, but for his possible classical education and role as educator to Colen Campbell. Colvin in "A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism"[39] explored the evidence that Smith was the link between Palladio, the Jonesian School, and the Burlington Neopalladianists.[40]

The opinion has not been received without scepticism, for E.R.P. Clough analysized the evidence of both the drawings attributed to James Smith in the R.I.B.A. Campbell-Burlington Collection, and Smith's executed work, and came to a different conclusion.[41] The overwhelming weight of scholarship however supports Colvin's opinion, for a recent book by Harris speculates upon a Smith who studied in Rome c. 1671-75 and devised theoretical exercises upon a Palladian theme such as illustrated in Figure 80. The exercises eventually led to Colin Campbell's Mereworth Castle, Kent c. 1720.[42] Smith did not execute such a radical style in Scotland for he would find it difficult to convince conservative Scottish clients of it's merits.[43]

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37. Dunbar, (1966) op.cit. p. 55: The 1620 design was modelled after Heriot's Hospital.
38. Colvin, British Architects from 1600 to 1840, p. 756.
39. Colvin, (1974) pp. 5-13
40. Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism, p. 11: "Palladio's genuis in developing and arranging traditional venetian concepts held out alternatives which led either to academic classicism or to scenographic baroque..." and Chapters 4, and 6.
41. Clough, "The James Smith Drawings at the R.I.B.A. and Their Author".
42. Hussey (1955), op.cit., pp. 58-65.
43. Harris, The Palladians, p. 16 and p. 58.

With such a solid commitment to Palladianism, it is not surprizing that Smith (although the draftsmanship is McGill's) convinced his client, Seafield, to be permitted to explore stylistic alternatives. Three alternatives SRORHP 2541-8 (First), 10 (second) and 6 (third), the last of which is reproduced in Figure 81, deliniates abandonment of the medieval quadrangle through demolition of the woman's house and the north wing and construction of a Scots Palladian facade to encase the old tower house and east wing. It was a formula (approach) with a long list of precedents beyond Scotland including Inigo Jones' astlar houses for Lord Maltravers' development[43a] in London, and Sir Roger Pratt's Coleshill (1649-62) and Clarendon House, Piccadilly (1664-67). The 3:5:3 module with hipped-roofed block resembled Bruce's Kinross House (1683-1696),[44] Moncrieffe, Melville House, Dalkeith Palace, Yester and Raith House (1693-98), with which Smith was associated and which was the first combination of pedimented frontispiece with hipped-roofed block in Scotland.[45] The pediment had been a Patrician status symbol[46] and this reference would likely have appealed to Findlater, whose library included Pliny's Letters[47] and who received a Classical education. The third alternative pediment held an enormous tympanum of the Findlater Arms, which would have dominated the skyline of Cullen Town for some distance.

The facade was further defined by a common module between the ground floor and second floor windows of squarish dimensions and Serlian surrounds. The piano nobile used double the module. Other than the pediment and some ornament above the doorway, it was a simple astylar elevation with corner plasters reduced to piedroits. It was not a repetition of Smith's overdressed Renaissance Cawdor Castle facade.[48]

An interesting comparison can be made between Pratt's Coleshill [49] and this Cullen design. In elevation both were of the astylar "double pile"

43a. Harris and Tait, Drawings by Inigo Jones at Worcester College, p. 13 and plates 7-9.
44. J.G. Dunbar, "Kinross House, Kinross-Shire", pp. 64-69.
45. Dunbar, The Historic Architecture of Scotland pp. 97-102
46. Girouard (1978), op.cit., p. 122
47. SRO GD 248-800-2-3 Inventory of Library at Cullen, 1708.
48. R.I.B.A. Drawings J14-1 and Colvin (1974) op.cit. p. 7 fig. 3b. Also in Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus.
49. R.T. Gunther, The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt

Figure 81

Plans and Elevation for Third Design of Cullen House, 1709, Smith and McGill, Architects, SRO RHP 2541-6

type, while Cullen had no cupola or rustic. Both had lean Classical plans, although Coleshill was tighter, being centralized about the entry hall, while Cullen had a longitudinal hall, separated into a vestibule and a servants' hall, with the great stairs on one end. Both houses separated domestic functions through backstairs and separate offices. The land steward was expected to conduct business with tenants from his own house, so that no room formally designated as a charter room, or a suite of offices from which to operate the estate, was provided.

Smith and McGill's Cullen alternative three represented a deliberate and dignified attempt to attain Palladian proportions but it did not entirely follow classical canons of the formal house. By those canons, the great chamber should have been found in the center of the main block crowned by the pediment such as at Wilton.[50] At Cullen, the first floor held four reception rooms, of which the smaller drawing room fell off center. It was a more casual provincial solution reflecting the client's actual social pretensions. .

Why didn't the client build the third design? For the world of taste in 1709 it conservatively evoked Palladian images before Burlington made them avant-garde; however, for Cullen, it was too radical, not in terms of style, but in terms of cost. One is reminded of Girouard's statement that "Cautious families kept clear of such ventures".[51] The power game as expressed by lavish country house building could not bend the third Earl from his more frugal original concept. Seafield acquiesced, and the Palladian dreams were shelved.

Another factor in the third alternative's rejection, was the poor site integration. Figures 82 and 83 illustrate the problem. Cullen House was confined between the edge of Cullen Burn and the town. A series of courtyards had evolved to define this space, which the renovation would have substantially destroyed, for this is the area in which the new domestic offices

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50. Girouard (1978) op.cit., Chapter 5
51. Ibid p. 5.

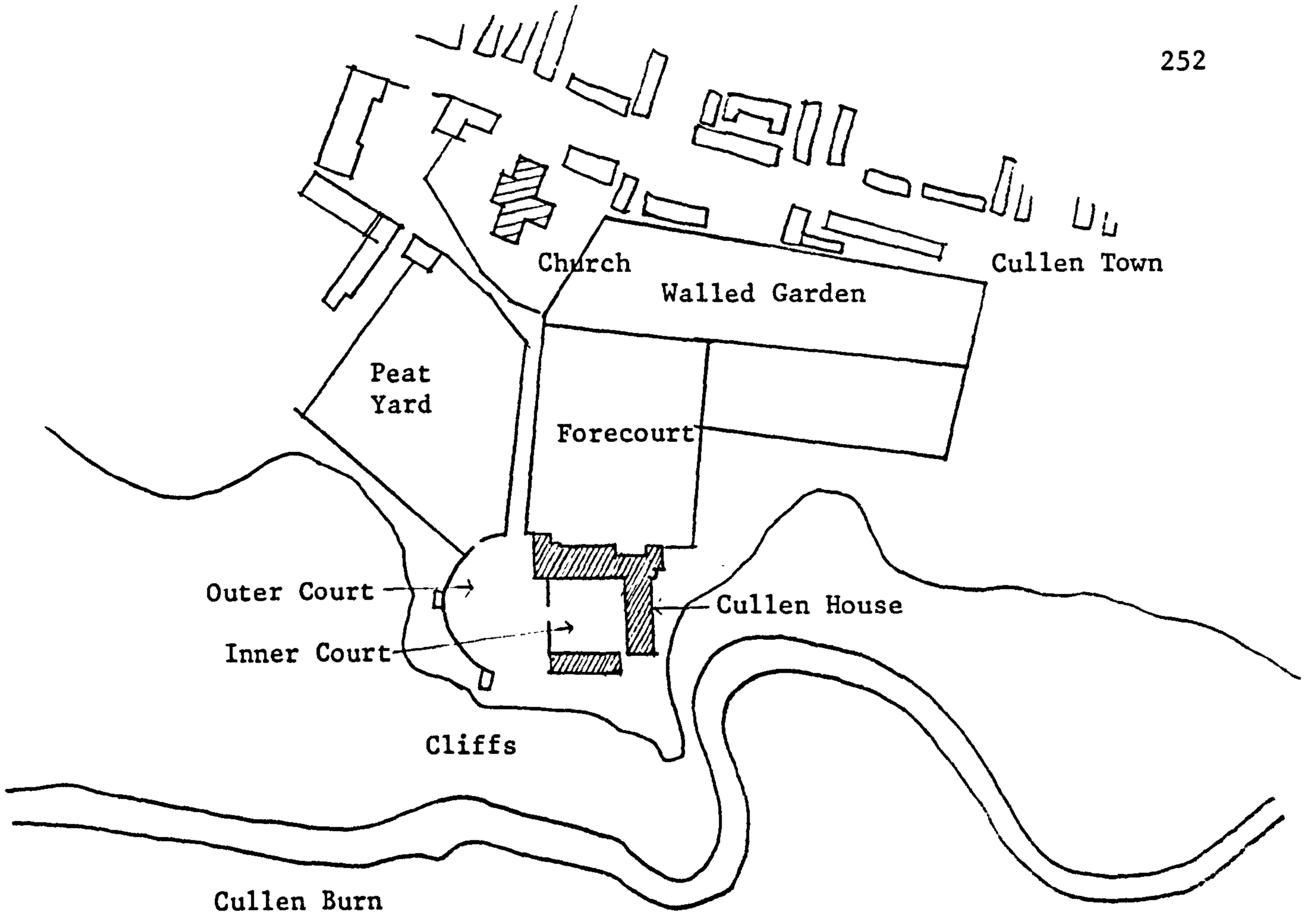

Figure 82

Site Plan, Cullen House, 1707

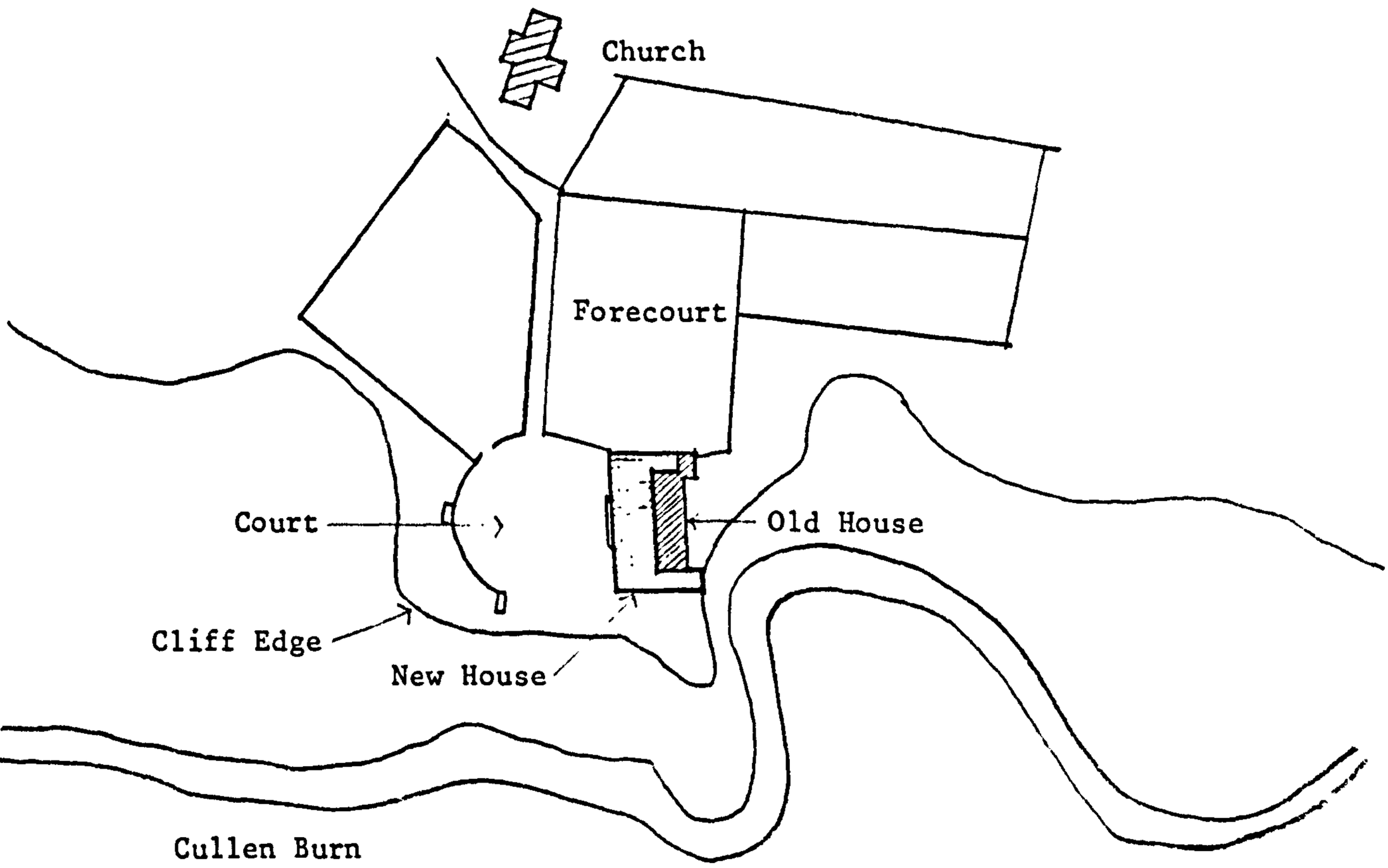

Figure 83 - Site Plan, Smith & McGill Proposal, 1709

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would have had to have been constructed. The house would have faced northeast looking down Cullen Burn towards the North Sea with an awkward terrain presenting no possibilities for the then vogue plan of axial symmetry. Further, it left a difficult connection between the formal gardens to the north. To a different generation, such an opportunity for exploiting a picturesque view, would have generated an immediate response, but both client and architect here were culturally bound.

Evidence that siting was a factor in the client's deliberations, is the last design prepared and submitted in February 1710, some months after the decision had been reached to build to the third Earl's concept. (Refer to Figures 84, 85 and 86.)

The Feb 1710 design[52] also had a pedimented frontispiece with hip-roofed block with 3:5:3 module, and followed a similar internal plan but with a central staircase and the more fashionable separate corridor.[52a] Minor stylistic elevational differences included alternate ashlar quoins and margins, an ornamented parapet with balustrade[53] and urns, a cyma reversa cornice, a Mannerist doorway and a rear elevation with dual Jacobean turnpike stairs. The principal difference was the elipsoidal decastyle colonnade in Tuscan order defining the entry court vaguely derivative of Bernini's St. Peter's square (1656-67), or of Bruce's derivations at Balcaskie, Mertoun, and Auchindinny,[54] amongst many others. Such a geometrical plan with wings extending to the stables and to the kitchen, could not have been successfully adapted to the very restrictive escarpment and so this final attempt by Smith and McGill was shelved.

What was built? In October 1709 Seafield wrote to his son Lord Deskford: "As for what you write concerning my Lord Findlater intentions to finish the house which he has begun in the method he contrived it I can assure

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52a. Downes, Vanbrugh, pp. 30-31
52. Labelled "Designe of the House at Cullen as Proposed Feb. 1710 for the Earle of Seafield".
53. Wittkower (1974), op.cit., Chapter 2: A Discussion of the Grammar of the Rennaissance Style.
54. Fenwick (1970), op.cit., p. 14

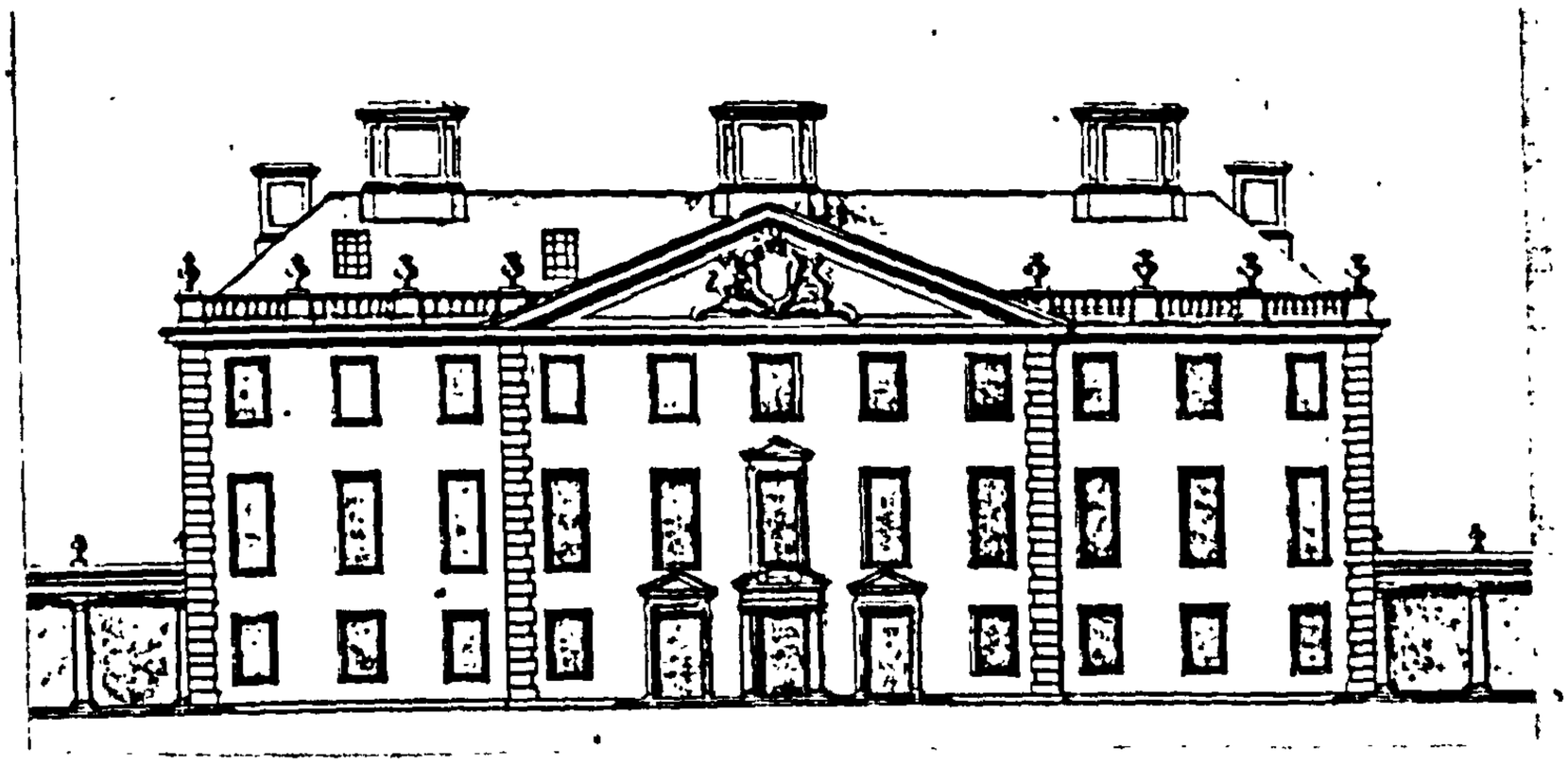

Figure 84 - Alternative for a New Front, Smith & McGill, Feb.1710
SRO RHP 2541-2

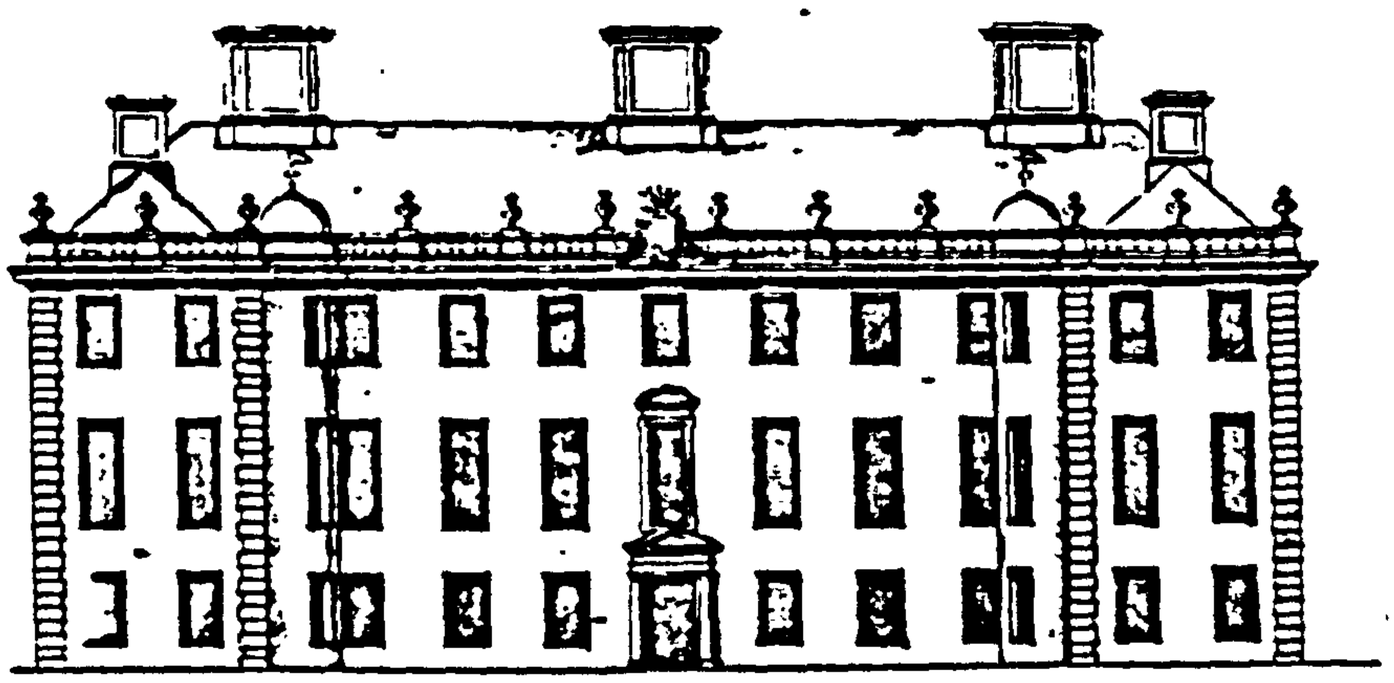

Figure 85 - Rear Elevation, Smith and McGill, Feb. 1710
SRO RHP 2541-1

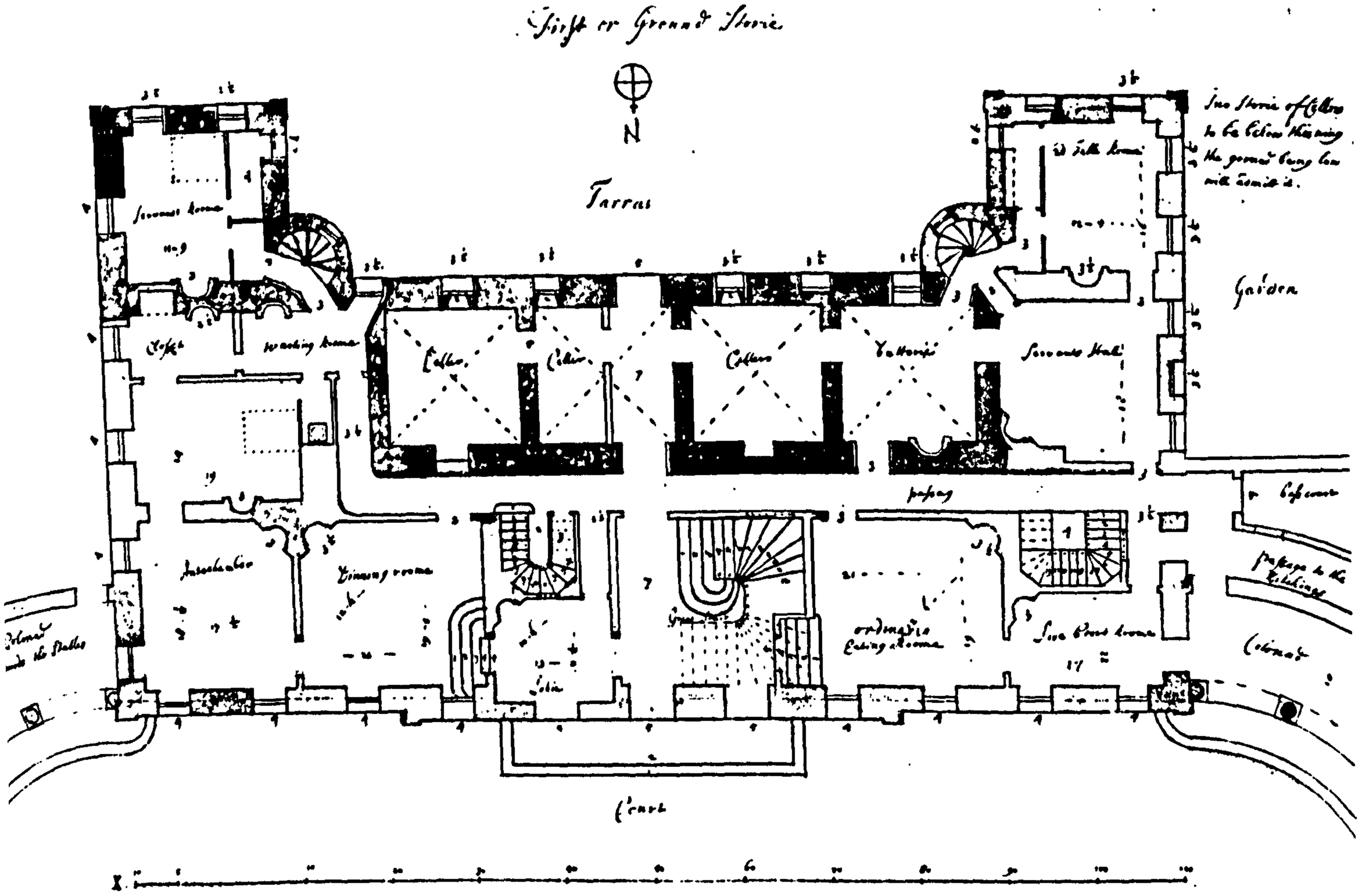

Figure 86 - Alternative Ground Plan, Feb. 1710, SRO RHP 2541-5

you I shall be very well satisfyed with it . . . it will give us a great dale of more conveniencing"[55] Seafield ordered his son to give his grandfather every assistance to ensure "that the roof was on this winter even though the side walls would not be finished until spring". In December 1709 Seafield wrote to confirm his support for Findlater's decision.[56]

Those two letters suggest that construction was imminent and irreversible, however, another letter in January 1710 indicates more precisely the tenuous cash flow: "My Lord Findlater has now got his 2,000 merks, and says that nothing hinders him from buying the wood that will be necessary for the part of the house he designs to finish ...".[57]

It would appear that the third Earl, with the assistance of his grandson (the future fifth Earl), only achieved a stockpiling of materials before the combination of the dissolution of the Government and the Earl's death forced an end to the plans. Between October 1709 and October 1710, evidence proves that timber, stone and lyme was stockpiled.[58] The fourth Earl from 1719-26 used the material for a different purpose. It was left to the grandson, the fifth Earl, to build the family apartment extension in 1732-34.

This was not unusual. Capital for construction in Scotland was scarce. The cautious approach was to stockpile materials, then build over a long period of time to the limit of the cash flow, rather than setting aside funds or

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55. SRO GD 248-560-43-8 Seafield to Deskford 29-10-1709.
56. SRO GD 248-560-43-21 Seafield to Findlater 6-12-1709.
57. SRO GD 248-560-44-16 Deskford to Seafield 7-01-1710.
58. SRO GD 248-560-44-16 Deskford to Seafield 7-01-1710: Findlater is to purchase timber at Inverness from Phraserdale for the houses.
SRO GD 248-560-44-20 Seafield to Deskford 21-01-1710: Deskford should go to arrange the timber contract for experience.
SRO GD 248-560-45-10 Deskford to Findlater 23-02-1710: Phraserdale will furnish timber at a reasonable rate "for he has an abundance of trees".
SRO GD 248-560-45-18 Seafield to Findlater 18-04-1710: Horses are hauling stones to the house and park dykes.
SRO GD 248-560-45-38 Deskford to Lorimer 27-09-1710: Lord Huntly to furnish timber.
SRO GD 248-560-44-7 Seafield to Lorimer 02-10-1710: Quarries busy.

borrowing large sums.[59] The Findlaters did not resort to raising capital by mortgages or by granting long leases with low rent and a high entry fee as this was exactly contrary to the fourth Earl's fiscal policy. This was not design by capriciousness, rather there is strong evidence to suggest a deliberate long term achievement with adaptations along the way to account for changing financial and stylistic circumstances.

6. The Fourth Earl's Phased Renovation Plan

Findlater's death could not have come at a worse time for Seafield, for he had been dismissed from office with the rest of Godolphin's coalition late in 1710, and the future did not look promising.[60] He was dependent upon an income from government service to continue to unencumber the estate. Always frugal, always conscious that retrenchment would have to be effected whenever he fell from office, Seafield appears to have gently persuaded his father to stop stockpiling materials.

Seafield became fourth Earl of Findlater in 1711. He returned to Government as a representative peer in 1712 and was soon made Keeper of the Great Seal and Chancellor of the Court of Session. When he resumed renovations about 1715, he proved as unwilling as his father was to initiate Smith and McGill's proposals; instead Findlater began to execute a five phased renovation consistent with the existing courtyard form, and with his original instructions to Smith. It was in the detailing that the essence of a new aesthetic would surface. The question of whether or not Findlater was refurbishing haphazardly, or whether he had a consistent concept, can only be answered by analysing the five phases.

The analysis has required a degree of interpretation, therefore some of the original contracts have been reproduced in Appendix E. A comparison

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59. Airs (1975) op.cit., Chapter 8
60. Ferguson (1968) op.cit, Chapter 2, pp. 36-69: Queen Anne dismissed Godolphin and his coalition and replaced them with Harley. Even a consummate politician as Seafield could not survive such as storm.

between these contracts and the as found Smith and McGill drawing of 1709 (SRO RHP 2541-7), the Paterson as found drawing of 1787 (BND-16-71) and the Bryce Drawings of 1758-63 (BND 16-1-12) has been made. Figure 87 is a compilation of the phased interpretation.

The first phase consisted of a contract with a James Ogilvie of Elgin, Mason, for unspecified construction. Evidence is limited to correspondence which does not describe what was accomplished, only that the Earl wished to terminate his contract in view of the threatened Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.[61]

Work does not appear to have resumed until February 1719 when the second phase was begun. A contract with James Ogilvie survives[62] (Refer to Appendix E) providing for the 1543 doorway to be walled and the main entry to be moved to its present location in the north wing. The entry was thereby removed from a confined Medieval location designed primarily for defence, to what had been the great hall, allowing for a vestible hall. The small windows on the north wing ground floor were also enlarged to give a feeling of light and space. The old great hall was gutted and was further obscured with construction of a new first floor and a second floor with windows and steeply pitched roof raised to match the north tower gavell (the third Earl's bedroom) with dormer windows matching the west wing's old gallery. Windows on the first floor north wing were enlarged to 1.3 by 3.2 metres again to enhance the sense of light and space.

Findlater's legal education resulted in exacting contracts being drawn. The terms correspond to common practise. Findlater preferred contracts with individual craftsmen for fixed price labour with all materials and transportation supplied by the owner.[63] This corresponded to a

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61. SRO GD 248-562-55-1 Findlater to Lorimer 9-08-1715: Findlater is under contract with James Ogilvie for unspecified construction at Cullen. Findlater enquired if Ogilvie wanted to end the contract.
SRO GD 248-561-53 Findlater to Lorimer 8-07-1715: Gates to house ordered closed and bolted to deter wandering rebels.
62. SRO GD 248-562-60 Contract of James Ogilvie, mason, with Earl of Findlater, 26-02-1719:
63. Airs (1975) op.cit., pp. 47-8 This was the most common form of Building Contract.

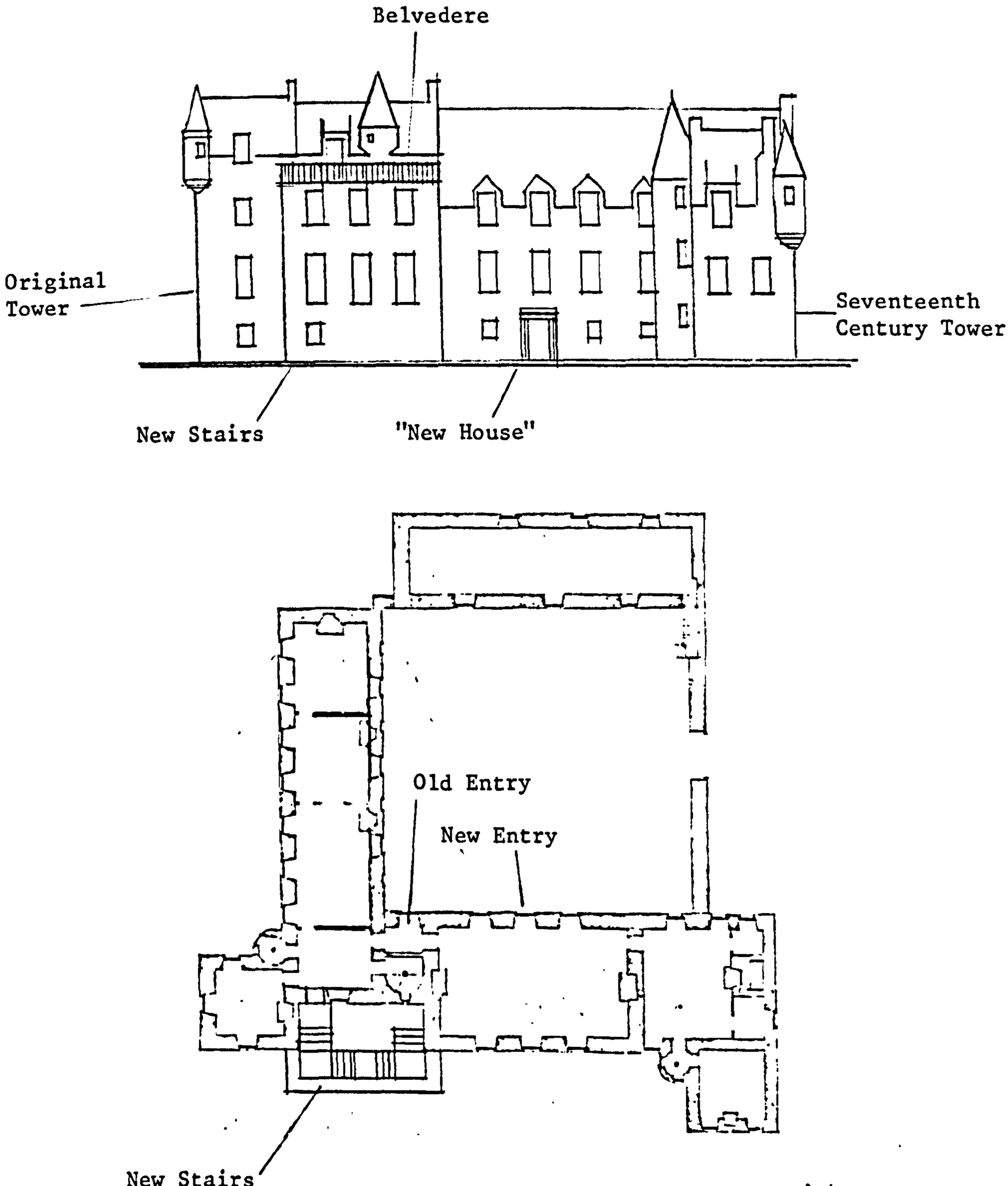

Figure 87

Plans & Elevation of the Fourth Earl's Renovations, c.1720

combination of Wren's "direct labour" and "by the great" as opposed to "by measure"[64] In the case of the second phase contract, mason Ogilvie was to be paid £180 Scots in three instalments plus 4 Bolls meal and morning drink for workmen, and he was to be lodged at Cullen House.[65] Findlater supplied barrowmen and materials. A clause in the contract states that "Free stones of windows moulded paid for under separate contract of this date".[66] The latter "by measure" clause provided for special payment for craftsmen of unequal skill and complexity on time consuming finish work. Provision of stone and timber was discussed in separate correspondence.[67]

The extensive third phase contract was signed December 1720, again with James Ogilvie as master mason.[68] (Refer to Appendix E) This provided for construction of the great staircase (6.0 by 8.9 metres by two stories high) with small windows on ground floor and other windows to match those of the upper floor windows enlarged under the 1719 contract. A second floor room was provided above the staircase, and the roof was completed to join the earlier balcony of the prebendary house which was a common feature in larger tower houses such as Craigeivar and Castle Fraser.[69] This belvedere was surrounded by a balustrade rather than the earlier mock crenelation. The significance of the balustrade was that it was one more decorative application of Renaissance detailing to the cumulative design of Cullen House.[70] The

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64. Colvin (1978), op.cit., introduction
65. ibid, Chapter 20: The food and accommodation practice was a common method to reduce cash paid for wages.
66. SRO GD 248-562-60 Contract Ogilvie with Findlater 26-02-1719.
67. SRO GD 248-560-60-1 Findlater to Lorimer 17-03-1719: Findlater directs stone from Seafield quarry to be provided for a goose house and the new house. he mentions a hiding place that the housekeeper knows of in the new house (Cullen) to put valuable papers in case of the Spanish invasion. SRO GD 248-562-60-38 Findlater to Lorimer 9-04-1719: "If timber comes for my house take care to provide lime and make good the contract with James Ogilvie". The timber for Cullen House was to come from the Duke of Gordon.
68. SRO GD 248-539-3 Contract for Cullen House renovations between the Earl of Findlater and James Ogilvie, mason. 9-12-1720.
69. H. Gordon Slade, "Tillycairn Castle, Aberdeen" pp. 499-517.
70. Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, "Renaissance Balusters and the Antique", pp. 1-23.

significance of the expanded belvedere was that Findlater wished to provide a view of his domains, specifically of his walled courtyard gardens between the house and town.

Entry and circulation was no longer through the defensible seventeenth century tower house doorway and turnpike stair but was through the 1719 vestibule hall to the 1720 great staircase. Findlater further modified the vestibule with a partition to divide this space into a "parlour" and a second table room. Paving stone was provided for the parlour, second table room, stairs and lower pantry. Doors were provided to connect the stairs with the various floors. It appears that the first floor north wing (that is the subdivided space above original great hall) had been completely rebuilt. What had previously served as the Lord's dining room became the "new hall or dynning room". The second floor added above this in 1719 was mentioned thus: "slop two doors from present Gallery of old house to third story of new house this year built." Further expansion and installation of sash windows complete with counter balanced vertically sliding weights, lines and pulleys provided under another contract were also specified.[71]

Payment provided for £ 625 Scots and twenty bolls of meal in five installments as well as morning drink for workmen, Ogilvie to be lodged at Cullen House and Ogilvie to receive a new suit of clothes of value £ 60 Scots. Findlater to again furnish rock, stone, lyme, barrowmen, scaffolding and all freight costs. A clause introduced a new element: a completion date of January 1, 1722. There was however, no penalty clause.

Work on the 1720 third phase contract was not completed as specified. January 1722 came and went. By November 1722, Findlater admonished his clerk, John Lorimer, to "not let mason's work by candlelight within the

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71. H.J. Louw, "The Origins of the Sash Window" pp. 49-72. Popular after Wren's well known use of sash windows at Hampton Court (1689-94) Whitehall (1685-87), and Kensington Palace (1689-96).

house".[72] George Philp wrote back 12 days later that "James Ogilvie has gone again; his schedule can not be relied upon".[73] Evidently the most powerful northeast aristocrat was not immune from contractor procrastination during a building boom. Findlater's only recourse was to appeal to humanity: "James Ogilvie must finish his work ... between the two houses before I come home for I will get my death of cold if it be down ...".[74]

Finally in May of 1723 John Lorimer wrote that the contract was completed.[75] James Ogilvie's receipt for final payment was dated July 1723.[76] The fact that payment was for £ 620 Scots when the contract was for 652 in five installments plus Lorimer's statement that Ogilvie completed the garden wall, suggests that Findlater negotiated one or more amendments and perhaps canily delayed paying regular installments as protection from prolonged construction.

Separate contracts were let with a James Innes, wright,[77] Archibald Haddin, plasterer and an unknown glazier. Their progress from December 1722 through March 1723 is recorded in correspondence.[78]

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72. SRO GD 248-563-65-29 Findlater to John Lorimer 22-11-1722.
73. SRO GD 248-563-65-5 Geo. Philp to Findlater 4-12-1722.
74. SRO GD 248-563-67-45 Findlater to John Lorimer 12-03-1723.
75. SRO GD 248-563-67-17 John Lorimer to Findlater 5-05-1723.
76. SRO GD 248-563 James Ogilvie to Findlater 13-07-1723.
77. SRO GD 248-563 Account between Findlater and John and James Innes, wrights: 21-02-1724: For boxing big hall, gavells, marble chimney, window frames, cornice, two windows, dails for floor, Total of £203-19-0 paid in several installments beginning July 1721.
SRO GD 248-563-68-41 Whyte to Findlater 23-02-1724: Big hall finished by wrights and beginning to box outer passages to hall.
78. SRO GD 248-563-65-5 Geo. Phip to Findlater 4-12-1722: Garden gate being hewed, James Innes has sash windows for staircase and two windows in pantry complete. The glassiers and plasterers have arrived. SRO GD 248-563-66-23 Whyte to Findlater 28-01-1723: James Innes is flooring and Archibald Haddin is expected to start plastering. SRO GD 248-563-67-15 George Philp to Findlater 27-01-1723: Innes has put in upper windows of staircase and begins to floor two little rooms. James Ogilvie still not back. SRO GD 248-563-67-57 Whyte to Findlater 16-02-1723: Haddin plastering staircase. Ogilvie not returned. Innes making doors to new pantrie. SRO GD 248-563-66-24 Whyte to Findlater 18-03-1723: Haddin completed staircase; James Ogilvie returned to slop old pantry to the new big hall.

Although William Whyte considered Ogilvie to be unreliable, the quality of work must have satisfied Findlater's exacting taste, for he once again entered into a small contract for the fourth phase in November 1723.[79] This was for various doors and windows in the north wing as well as for securing the coat of arms about the great entry. Rather than provide a Classical image, Findlater chose to relocate the 1600-02 frontispiece with Flemish enrichment and the Findlater coat of arms.

Contract conditions specified a payment of £80 Scots in two installments with the usual provisions for lodging and supply of materials. Completion was to be July 1, 1724. The receipt dated July 28, 1724 for £ 42-14-0 suggests the work was completed on schedule, although two additional items were also paid: a freestone chimney for the new drawing room, and a marble chimney in the dressing room.[80] Ogilvie was recalled to correct minor defective work in January 1725; some new stonework required repointing, and the new kitchen chimney was smoking. This was done without charge.

A fifth phase was for interior embellishments 1725-6[81]. Findlater again entered separate contracts with Innes and Haddin for Wright work and plastering. This included the big hall,[82] dressing room, nursery and for the new drawing room. The drawing room may have been on the first floor east

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79. SRO GD 248-563 Contract between James Ogilvie and the Earl of Findlater 28-11-1723.
80. SRO GD 248-563 Account Ogilvie to Findlater 28-07-1724: Freestone chimney for new drawing room, marble chimney in dressing room, securing coat of arms over great entry, and minor work: £42-14-0. Paid.
81. SRO GD 248-564-71-40 Whyte to Findlater: As built drawings were sent to London to Findlater between 1724-25. 8-02-1725.
SRO GD 248-564-74-49 Whyte to Findlater 8-01-1726: Cullen House roof good and tight but had to repair leak above stairshead room.
SRO GD 248-564-74-35 Whyte to Findlater 26-01-1726: New drawing room floor net yet laid.
SRO GD 248-564-74-45 George Philp to Findlater 31-01-1726: Innes finished boxing nursery and begins floor of new drawing room.
SRO GD 248-564-73-37 Whyte to Findlater 28-02-1726: Confirms work done.
82. SRO GD 248-563-69-34 George Philp to Findlater: 8-02-1724 Wrights nearly finished the big hall. Plasterers expected soon.

Figure 88

New Entry, Cullen House, 1980

wing in its present location. This would have involved reducing three chambers in the 1600-02 west wing to two. (The present drawing room encompasses the entire wing and only dates from 1860). This may have accounted for the 1725 reference "filled up two blind windows in old dyning room and drawing rooms looking to main entry".[83] However, this could also have referred to the first floor north wing; the archives are obscure on this point.

The first archival reference to Cullen gardens was regarding improvements executed by the fourth Earl of Findlater from 1709,[84] which included transplanting trees. In 1714, Findlater gave orders for gravel walks in the garden and holly and yew trees to be dispatched from London for topiary.[85] The period 1716-1719 has many records of garden seeds and trees dispatched to Cullen.[86] The lists demonstrate a diverse knowledge of plant material suited for the climate.

After giving instructions to improve the gardens' soil and walks, Findlater in 1719 remarked: "for I believe my greatest pleasure and diversion will be to be at home".[87] 1721 again had him involved with improving the walks.[88] A letter the next year refers to the expansion of one courtyard towards the south,[89] with the garden wall completed May 1723.[90] References

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83. SRO GD 248-564-71-15 Whyte to Findlater 31-01-1725: Drawing room and nursery windows finished. Filled up two blind windows in old dyning room and drawing room looking to main entry. New kitchen chimney smoking and Ogilvie sent for. New work has to be repainted due to winter winds.
SRO GD 248-576-2-21 Receipt for plastering 15-05-1725: 37 including new drawing room.
84. SRO GD 248-560-43-11 Seafield to Deskford 29-10-1709.
85. SRO GD 248-561-50-2 Findlater to Lorimer 2-11-1714.
86. SRO GD 248-599-1 Millar to Findlater 14-10-1712, invoice for 29 seed varieties for £26; and SRO GD 248-597 Millar to Findlater 24-01-1722 invoice for £10.
87. SRO GD 248-562-60-1 Findlater to Lorimer, 17-03-1719.
88. SRO GD 248-563-63-52 Findlater to Lorimer, 14-04-1721 and SRO GD 248-563-63-10 Findlater to Lorimer, 22-04-1721.
89. SRO GD 248-563-65-29 Findlater to Lorimer, 22-11-1722.
90. SRO GD 248-67-17 Lorimer to Findlater 5-05-1723.

between 1723 and 1730 are to plant material with annual dispatches of seeds from William Millar of Edinburgh and from nurseries in London.[91]

While there are no verifiable plans surviving of the gardens from this early period, they were undoubtably the series of walled gardens which normally surrounded Scottish tower-houses.[92] These were in design and type not the "national type" of isolated gardens referred to by Cox,[93] which dated from the later eighteenth and nineteenth century[94] but rather the fourth Earl's walled garden would have been a peaceful place[95] filled with parterres and topiary.[96]

Findlater was not bound to regional taste, for he was of the court and would have at least have met leading philosophers of his generation, such as the third Earl of Shaftsbury (1671-1713), originator of the concept of natural order. Even so, the series of walled courtyards of May's 1762 and 1764 plans of Cullen[97] just prior to their demolition, which probably represents his

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91. SRO GD 248-563-67-53 Whyte to Findlater, 28-01-1723
SRO GD 248-563-66-24 Whyte to Findlater, 18-03-1723
SRO GD 248-564-71-15 Whyte to Findlater, 31-01-1725
SRO GD 248-564-71-40 Whyte to Findlater, 8-2-1725
SRO GD 248-564-74-37 Philp to Findlater, 17-02-1726
SRO GD 248-564-73-31 White to Findlater, 07-03-1726
SRO GD 248-564-76-36 Philp to Findlater, 21-02-1727
SRO GD 248-564-76-37 Lorimer to Findlater, 24-03-1727
SRO GD 248-565-80-36 Whyte to Findlater, 20-04-1730: "Trees came from London and were placed in a nursery in the kitchen garden, doing well."
92. Cox (1935), op.cit., pp. 12-13, A 1535 ordinance specified that anyone with land valued over £100 Scots had to plant woods or orchards around the house with a garden attached to the house.
93. E.H.M. Cox, A History of Gardens in Scotland, p.xvi.
94. Gyorgy Kepes, "The New Landscape in Art and Science", Chapter Six.
95. D. Pearsall and E. Salter; Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World, Chapter 4.
96. A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic.
97. SRO RHP 12874 Original by Peter May dated 1762, Redrawn 1797, and SRO RHP 12875 dated 1764, Cullen policies by Peter may inscribed "as they lye at present".

Figure 89 - Cullen Policies Detail, Peter May, Surveyor, 1764, SRO RHP 12875

garden, indicate a conservative approach.[98]

May's plan (refer to Figure 89) shows six separate rectilinear courtyards with parterres, esplaniered fruit trees and topiary. Gravelled paths both connected the areas and defined the geometrical design. The farthest courtyards were kitchen gardens for vegetables, herbs, and nurseries. It was a modest development by aristocratic standards of the day.[99] This was probably due to Findlater's frugality but also due to the constrained site. The house occupied a limited site between Cullen Burn and Cullen Town which discouraged great geometrical vistas. The high walls afforded protection from the harsh maritime winds and gave some privacy from the town.

The approach to the house was awkward. The main gate was at one side of the central market square; passage was long a walled shables with stables and granaries opening a long the sides[1] and then through a second gate to a semi-circular carriage forecourt. There was a third gate to a quadrangle surrounded on three sides by the house and by a 3 metre high wall on the fourth side.

May's plan shows little to suggest a professional influence such as by McGill,[2] for all of the evidence points to the courtyards being the result of collaboration of previous generations, the fourth Findlater and his gardener, William Thompson.

There are few traces of Findlater's sister's renouned garden of Hatton (Elizabeth, Countess of Lauderdale). The Hatton broad terrace had been designed by London and Wise with the 240 acre policies revealing some in-

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98. Conservative in the sense that it did not reflect the avante guarde ideas of say, the Kit Kat Club, however that was a very small Group. Hussey (1927) op.cit. p. 30 and Stroud (1975) op.cit., Chapter One; and Downes, Vanbrugh pp. 18-19.
99. David Green, Gardener to Queen Anne, Henry Wise 1653-1738 and the Formal Garden. Still, the Cullen walled gardens employed a stately orderliness.
1. Cramond (1822): For a detailed plans and description of the approach.
2. Tait, (1980) Chapter One: McGill had designed renovations to Cullen House and he was also a garden designer.

fluence of Switzer.[3] Hatton's walled garden was connected to its policies through bosquets and mixed lawn enclosures outside the walls. Cullen's walled courtyards were not linked by radiating avenues or vistas, but there were plantations. Evidence for this conclusion is contained in the 1726 reference to a park opposite Cullen House (which would have been across the Burn) being enclosed and planted.[4] Thomas Pennant in 1769, described this forest in and about Cullen Glen as being full of mature trees which sheltered the house from the sea winds.[5]

Extrapolating, by the end of the fourth Earl's tenure, Cullen policies appeared from the west as a forested enclave of at most twenty acres, while from the east the landscape was of formal stone enclosures adjacent to the medieval town.

What had been accomplished? More space had been added, serving different functions in accordance with changing social conventions. Externally, Findlater had begun the transformation of the townhouse or generally towards Classical lines by attempting symmetry through regular fenestration, and by massing. Windows had been enlarged to provide more light. The main entry with staircase reflected a dignified approach rather than the security-by-all-means approach of the medieval tower house. There was a powerful sense of a new underlying cultural order but also a sense that the design lacked finesse.

More by accident than by design, Findlater's north facade achieved somewhat similar proportions to Burlington's Tottenham Park, Wiltshire 1721,[6] although the latter was expressive of architectural rules and Cullen was merely building.

Nothing challenged the provincial builder's repetoire. Findlater's conservative approach was motivated by a cautious capital investment strategy, limited theoretical knowledge of architecture and probably by a cynical regard

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3. Cox (1935), op.cit., p. 49 and Figure VI. Also Willis (1974) Furor Hortensis, Chapter 4.
4. SRO GD 248-564 - Deskford to Findlater 05-01-1726: "Gardeners dilligent about the planting and ditching in the new park opposite to Cullen House".
5. Thomas Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, 1769.
6. Wittkower (1974) op.cit., Chapter 8.

for the ecclectic styles of the Queen Anne period. It was not inconsistent for a man of property and politics such as Findlater, to doubt the cultural acendancy of Neopalladianism, for that was limited to a very small group at the time of Findlater's renovations.

Did Findlater employ an architect? He certainly commissioned Smith and McGill 1709-10, and subsequently retained McGill as a consulting engineer on the estate, at least for the Portsoy Harbour bulwark of July 1720. He had no reservations against professional advice. It is possible that McGill consulted to produce plans which led to the 1719-1720 contracts, however that is entirely speculative, for the absence of reference to such a plan or elevation in all of the fourth Earl's otherwise meticulous contracts would suggest that such plans never existed.

Evidence suggests that the fourth Earl acted as his own architect. The list of Scottish clients acting as designers is extensive. In an earlier generation Lord Hatton, later third Duke of Lauderdale, replaced Sir William Bruce as Surveyor of the Royal Works in 1678; His limited qualifications for such a position does seem to include the design of his famous house garden at Hatton, a Palladian renovation of a tower-house along the same lines as Smith and McGill's 1710 renovation.[7] Another aristocrat with an interest in building was John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar (1675-1732), and a contemporary of the fourth Earl of Findlater. Mar was a Jacobite politician, who was forced into exile through chosing the wrong side in the 1715 rebellion. He was also a gentleman architect and landscape gardener of some merit[8], having been influenced by Borromini, Guarini, Le Pautre, Bramante and Palladio. It was his patronage which provided for James Gibbs' education. Another client-architect was Sir John Clerk of Peniuick, known as "The Scottish Burlington". At this time clients frequently chose to execute their own concepts to be seen to be of the humanist mould, rather than build to another architect's designs.

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7. Simpson (1965), op.cit., pp. 239-240.
8. Colvin (1978) op.cit., pp. 295-7. Also Colvin (1974) op.cit. pp. 5-13. Three volumes of Mar's drawing survive in Register House.

It was either this Renaissance pleasure or the acrimonious frugality exemplified by his friend the Duchess of Marlborough, in dismissing Vanbrugh in 1716, which led the fourth Earl away from patronizing either of the two great Scottish architects with British reputations at the time of his project: James Gibbs and Colin Campbell. Gibbs executed only two buildings in Scotland after establishing his London practice, one of which, Balvenie House for the first Earl Fife, was within riding distance of Cullen.

If there was any architect more likely for Findlater to retain, it was Colen Campbell (1676-1729); elder son of the brother of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor Castle, educated perhaps at Edinburgh University 1695, accepted to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh in 1702, Campbell had a legal background similar to Findlater's. By 1712 when Campbell completed Shawfield Mansion in Glasgow, his only known Scottish work,[9] Campbell was well advanced in his career change to architecture. He probably studied in Italy 1715-16, and subsequently published Vitruvius Britannicus in 1715, 1717 and 1725. By 1718 he was Chief Clerk and Deputy Surveyor of Works in Scotland, and so he would not have been unknown to Findlater. Still, Campbell's ambitions were to achieve a British fortune, through commissions such as Wanstead (1714-20) and Wilbury House (1710) and thus he was attracted to the Burlington connection,[10] rather than to a provincial commission on the edge of nowhere.

Educated as a professional lawyer with intent to practice[11] as befitted a second son, Findlater had an exacting command of contract language. Findlater relied upon his mason, James Ogilvie, as his executant. The mutual understanding of what was expected was specified in words. Drawings were unnecessary for the traditional detailing expected and that was common at that time.[12] Other craftsmen provided some sort of description of their work

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8a. Downes (1977) op. cit., Chapter 4.
9. G.L.M. Goodfellow, "Colin Campbell's Shawfield Mansion in Glasgow", pp. 123-128.
10. Colvin, (1978) op.cit., p. 183.
11. Shaw (1983) op.cit., p. 24.
12. Jenkins (1961) op.cit., p. 122: Until the middle of the eighteenth century, working drawings were unnecessary.

and improvised specific details as they progressed. By limiting the scope of work of each phase and of each craftsman and by ensuring constant supervision by himself,[13] or by his chamberlain,[14] Findlater ensured control.[15]

The one recorded reference to the use of detail plans occurred 12 March 1723 when Findlater requested a plan of the stair being constructed by Ogilvie.[16] Evidence that drawings were becoming a more accepted means of conveying understanding was in Findlater's request for as built drawings which were sent to London during 1724-5.[17]

How was business conducted by the end of the fourth Earl's renovations? Feudal spatial obligations such as baron court and joint tenant meetings were removed from Cullen House. Ordinary business transactions occurred at one of the factors' houses such as at Chamberlain Whyte's farmhouse in Dytach. Cullen House was reserved for gentlemen's business. There is no reference to a suite of offices at Cullen with charter room. Charters were probably kept securely in an upper room in the 1543 tower.

Evidence of continuity in the design of Cullen House during the fourth Earl's tenure included his abandonment of Smith and McGill's plans in favour of a phased modification of the quadrangle. The plans responded to stylistic changes prevalent during the fourth Earl's generation.

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13. Martin Briggs, The Architect in History, p. 288: Wren (1632-1723) acted as general contractor or project manager in assembing all the subtrades in separate contracts with himself as coordinator. It was not unknown for landowners to adopt a similar position.
14. Airs, (1975) op.cit., Chapter 6 and 7.
15. Ibid, Chapter 5 - The only time the Chamberlain did not act as the surveyor-administrator was 1722-3 when a new Chamberlain was appointed.
16. SRO GD 248-563-67-45 Findlater to John Lorimer 12-03-1723. He also directed that timber was to be kept away from chimneys to prevent heat transfer and fire.
17. SRO GD 248-564-71-40 Whyte to Findlater two copies were sent.

7. The Fifth Earl's Objectives and William Adam

The fifth Earl had two principal objectives: to expand the family apartment and to establish policies with a connection between Cullen House and the fields across Cullen Burn. Both were achieved.

A contract with Alexander Fraser, mason, dated 1732, identified two plans prepared by William Adam[18] (Refer to Appendix E). One plan provided for the replacement of the 1543 turnpike stairs with the oval staircase to connect all floors,[19] the other plan was for an addition with ten chimneys and another staircase which must have been the extension to the east wing. (Refer to Figure 90.) This was still under construction in 1734, for the chief factor's account book shows a £5,210 Scots expenditure.[20] The 1732 contract was by measure for specific detailing, while general labour was paid as a fixed amount.

Some guess work is needed to determine that the second plan was indeed the west wing extension. Peter May's 1764 plan of Cullen policies shows only that portion of the house completed; May had a considerable reputation for accuracy. The other evidence is from the surviving physical remains - that is the only uniform area with ten chimneys. The fact that the fifth Earl served as his grandfather's agent in 1710 to acquire materials for his grandfather's dream to build this very addition, [20a] and then saw other priorities built by his father, suggest continuity beyond one generation.

The fourth Earl did not deliberately ignore the third Earl's wishes, circumstances and priorities merely dictated attention to other needs. A separate wing for a family apartment at Cullen was not required in 1719-20, for Deskford and his young family had moved forcefully into Boyne Castle in

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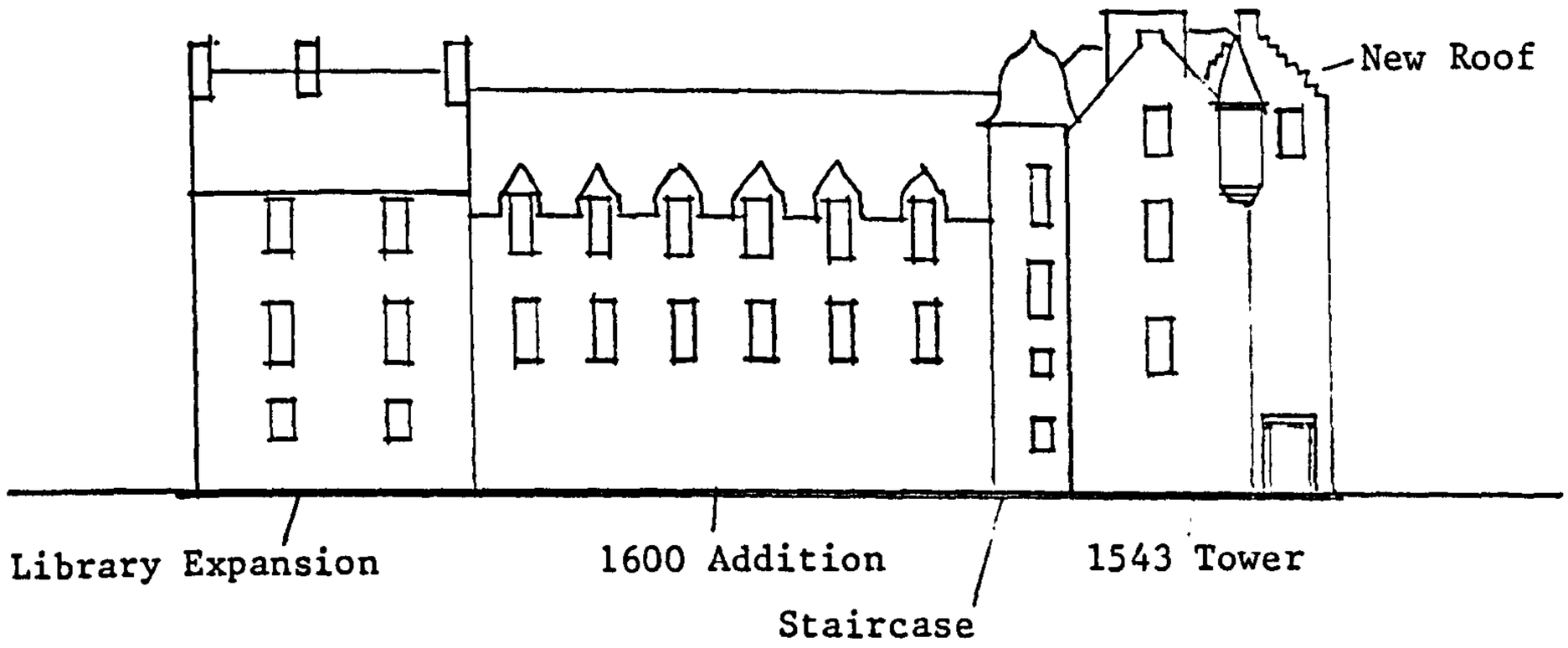
18. SRO GD 248-1072-4-7 Contract between Findlater and Alex Fraser, Mason in Raws of Huntley, May 1732 to be completed May 1733.
19. Adam employed a similar cylinder form at East Park house, Midlothian for the Duke of Bucculeuch, although this was not a staircase.
20. SRO GD 248-1076 George Mackie's account book of 1734.
20a. SRO GD 248-560-44-20 Seafield to Deskford 21-01-1710.



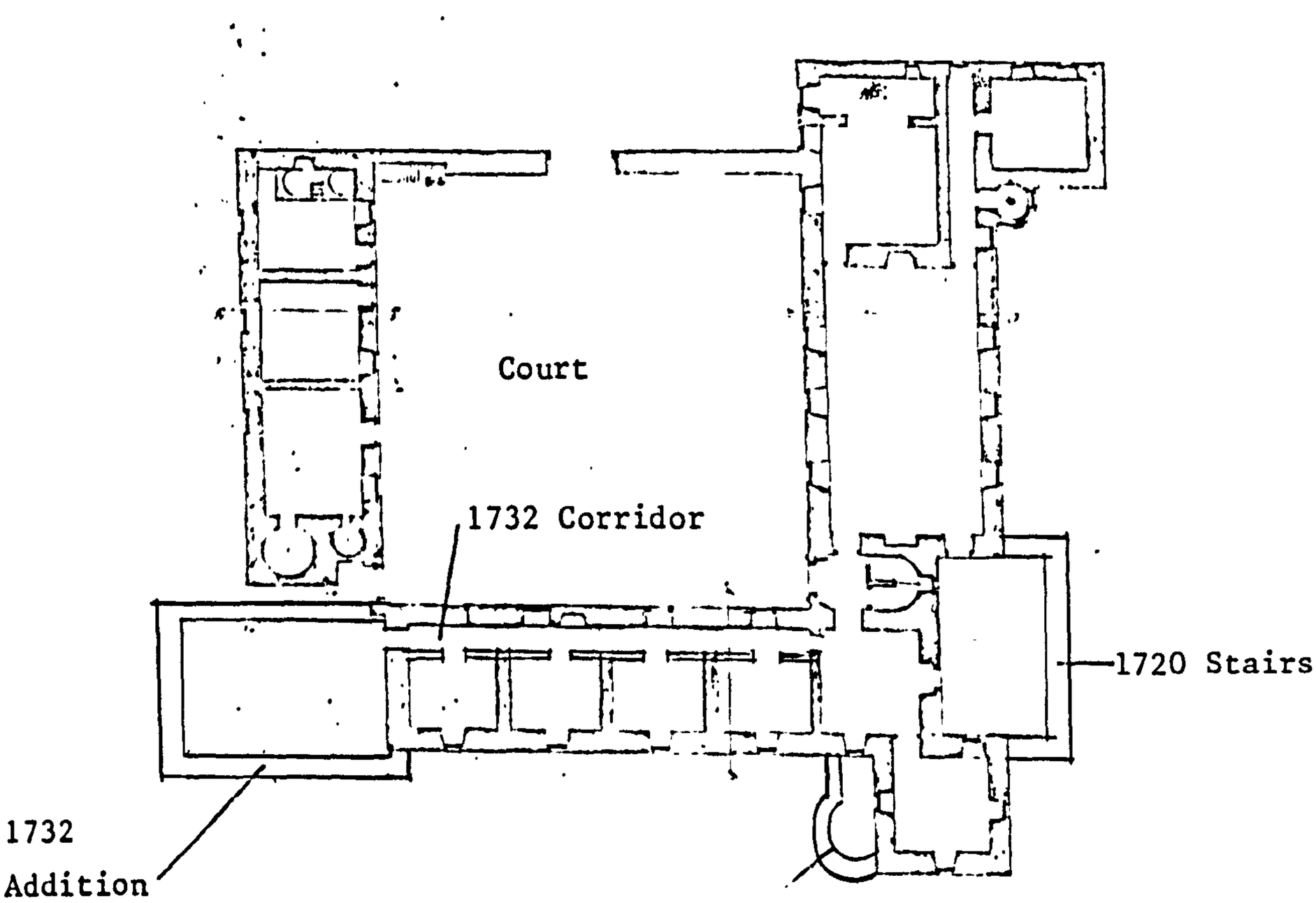


Figure 90

Plan of Cullen House Alterations, William Adam, Architect with Elevation, 1732

1717 as a part of the settlement of the Boyne foreclosure. After 1723, Deskford lived for much of the year at Hopetoun House, to be close to Edinburgh political life. In short, Cullen was not a house overflowing with children during the 1720's, but from 1730 domestic requirements, as well as changing standards of living, dictated that a family wing was appropriate.

One difference between father and son, was that the fifth Earl retained and followed the advice of an architect for the alterations. In retaining the services of William Adam, he was responding to the greater consciousness of taste, to the growth of more finite contractual documentation, and to social pressures for the choice of Adam was not arbitrary. He had been retained from 1721 for Hopetoun House, where Findlater resided for much of the year after his second marriage to the first Earl of Hopetoun's first daughter. Adam was also retained in 1735 for the neighbouring Duff House.[21] A safe assumption can be drawn that the style executed at Cullen would not have been the robust eclecticism of Duff House, but would have rather reflected refinements dictated by Clerk or Hope.[22] The physical evidence demonstrates a very restrained addition of generally Neo-palladian proportions modelled after the then dominant conventions interpreted by Lord Burlington.[23]

William Adam (1689-1748), was a transitional figure in that he was a professional architect-engineer with a prosperous construction firm in the manner of a medieval mason. While he enjoyed architecturally prestigious commissions,[24] as well as from 1730 an appointment as Mason to the Board of Ordnance, his principal source of income was from small vernacular projects such as barley mills, timber mills, coal works, salt pans, marble works, highways, farm offices and other pre-industrial structures. Findlater employed Adam in several such domestic projects on the estate. Adam's work

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21. Fleming (1962), op.cit., pp. 63-64, and W.D. Simpson, "The Building of Duff House," which lists construction from 1735-43; also Dunbar (1966) op. cit. pp. 109-112.
22. Yarwood (1970), op.cit., Chapter One.
23. Wittkower (1974), op.cit., Chapter 8.
24. James Simpson, ed., Vitruvius Scoticus: this contains all of the major work.

at Cullen House falls within the most productive years of his private practice.[25]

A few comments upon the interior plan of the expansion are in order. (Refer to Figure 90.) The second floor appears to have been one room accessed from the gallery. This was the library and contained the growing collection of a scholarly family.[26] The same library which was damaged by rebels during the 1745 Rebellion. Findlater was awarded £ 8,000 damages plus legal fees from the forfeited Drummond Estate for this transgression,[27] a sum which could have completely rebuilt Cullen House.

The ground floor provided a charter room and estate office for meetings between Findlater, his factors and major tenants. Business had changed; capitalism had begun to demand a more efficient and specialized management and this was expressed in the appearance of the estate office.

Duff House provides an excellent comparison of a concurrent William Adam design which included a business centre (Refer to Figure 91). Two charter rooms appear to the left of the ground floor hall. The second Earl of Fife's letters to William Rose, his factor, show that these rooms were actively used. Not constructed were the two pavilions, one of which provided an anachronistic court room and a tenant's counting room.

The office at Cullen was connected by stairs to the family first floor apartment, and to the second floor library. The ground floor was conveniently interconnected to the rest of the house by constructing an internal corridor along one side of the four vaulted storage rooms. The storage rooms' outside doors were then converted to windows; there is no truth to the Edwardian conceit that they were the original monk's cells.[28]

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25. John Fleming, Robert Adam and His Circle, p. 52: "The 1730's were William Adam's most productive years. all his public buildings and six of his larger country-houses date from this decade..."
26. Girouard (1978), op.cit., Chapter 6: sepeaate libraries were built from 1650.
27. SRO GD 248-571-7, also W. Cramond, The Plundering of Cullen House by the Rebels, 8-04-1746.
28. Country Life Vol. 20, No. 506, 15 September 1906 pp. 378-383.

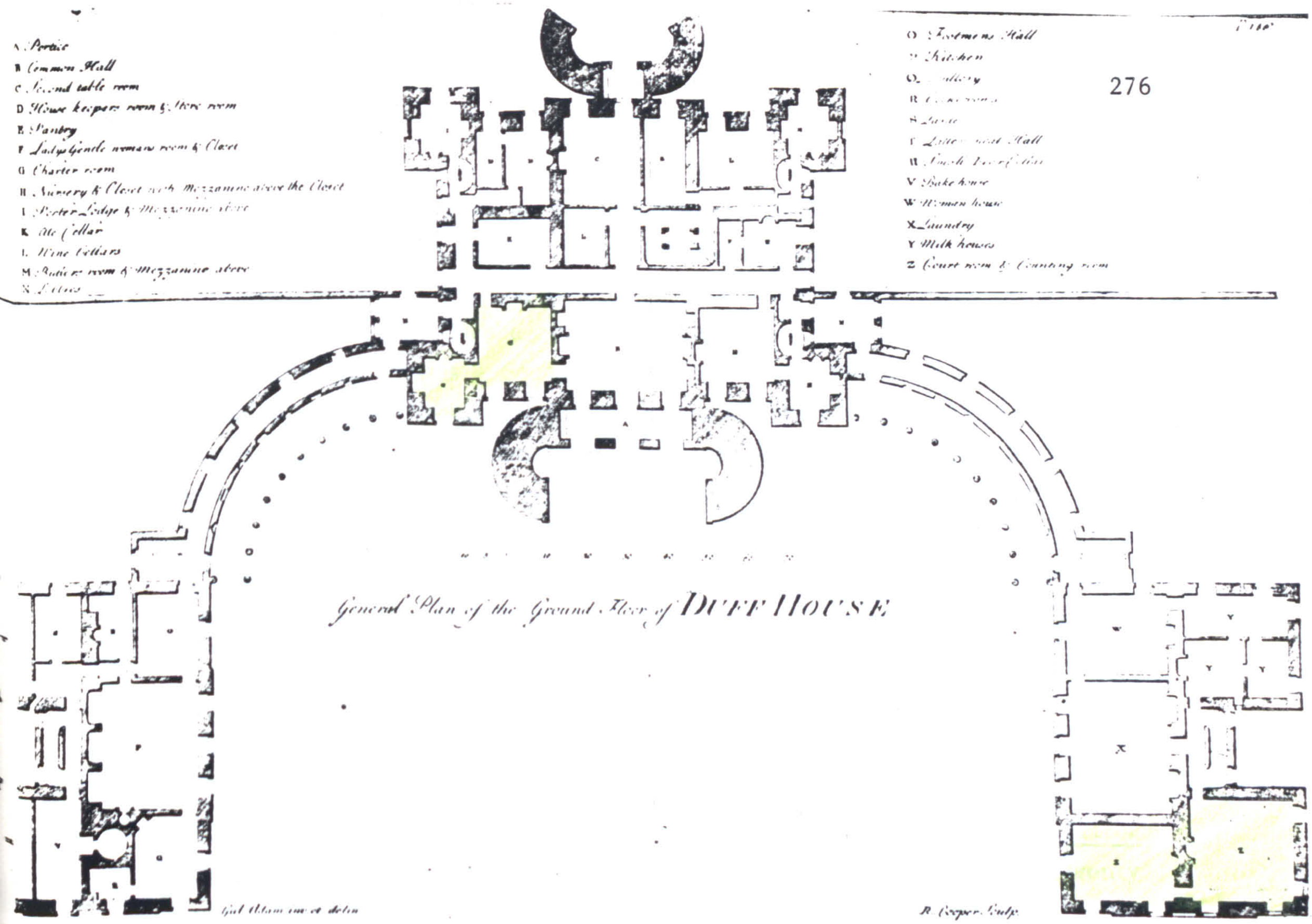
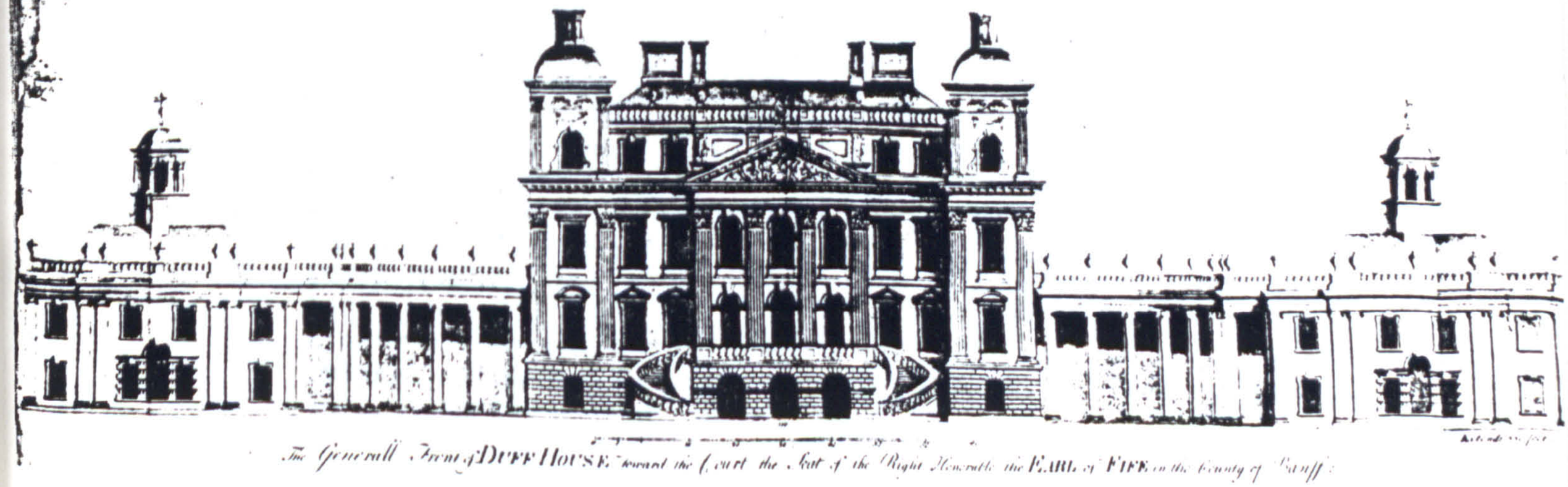


Figure 91 - Duff House, William Adam, Architect, c.1730
Ground Floor Plan from Vitruvicus Scoticus, plate 146
& Elevation from Vitruvicus Scoticus, plate 148



While the house exterior continued to reflect the fourth Earl's taste, its setting was radically altered. The fifth Earl's taste reflected the stylistic revolution eventually leading towards a freer naturalistic landscape.[29] Not surprisingly, he served as a representative peer from 1734-1764 voting as a Whig (although he was a Squadrone Whig). The archives show that he was acquainted with influential Whig landowners and had visited Viscount Cobham's Stowe and Pope's Twickenham. Political philosophy would have served as a strong motivator towards improvement,[30] but so too was emulation. The fifth Earl was of a sequacious temperament, and he easily fell under the influence of his wife, daughter of the connoiseur first Earl of Hopetoun. They were frequently resident at Hopetoun House and would have been observers of William Adam's designs. As a prominent Whig political family, the fifth Findlaters were connected with "The Twickenham Set", and thus had access to estates where socio-political ideologies of "Liberty and Freedom" found expression in landscape.[31] The third Earl of Shaftsbury's The Moralists, a Philosophical Rhapsody, 1709 and the 1712 A Letter Concerning the Art or Science of Design[32] provided a very early and very clear direction. Twenty years would separate the letter's radical ideas before the fifth Earl would begin his commitment to policy design, and at least another twelve years before Cullen would begin to reflect a freer, more naturalistic landscape design.

The transition from avant-garde to conventional taste was a lengthy process. Pope (1688-1744), Addison, the third Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), Switzer (1682-1745), Bridgeman (c. 1680-1738) and Kent (1685-1748), all

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29. Walter J. Hipple, Jr. The Beautiful, The Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory Chapter One. This provides a description of the first tentative steps towards natural design.
30. Nicolas Pesvner, "The Genuis of the Picturesque" in The Architectural Review, Nov. 1944: for political content of this design.
31. Wittkower (1974) op.cit., Chapter 12: "Enlightment Ideas centred around the concept of the simplicity and uniformity in nature ..."
32. David Watkin, The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design, Chapter One: "Called for the creation of a natural style and a national taste based upon the spirit of national freedom which he believed was enshrined in the Whig Oligarchy. Burlington made it his aim to achieve this style."

contributed to the evolution.[33] It is interesting to note that all were roughly contemporaries of the fifth Earl of Findlater (1689-1764). Scottish influences also, upon the Earl and Countess must also not be ignored. Their network of political allies included Lord Kames,[34] Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston[35] and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.[36] The latter's 1727 poem "The Country Seat", has been cited as an influential Scottish model for estate development,[37] and in fact passages in the poem provide a literary blue print for Cullen:

"Tho every beauteous villa should be placed
In open view of Neptunes wide extended realms ...
Yet at some certain points the sea will yield,
A noble prospect to the neighb'ring fields ...
Come new ye rural deities and show
What forms will beautify the neighb'ring plains ...
Stretch out the lines of every avenue
With spreading trees in many stately rowes."[38]

As a response to conventional taste of their circle, the fifth Earl and Countess dramatically altered Cullen policies by overcoming the constraints imposed by Cullen Burn with the construction of a great bridge to reach the

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33. Watkin (1982) Chapter One.
34. Lord Kames in "Elements of Criticism": "Just as the sight of ornamental grounds promoted benevolence and humanity, so he asserted, rough uncultivated ground, dismal to the eye, inspires peevishness and discontent: May this not be one cause of the harsh manners of savages?". By 1739 all men of position were discussing building and gardening.
35. Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, Letters to his Gardener 1727-44; Cockburn was a Lord of the Admiralty which explains Findlater's correspondence as Vice Admiral for Scotland.
36. William Spink, "Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755) - Landowner as Designer", Chapter 5.
37. Tait (1980) op.cit., pp. 18-27.
38. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, "The Country Seat" in The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820, pp. 196-203.

west fields and by expanding policy boundaries there to about 300 acres. It was perhaps not coincidental that construction on the bridge in 1742 exactly coincided with the ascent of the Squadrone to political power.[39]

The expansion had been made possible by the fourth Earl's relentless acquisition of clear title to the area about Cullen. Smaller fish were swallowed in the process; for instance in 1610 Sir Walter Ogilvy had conveyed a small estate called Burdsbank to George Leslye with land on the west bank of Cullen Burn. By 1699 his heir had resold the land to Seafield and was in Cullen's debtor prison for the presumption of allowing his son to elope with the daughter of the third Earl.[40] By 1726 Burdsbank and the contiguous mansion houses of Muldavit and of Castlefield[41] were being recycled as quarry stone for a new public bridge in Cullen Burn and for houses in Cullen Town.[42] Other houses, in what would become the policies, met similar fates.

The archives reveal that the design shown on May's 1764 survey had not been achieved without planning. In 1732 William Adam prepared plans for renovations to Cullen House. The plans have not survived. However, it appears likely at that time or before planting began in 1734, Adam must have prepared sketches or a site plan to locate the future great bridge and the series of gridiron allees in a manner reflecting Charles Bridgeman.[43] The orientation of the central axis was from the new principal entry, across the Burn, along the central allee, towards a view of Cullen Bin, some two miles distant. Implementation was in three stages: first, layout and planting of the allees; second, construction of the great bridge; and third, demolition of the staff wing blocking access. (Refer to Figure 92.)

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39. Shaw (1983) op.cit., Chapter 3.
40. Grant (1912), op.cit., pp. 180-181. Part of this land would be built for Mr. Rannie's House in 1759-61. See SRO GD 248-916 Rannie was Christie's successor.
41. Castlefield was near Pattenbringan according to the 1748 title claim.
42. SRO GD 248-564-74-49, Whyte to Findlater 8-01-1726 Also SRO GD 248-564-73-31 Whyte to Findlater 7-03-1726.
43. J. Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle, pp. 50-51. William Adam had been strongly influenced by Charles Bridgeman's concept of visual planning.

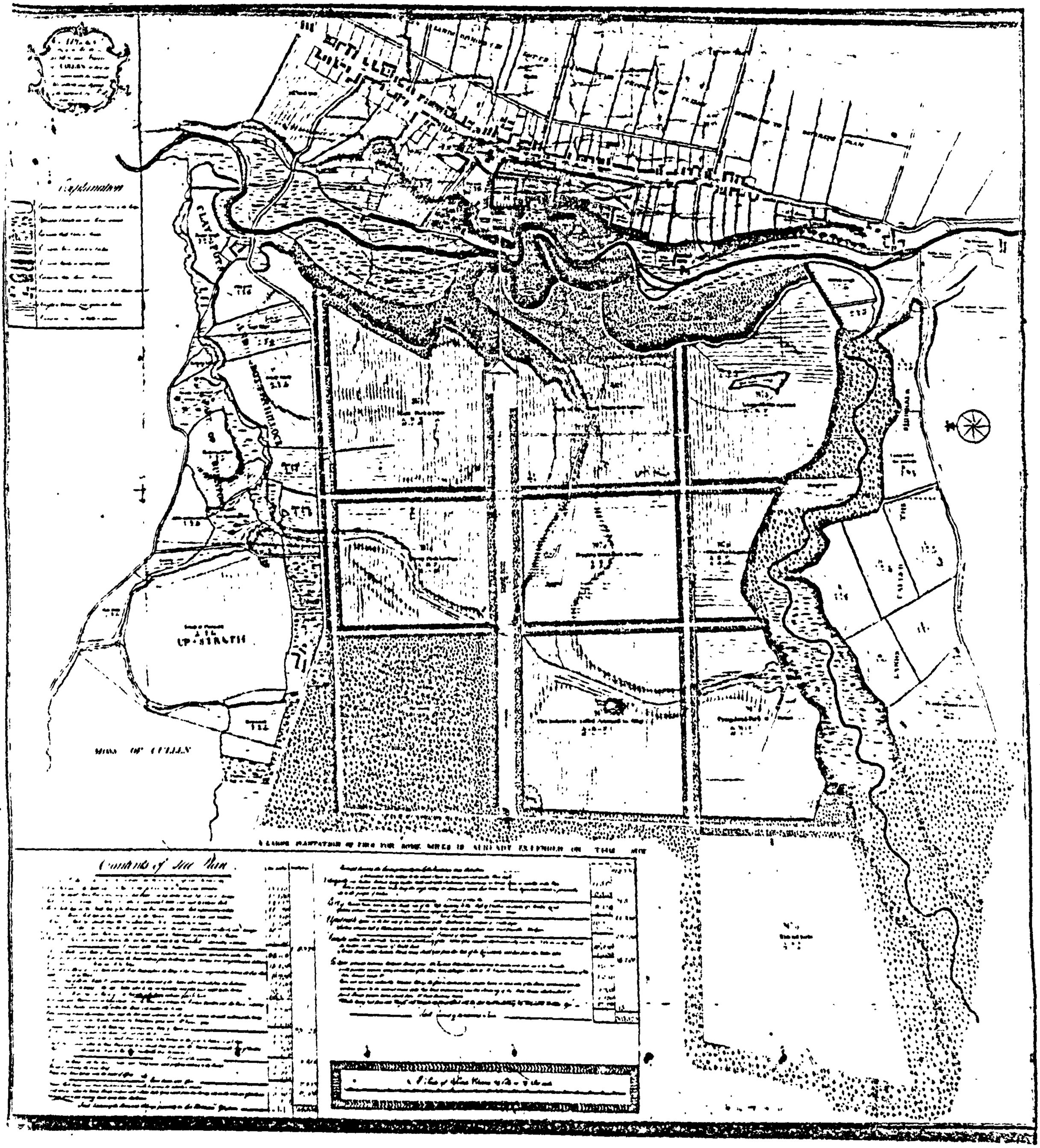

Figure 92

Cullen Policies, 1764, Peter May, Surveyor
SRO RHP 12875

Although more spacious accommodation was the principal reason for the west wing addition, there was a secondary objective. The fourth Earl expanded the roof top belvedere above his 1720 staircase to provide a viewing area for his formal walled gardens. Chamberlain Whyte wrote in 1726 of the belvedere's moisture problem.[44] By 1736, the fifth Earl had lost interest in continual maintenance, and he contracted to roof the balcony.[45] Was a view of no importance? A view was of critical importance, but not of the unfashionable walled gardens. The fifth Findlater was able to enjoy the prospect of the contruction of this chessboard to the west from his third story library windows in the new west wing. (Refer to Figures 90 and 92.) By the awkward placement of the brew house, the addition would have been the only part of Cullen House from which the prospect could be enjoyed. Capriciousness perhaps, but one where future improvements could be visualized by a creative mind.

Chronological evidence of the allees is contained within report of the retiring gardener, George Nicholson.[46] He states that between 1734-40, 439,000 trees were planted on 300 acres of strip planting between every two parks of grass on the former farms of old Miln, Upper and Nether Craghead, Achnga, Castlefield, Upstrath, Claypots as well as the Braes of Battlehaugh, small Burn Den and Crannehaugh. By 1740 then, the gridiron would have been put in place. The resulting order to the chaotic medieval fields was not meant to be entirely for contemplation and aesthetic appreciation; the plantations were meant to be a harvestable windbreak, and the rectilinear fields between were meant to be home farm improvements for innovative crops, and husbandry. The fifth Earl's policies involved a substantial capital commitment and were in part the action of an entrepreneur intent upon profits.[46a]

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44. SRO GD 248-564-74-49: Whyte to Findlater 8-1-1726.
45. SRO GD 248-640-4 Articles of agreement between Findlater and Alex Wood, Square Wright in Fordyce. 25-5-1736.
46. SRO GD 248-590-1-21 The Policies and Plantations About Cullen 1732-1765.

46a One is reminded of Castle Howard described in Downes (1977) op.cit., p.110: "Lord Carlisle saw the development of agriculture and forestry on his estate as a moral duty, although he did not deny himself the pleasures of being seen to carry out his duty in the grandest possible manner."

Between 1741-46 Nicholson records no reforestation, and this presumably was due to a change in priorities to fieldwork and to construction of the great bridge. Policies improvement did however resume by 1749.[47]

William Adam's drawings for the bridge again have not survived, but an invoice for £20 Stirling for "designs plus being at Cullen twice to supervise construction".[48] Construction took place between June 1742 through 1745, with all of the records surviving. The total cost was £950 Stirling.[49] Since Adam's fee only represents 2% of the construction cost, it is likely that there must have been some earlier compensation, and that the designs referred to were for details issued during construction.[50]

AESTHETIC
Judgement of this elegant Palladian Bridge must be unquestionablv generous.

However, a social historian might be less positive, in that no bridges of equal substance were provided for public use in Cullen Burn, or for that matter, anywhere on the estate. The 1794 Minister of Rathven Parish in The Statistical Account challenged the inequality with the following passage: "On entering the Parish, the beautiful arch of the bridge over the rivulet at Cullen House, strikes the eye of the beholder on the left hand. After passing the bridge in the line of the public road which is too narrow and wants parapets ..."[51] This suggests a stirring of discontent with aristocratic priorities. Public bridges provided for the efficient and effective distribution of goods and services. Cullen great bridge merely satisfied aristocratic whim.

Judgement of Adam's gridiron design for the policies needs less respect.

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47. SRO GD 248-902:1749 Account Book.
48. SRO GD 248-917 William Adam to Findlater 15-11-1744.
49. SRO GD 248-916 Account of money dispersed to the bridge quarriers, June 1742 - June 1744: 6 pages (total: £10,588 Scots).
50. For instance Baxter from 1769-82 received 14.2% fee for being architect and director of works at Gordon Castle (£ 650 fee total). J. Macauley (1975) op. cit., p. 160.
51. Statistical Account (1794), Vol. 13, p. 407.

It was dominated by the heavy handed impositions of a predictable geometry along the lines of Switzer[52] or early Bridgeman,[53] but without subtle alterations to reflect topography or the unique situation. The design was concurrent and inferior to Adam's gardens of Newliston (1731), Taymouth (1732) and Craigston (1733).

There was little of the skill of Adam's policy designs such as at Arniston (1726-32) and Hopetoun, where incorporation of distant views were also significant. The William Adam of Cullen's gridiron had many years to mature before stating his often quoted dictum that "the risings and fallings of ground are to be humored and generally make the greatest beauties in gardens."[54] On the other hand, if the amorphic planting of Cullen Burn is taken into consideration, the design can be interpreted entirely differently.

The gridiron was broken by a serpentine trail which appears on May's 1764 survey extending from Cullen House into the Burn through a circular wilderness, across a bridge and up the embankment to wind with the lay of the land through the gridiron. Whether William Adam laid this out at the time of the bridge construction as a revision to his unequivocal formalism of the earlier decade, or whether it was the work of his son John, cannot be proven. It is the first statement in sympathy with Pope's design advice to reflect the "genius of the place."[55] It dates prior to Bishop Pococke's 1760 description of winding walks,[56] and therefore despite the similarity with Robinson's design

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52. W.A. Brogden, "Stephen Switzer (1682-1745)", Chapter 4.
53. Peter Willis (1974) "Charles Bridgeman", Chapter 6 and Peter Willis, Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden.
54. SRO GD 10-1421-212; also Tait (1980), op.cit., p. 18
55. G.B. Toby, A History of Landscape ARchitecture, the Relationship of People to Environment, pp. 128-129. Refer also to Hipple (1967), op.cit., Chapter One, and Christopher Hussey, English Gardens and Landscapes 1700-1750, Chapter 3.
56. Daniel W. Kemp, ed., Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760 by Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, refer to Letter 38, Cullen 28-07-1760: pp. 191-196: "His Lordship has built a bridge over the river to his woods and demesnes of the other side, which is 84 feet wide and 60 feet high, from which on each side are pleasant winding walks through the woods;

for Paxton, Robinson could not have been the designer of this trail, since it existed at least four years prior to his arrival at Cullen.

The key element in the lower serpentine trail is the small bridge in the Burn. It was constructed in the summer of 1744[57] and was subsequently repaired and renovated to one of two plans (refer to Figure 93) submitted by John Adam in 1749.[58] At the same time, he also designed a weir below the great bridge to catch the reflection of the arch in the pool,[59] as seen from this trail.

William Adam could easily have designed the serpentine trail in 1744, as it closely resembles that designed for Buchanan, Stirlingshire in 1745,[60] but there is a possibility that the designer was John Adam (1721-92) mid-century. John Adam was said to be something of an accomplished landscape gardener.[61] He had been influenced by William Kent's design philosophy of not only designing with distant views, but also enriching designs with natural lines and informal planting.[62] The similarity between Kent's earlier (c. 1740) serpentines at Rousham,[63] Burlington House, Chiswick and at Pope's Twickenham with Cullen's trail would, therefore, not be a coincidence.

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particularly in sight of the river, and particularly at a distance with a walk likewise over the high ground. The fields are planted, as are the hills to the west, which will appear very beautiful when the Firr trees grow up."

57. SRO GD 248-951-5-3 John Adam to Findlater 24-01-1749: the letter states the bridge had been constructed in 1744 by John Burt from refuse from the great bridge.
58. SRO GD 248-951-5-3a - bridge plans as found, and SRO GD 248-951-5 plans for reconstruction.
59. SRO GD 248-951-5-6 The dam is described in three pages.
60. Tait (1980) op.cit., pp. 38-40
61. Fleming, (1962) op.cit., p. 265. John Adam wished to write a book on landscape after visiting Sandby's Virginia Water and Kent's reworking of Stowe. Tait (1980), op.cit., p. 64 states that Adam's estate at North Murchison was modelled after Shenstone's "The Leasowes".
62. H.F. Clarke (1948), op.cit., quoting Walpole: p. 11 quoting "The sunk fence ascertained the specific design; and when nature was taken into the plan, under improvement, every step that was made pointed out new beauties and inspired new ideas. At that moment appeared Kent, painter enough to taste the charms of landscape, bold and opinionative enough to dare and to dictate, and born with genius to strike out a great system from the twilight of imperfect essays. He left the fence and found all nature was a garden ..." Refer also to Hussey, (1967), op.cit., p. 45 and Derek Clifford, A History of Garden Design, p. 133.
63. N. Pevsner and J. Sherwood: The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire, pp. 739-746: and Hussey (1967), op.cit., Chapter XVII.

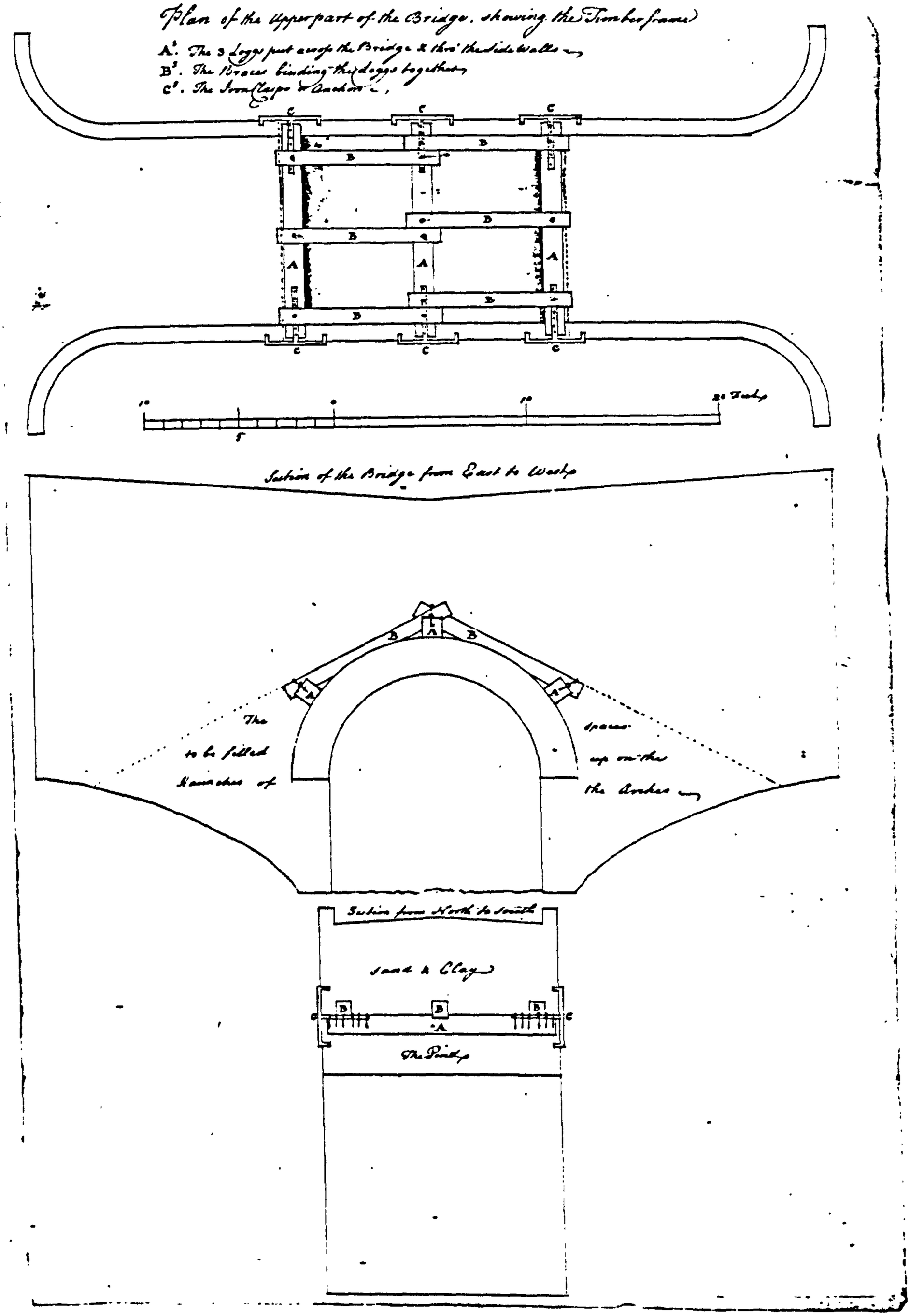

Figure 93

Renovations to a Small Bridge in Cullen Burn,
John Adam, Architect, c.1749
SRO GD 248-951-5-6

John Adam's approach was limited to natural design for form's sake rather than in the political, and allegorical content of Stowe's Elysian Fields (c. 1731-40)[64] or Stourhead's (from 1743)[65] Classicism.

John served as director of works at Inveraray,[66] and upon succeeding to his father's appointment as Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance in Scotland, in 1748, the Duke of Argyll and Roger Morris sent him on tour of England as well as to the Board's head office in London. During the 1748 tour, Adam visited great gardens such as Stowe, Rousham and Kengsington. His sketchbook survives in the R.I.B.A. drawings collection.[67] If the Cullen trail is attributed to John Adam in 1749, it would follow that although it was a small and modest thing, it represented a change in taste.

This change in taste began to be reflected throughout the estate. For instance, between 1747 and 1765, Nicholson was ordered to discontinue formal plantings in favour of larger scale reforestation; a total of 3,439,600 trees were planted over 2,360 acres of the policies to extend them throughout the horizon of the Binn Hills.[68] Accounts 1749 alone show one half million fir and birch were planted on the Binnhill Park.[69] The list of different species

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64. Watkin (1982) op.cit., pp. 14-23 and Stroud (1975) op.cit., Chapter two.
65. Kenneth Woodbridge, Landscape into Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718-1838: inspired by Claude's "Aeneus at Delos" and Pliny's description of Clitumnus.
66. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., Chapter 4.
67. RIBA 1944.339a. John Adam sketchbook, 1748. Adam also designed offices, Gothic bridge, elliptical Garden and a small bridge for Inverarary 1758-60.
68. SRO GD 248-590-1-21 Nicholson 1765 report:
    Little Binn ... 1100 acres ... 1,600,000 trees
    North Side Big Binn - 90 acres - 131,760 trees
    Upstrath and Woodside - 69 acres - 87,840 trees
    Hill of Bauds - 600 acres - 878,400 trees
    Lang Hill - 260 acres - 371,000 trees
    Ground above Padenbringan - 60 acres - 86,000 trees
    Cleanhill - 40 acres, 56,500 trees
    Crannahill - 150 acres, 220,000 trees
69. SRO GD 248-902-2 - Accounts 1749

from around the world[70] planted suggests that this was more of an experimental arboretum than an entirely commercial operation. (Refer to Appendix F)

Summarizing, the fifth Earl achieved the third Earl's west wing addition and he went on to make a significant contribution to the policies. This changed the orientation of the house to the west. After the '45 Rebellion, Findlater took little interest in further capital investment on Cullen House, for he became increasingly involved with London and Edinburgh political life contributing to policy for the future development of the highlands. It would be left to his son, James, sixth Earl of Findlater to demolish the brewhouse to break with the Medieval quadrangle and open out the view. Once the great bridge was built, that decision was inevitable.

8. The Sixth Earl's Objectives and the Adam Brothers

The sixth Earl had, as Lord Deskford, been essentially in control of the estate since 1750. Until the 1764 succession, operations centered not upon Cullen House, but upon the newly constructed Palladian Banff Castle (Refer to Chapter four). Deskford's enlightened philosophy concentrated investment and energy upon improvements to agriculture, forestry and industry to radically benefit ordinary tenants. Other than the modest Banff Castle and some minor construction at Cullen House in 1759 for £375 stirling,[71] capital was not invested at Cullen.

The absence of investment does not preclude preparation of design alternatives. The speed with which Deskford implemented significant changes to Cullen House, and the consistency of the designs with the fifth Earl's objectives suggests prior discussion.

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70. Cox (1935) op.cit., p. 115: Soctland had the first syndicate in Britain which paid collectors abroad for seeds; or Kenneth Lemmon, The Golden Age of Plant Hunters, which describes the intercontinental flow of plant material in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
71. SRO GD 248-916

The fifth Earl died at age 75 on 9 July 1764. His will was not probated until November. His son's letter book written at Edinburgh and London 1764-65 shows that John Marr, mason, was lodged in a spare house at Cullen and had begun shaping stone for construction by 17 Oct 1764.[72] Two months later, on 22 December 1764, Findlater wrote: "It was Mr. Adam's opinion that there would be no use for any great quantity of bricks in the new building and that there might be water sufficient for the lime got at the pipe at Cullen House".[73] On Christmas Day, Findlater wrote instructions for the stockpiling of stone to chief factor James Ross.[74] Findlater returned to Cullen by May 1765 when construction began.

Accounts survive documenting part of the expense including: "Accounts for new building June 1765 to April 1766 for offices and Cullen House additions", "Accounts of expenses of new addition made to Cullen house summer 1765", "Account of expense of additional building and offices at Cullen House summer 1766 to December"[75] and "Count book of timber, nails, iron, etc to Cullen 1765-66."[76] The kitchen-workshop offices were completed and occupied by 1767.[77]

What had been accomplished? The east wing had been further extended to provide additional bedrooms on the first and second floors. The ground floor estate office was tripled in area. The seventeenth century brewhouse, or woman house was demolished to open the axial vista from the entrance across the great bridge to the policies. A new north wing was added to separate the kitchen and other domestic functions.[78] (Refer to figure 94.)

The architect was John Adam (1721-1792); Deskford and Adam were contemporaries, both inheriting responsibilities from successful fathers, Adam

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72. SRO GD 248-1523 Findlater to James Ross 17-10-1764.
73. Ibid, 22-12-1764
74. Ibid., 25-12-1764
75. SRO GD 248-1197
76. SRO GD 248-1071-9
77. SRO GD 248-681-1: Contents of the workshop, 1767.
78. Girouard, (1978) op.cit., p. 151: The separation of the kitchen from the main block began in the 1680's in similar country houses.

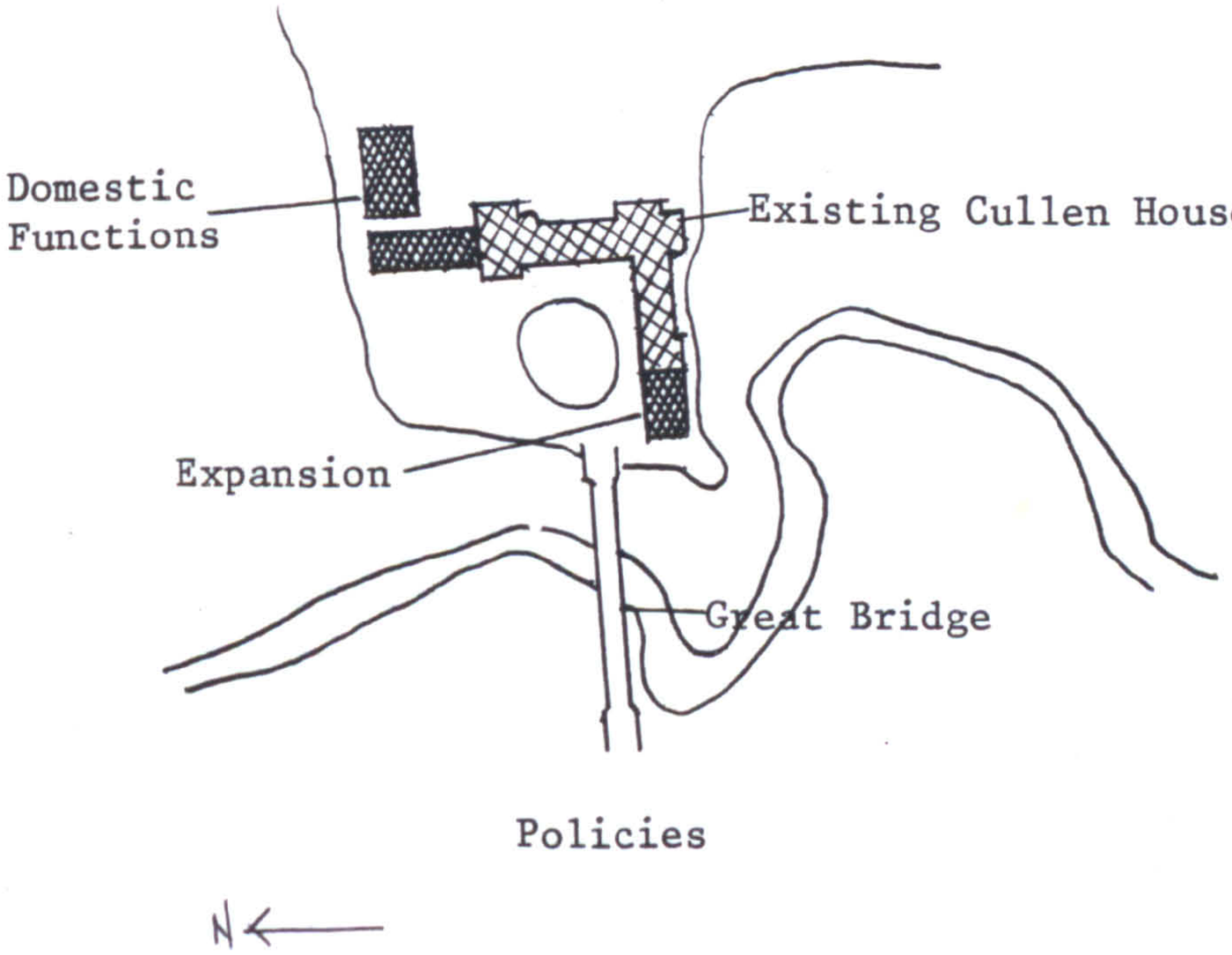

Figure 94

Plan of Sixth Earl's Renovations to Cullen House, Adam Brothers, Architects, 1764-69, including Section of 1822 Survey.

in 1748 and Deskford from 1750. Adam was closely connected with Edinburgh's intellectual community with which Deskford was also connected.[79] John Adam was actively employed in various projects throughout the estate including Banff Castle from 1749. The two formed a lasting friendship which was more equalitarian than that of patron to architect, for Adam was a gentleman with an estate. Deskford advised Adam on the management on Blair Adam, to the extent of loaning Peter May for surveys and valuations. The sense of equality was fostered by John Adam's relative wealth achieved through continuing his father's practice, his 1748-58 appointment as Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance during a period of rapid highland construction, and his possession of Blair Adam. The economic disasters precipated by James and Robert Adam's business ventures were some years ahead.

John Adam and Deskford were well matched, and fell comfortably into the collaborative mould of architect executant to amateur client[80] with Deskford specifying the concept and functional programme and Adam providing English Palladian proportions and construction administration experience.

None of John Adams' plans for Cullen's additions have survived, but luckily two watercolours exist, from which a fair understanding of the design can be surmized. Figure 95, "A picturesque view of the castle of Cullen", was prepared by Robert Adam c.1779,[81] it was a formula Adam "Castle" built on a rock outcrop of an exaggerated height. The John Adam addition was elongated and provided with turrets. Figure 96 by Adam's brother-in-law, John Clerk of Eldin (1728-1812) shows the same view, but from the other side of Cullen

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79. Fleming, Robert Adam and His Circle, p. 341 Also SRO GD 248-982-1-5 John Adam to Findlater 26-04-1769. The sixth Earl was frequently at John Adam's house with Dr. Robertson, Professor Fergusson, and others.
80. Harris, The Palladians, p. 39: "However it (amateur intervention) florished strongest in the age of neopalladianism, when the landed gentry were living introspectively upon their estates, and estate management, in particular the uses of estate buildings, was of interest to nearly all owners."
81. Tait (1982) op.cit., p. 117 Clerk was at Cullen in August 1779. Other records show Robert Adam was also there.

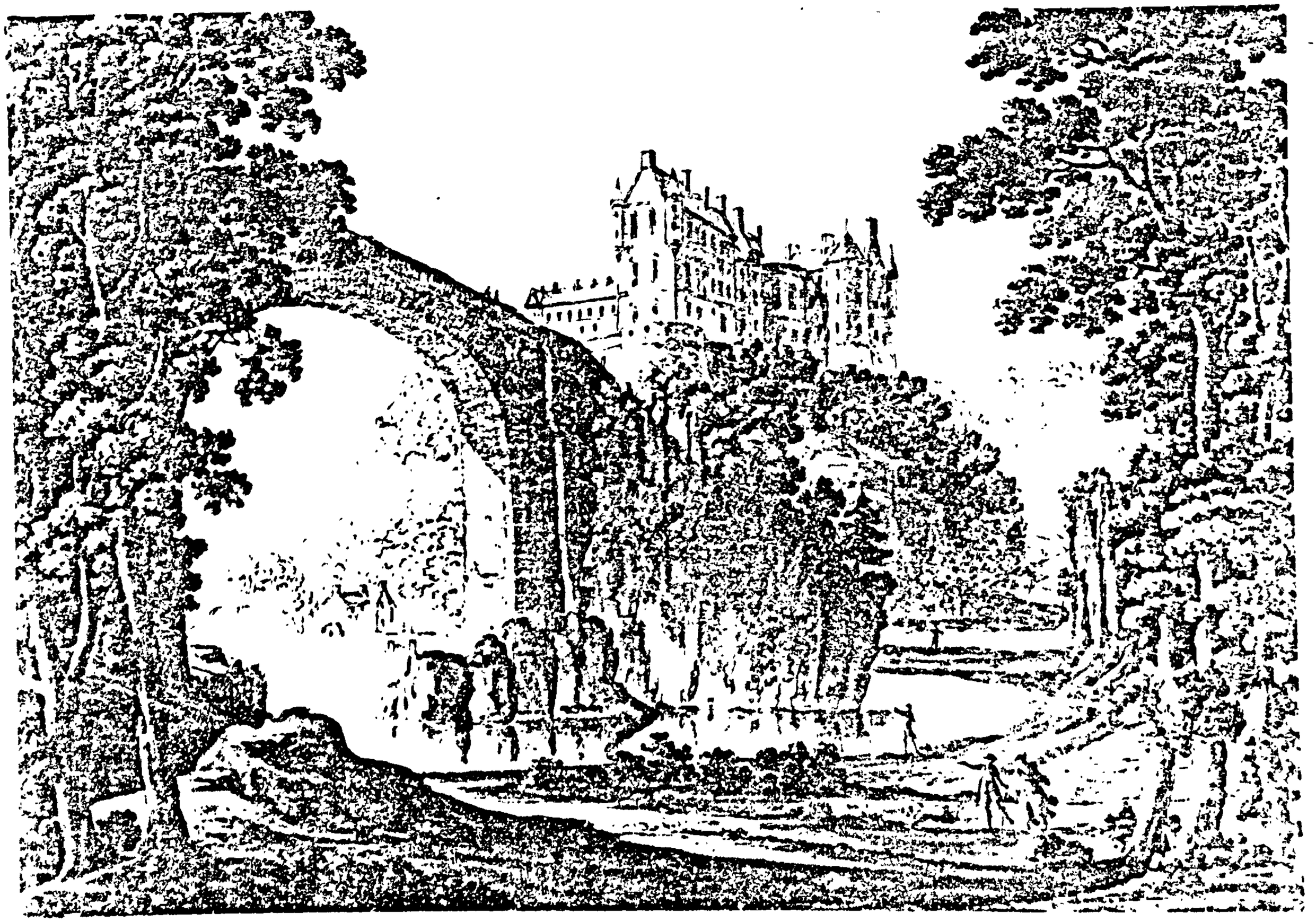
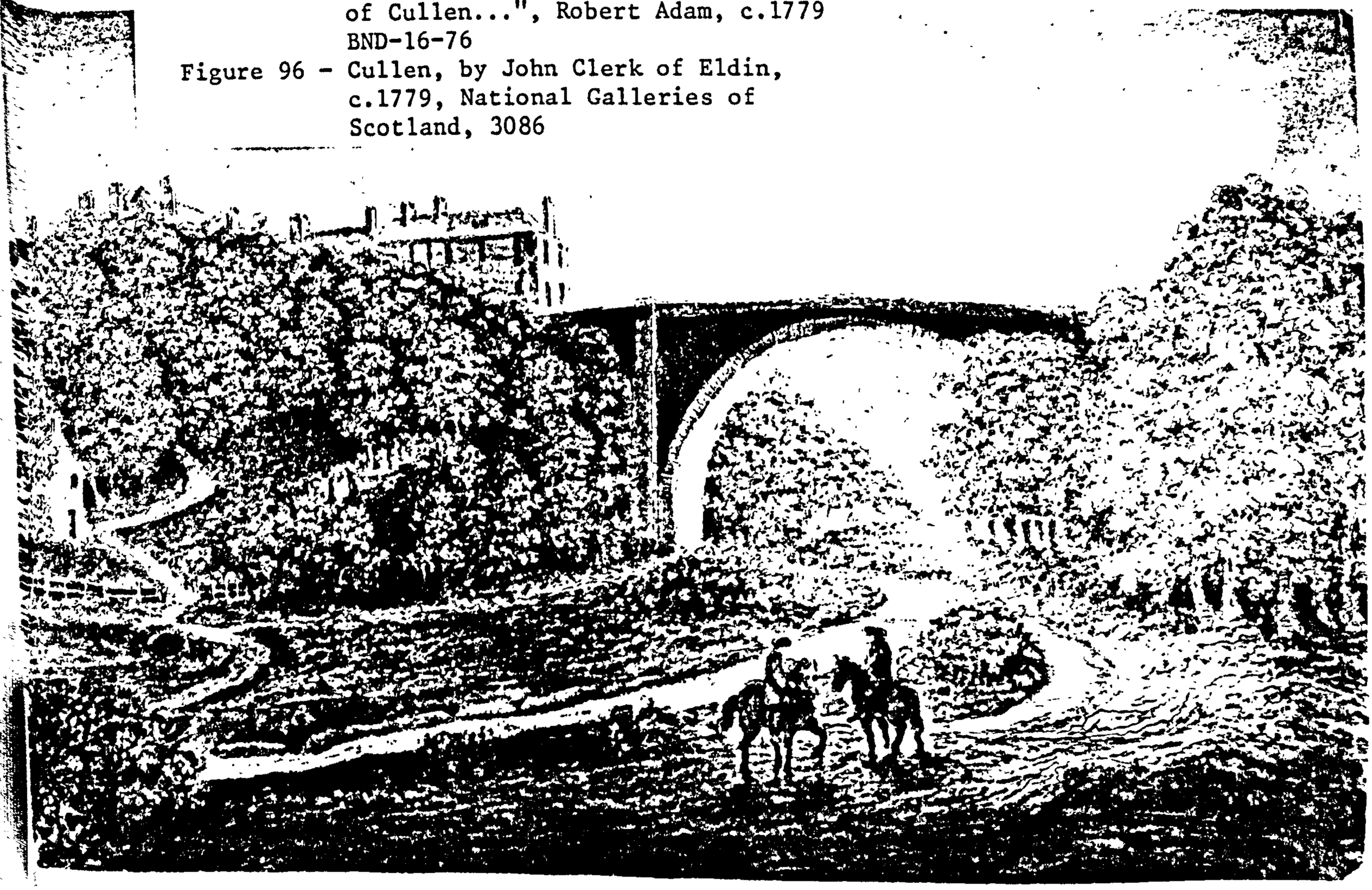


Figure 95 - "A Picturesque View of the Castle of Cullen...", Robert Adam, c.1779 BND-16-76

Figure 96 - Cullen, by John Clerk of Eldin, c.1779, National Galleries of Scotland, 3086



Bridge with brilliant light illuminating exactly where Robert was sketching. John Adam's addition was illustrated as having Neo-palladian proportions and no Gothic detailing. Clerk and Adam frequently travelled together on Adam's summer business trip through Scotland, and prepared such sketches after dinner for amusement. Although Clerk was influenced by Adam's picturesque castle style,[82] he generally has a reputation for topographical realism.[83] Figure 96 should be interpreted as accurate.[84]

The kitchen-workshop offices wing was made possible by the invention of a servant bell system in the 1760's which allowed for practical separation of domestic functions.[85] It was normal in the late eighteenth century for such domestic quarters to be added assymetrically, usually in the poorest aspect to the north as occurs, and this is exactly what occurred at Cullen.

From 1767-69, a new element was introduced: the sixth Earl began renovations to Cullen House and policies which were primarily aethetic in purpose. John Adam and company continued as contractors, but John recommended that his brothers, Robert (1728-1792) and James, (1732-1794) receive the design commission. They had become the leaders of British architectural taste by that time. James prepared designs of an Ionic entry gate, and James with Robert's assistance,[86] prepared designs for renovations to the principal reception areas with adjoining circulation areas including: the

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82. Holloway and Errington, The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery Through Two Centuries of Painting, p. 61-63 and p. 37.
83. Attempting to place a date upon the two sketches should also take into consideration Watkin (1982) op.cit., Chapter 5: Robert Adam's scenic drawings of castellated buildings merging into landscapes dated 1777-1783, while Bicknell, Beauty, Horror and Immensity: Picturesque Landscape in Britain 1750-1850, extends that to 1787.
84. Tait (1980) op.cit., pp. 115-118:
"Clerk undoubtedly worked up his drawings, had his own stock repertoire for the foregrounds, and remained a topographic artist, a delineator, wedded to the truth as he saw it."
85. Girouard, (1978) op.cit., p. 219
86. SRO GD 248-982-1-10; John Adam to Findlater 30-11-1767: James visited Cullen in 1767 and 1768 and prepared all the plans; Robert appears to have only had a limited role.

83. cont... Adam was at Cullen several times between 1777-1787, but the date which most closely corresponds to the sketch is 1779; this shows the completed drawing room addition (refer to p. 315).

library, vestibule, great staircase, great hall, main bedchamber, pantry and great dining room. The intent was to provide guests with an impression of the Earl's enlightened sensibility.

The drawings show vintage Adam interiors with characteristic flattened relief, an elegant linear style derivative of Greco-Roman antiquity.[87] The work was unfortunately largely removed by the nineteenth century Bryce renovations.[88]

The hall, was the most ambitious project. James Adam proposed removal of the second table room constructed by the fourth Earl in 1720 to open the hall to its original dimensions (except it was to be one story high). The design was not executed and so the sumptuous overmantle carving, linenfold oak panelled Jacobean interiors and Dutch tiled fireplace have survived. Presumably this latter dates from the fourth Earl's renovations, and probably only reflected the seventeenth century interior which it replaced.[89] This was probably due to the sixth Earl's illness and premature death.

Adam's hall (refer to figure 97) was rectangular divided into three parts an apsidal end, defined by a fireplace with triumphial tympanum with symmetrical niches and symmetrical entercloses leading to the kitchen and to a closet. The other end was defined by a Tuscan screen with diastyle ends. Doors led to the estate office and to the great stairs. The low relief plaster panels of trophies were meant to recall the past military function of a great hall, although in this case Adam wished to recollect not the actual Medieval past, but a mythical Classical past; the Tuscan order was used as being symbolic of military and protective strength.[89a] The architectural quality closely resembles the vestibule hall at Osterley Park[90] which was designed at

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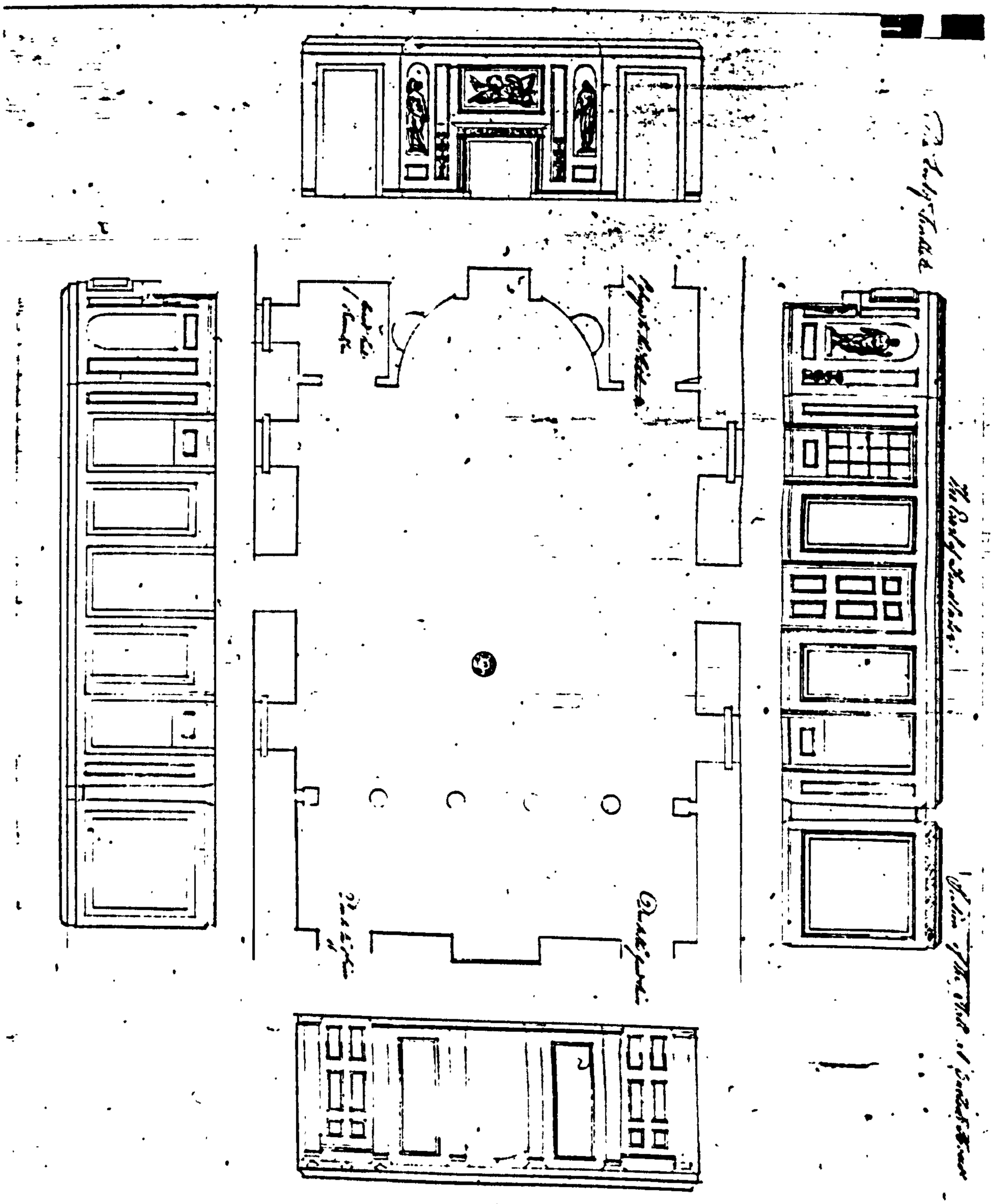
87. Stillman (1966) op.cit., p. 20.
88. Only the main staircase ceiling survived, being uncovered and restored in 1946 by the twelfth Countess of Seafield. Some chimney pieces also survived.
89. The overmantle carving is too sculpturally sophisticated for Cullen in the seventeenth century. A similar carving at Marble Hill, Twickenham c. 1720 suggests that this was commissioned by the fourth Earl. Also, the Smith and McGill drawings do not show a fireplace here.
89a. Ackerman, "The Tuscan/Rustic order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture", pp. 15-34.
90. Girouard (1978), op.cit., p. 136.

Figure 97

Plan of Hall, James Adam, Architect, 1767
SM. Vol.36 No.53 and SRO RHP 2543



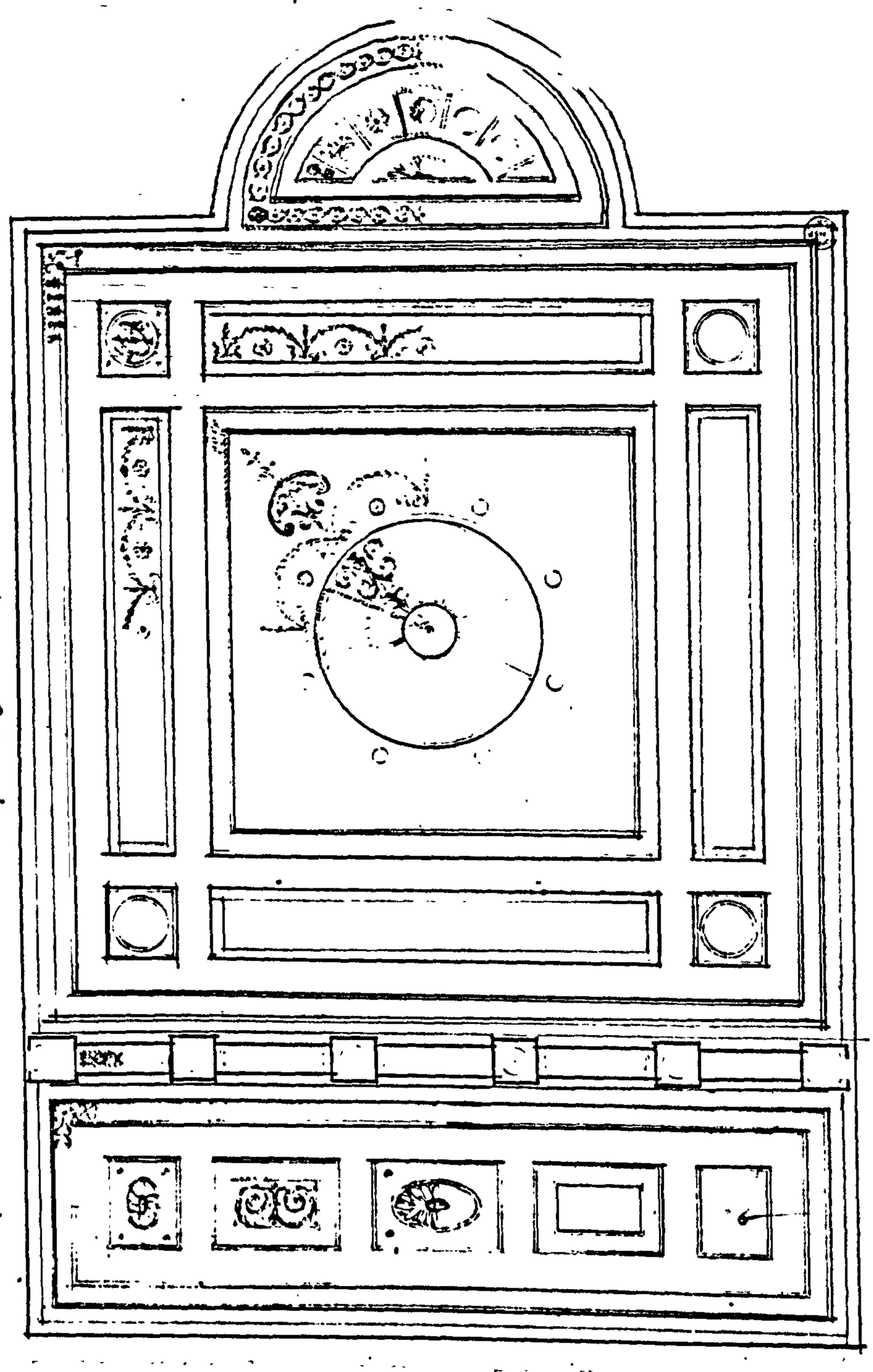


Figure 98

Plan of Hall Ceiling, James Adam, Architect, 1767
SM Vol. 11, No. 243

the same time. The tripartite ceiling was divided to apse, rectangle and central perfect square,[91] with the latter subdivided by a concentric circle with bellflower festoons. The colour scheme has not survived.[92]

The central staircase renovation was executed. Figure 99 shows an elaborate wrought iron railing rising two stories. The walls were defined by pilasters surmounted by relieving arches ornamented with medallions. The ceiling (refer to figure 100) was of concentric circles leading to four arabesques pointing to the corners of a concave diamond, itself ornamented by festoons and paterae.

The vestibule ceiling (refer to figure 101) had a central circle of feathers bordered by festoons with diminishing drops and with fluted semi-circle fans on each side, which together created an elaborate Greek Cross. This was derivative of early Christian art at the cemetery of St. Calixtus near Rome c. 220 AD and was also replicated by Adam in the Duchess of Bolton's dressing room at Bolton House, London 1770.[93] A drawing showing a section of the vestibule also survives.[94]

The library (refer to figure 102) was planned to join the seventeenth century gallery with part of the fifth Earl's 1732 library, in one elongated room of some 27.1 by 5.9 metres divided into six modules, with Corinthian screens at each end. The central fireplace overmantle plaque was to have been six figures discussing the classics. The barrel or tunnel vault was similar to that of Kenwood library designed 1767-69. Kenwood differs in the use of semi-circular apses at each end, rather than the simple rectangular ended Cullen library plan. The vaulted ceiling held seven circles joined together by

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91. Damie Stillman, The Decorative Work of Robert Adam, p. 26: "One of Adam's favourite devices for treating the ceiling of a rectangular or apse-ended room was to divide end units in such a way as to make the central panel a self sufficient square, decorated in the manner of any square ceiling".
92. Beard (1978) op.cit., pp.12-13
93. Stillman (1966) op.cit. p. 34
94. Soane Museum Vol. 36 No. 54.

Section of the Staircase at Caillon House one of the Seats of
The Right Honble the Lord Viscount

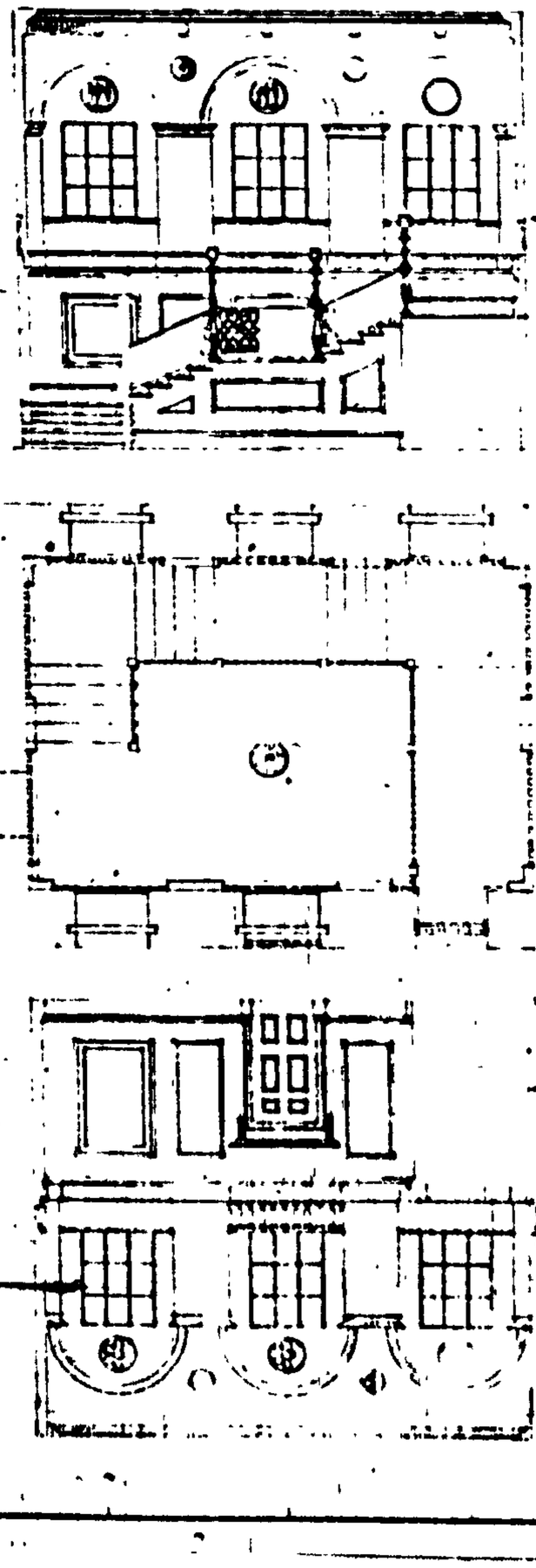
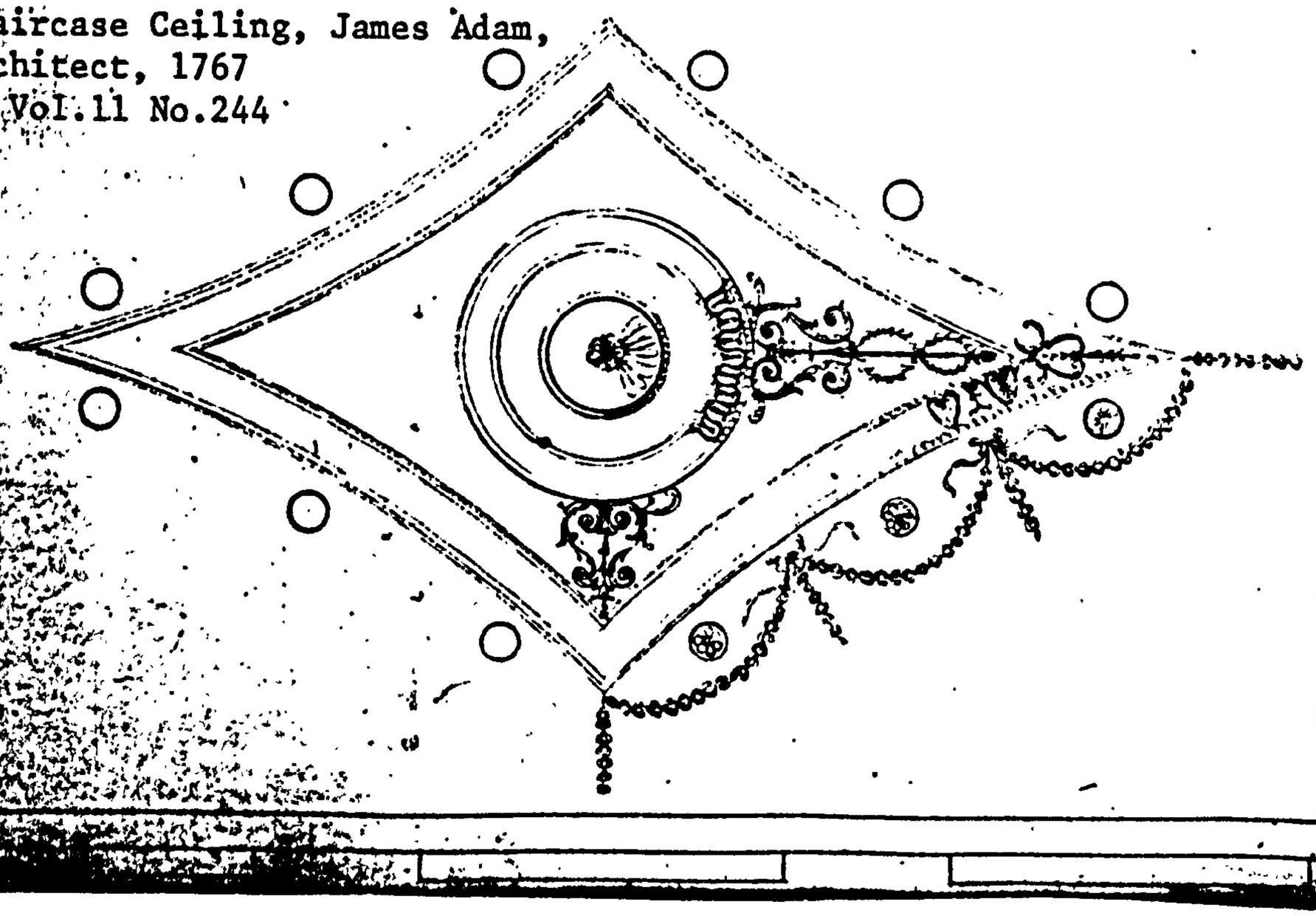


Figure 99

Staircase, James Adam,
Architect, 1767
SM Vol.36 No.52

Figure 100

Staircase Ceiling, James Adam,
Architect, 1767
SM Vol.11 No.244



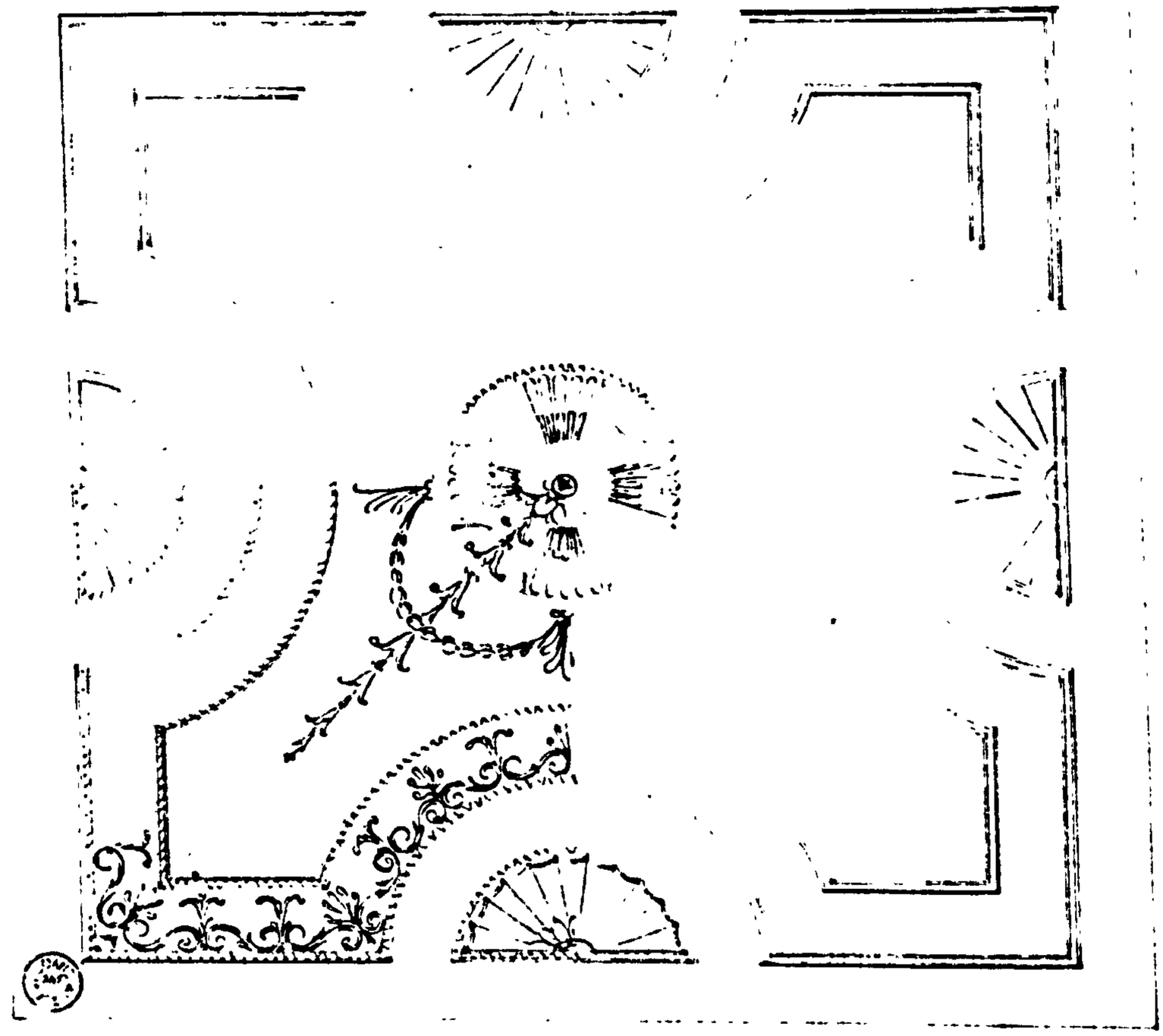


Figure 101

Plan of Vestibule and Ceiling
James Adam, Architect, 1767
SM Vol. 11 No.245 and
Vol. 36 No. 54

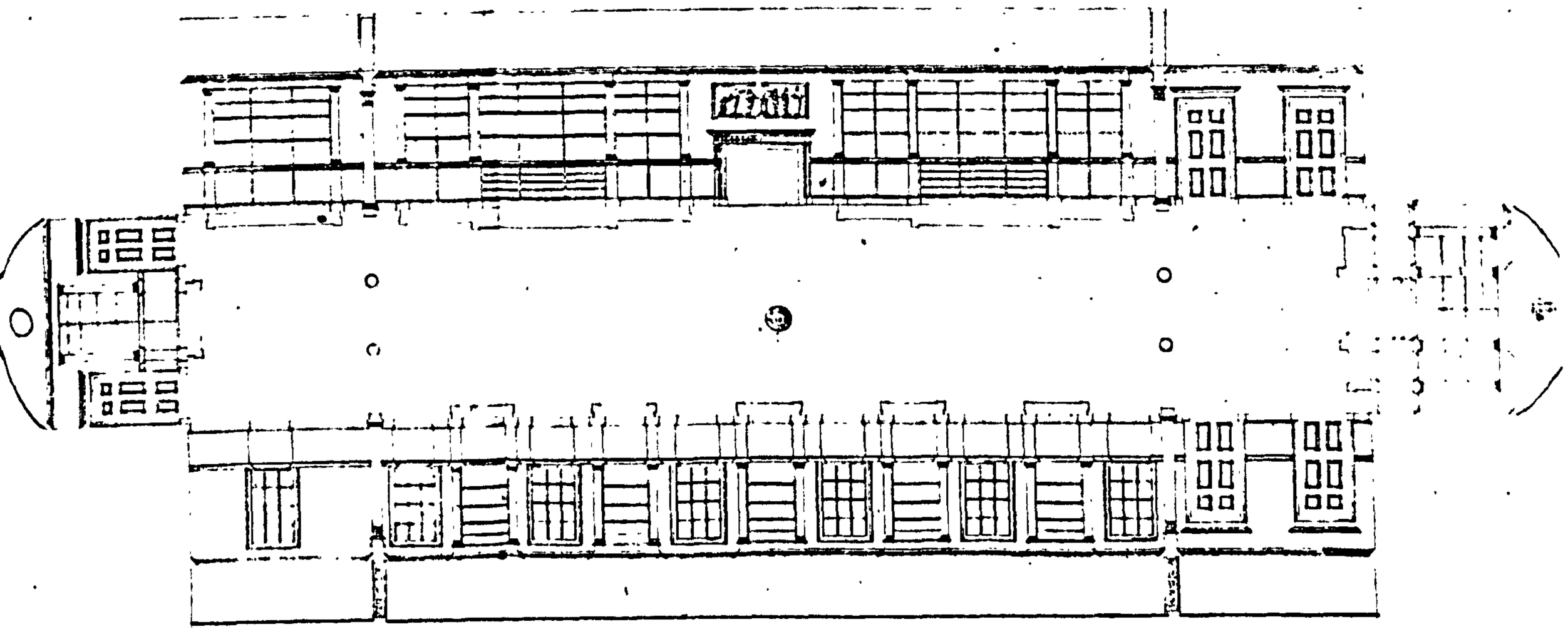


Figure 102 - Plan of Library, James Adam, Architect, c.1767
SM Vol.36 No.51

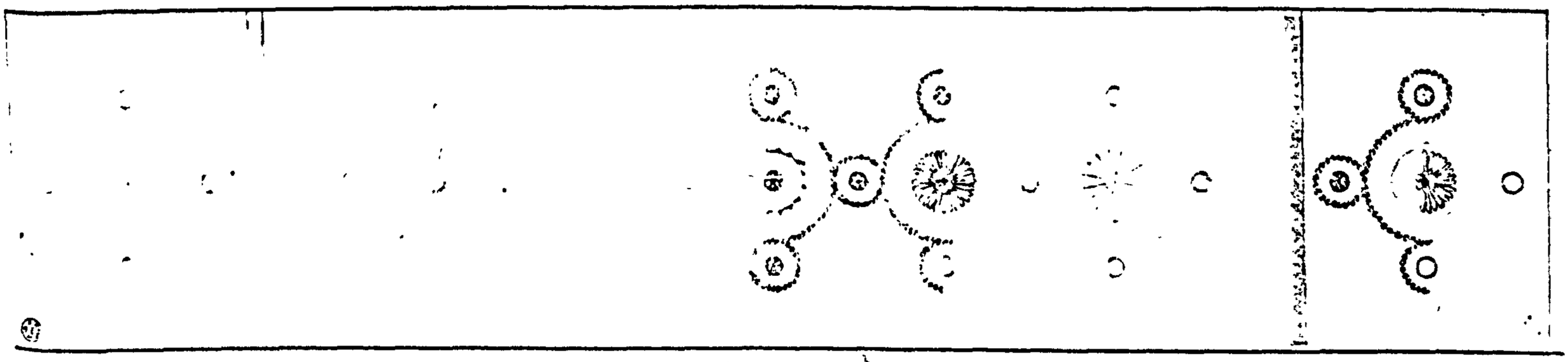


Figure 103 - Library Ceiling, James Adam, Architect, c.1767
SM Vol.11 No.246

satellites; this being one of the Adam brother's six formulae for compartmental ceilings.[95] (Refer to figure 103)

Repeating the history of the Cullen library, by 1708 there were 702 books held in two rooms designated "The Librarie" and "The Little Closet".[96] This was a considerable collection relative to the 50-100 books in an average literate landowner's collection of that time.[97] By 1745 the collection had been housed in a specially designed library with some overflow in the factor's room.[98] By the time that James Adam designed the expanded library of 1767, the sixth Earl was said to have one of the largest collection of works on agriculture, improvements and other topics amounting to thousands of volumes. This design was executed in part.

The sixth Earl tripled the size of the estate office to provide separate rooms for charters, factors, tenants, counting and an office for himself. Findlater's management style led to a "hands-on" approach in which advice from staff was accepted but all decisions were subject to his authorization. Relative to other great landowners, Findlater was both resident and a leading improver, and so he was very much involved with the estate's day to day operation.

The chief factor, James Ross, and afterwards William Robertson, was provided with a separate house, however business was conducted from Cullen House. The Earl of Fife's factor, William Rose, on the other hand, both lived and worked at Duff House. Rose was provided with a separate room in the crowded house because in Fife's words: "I allow no servant to have a room by themselves except you, and there must be no body in the room with you, on

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95. Geoffrey Beard, The Work of Robert Adam, p. 14.
96. SRO GD 248-800-2-3 Catalogue of books 3-12-1708.
97. Girouard (1978) op.cit. Chapter 6.
98. SRO GD 248-592-2 List of books kept in factor's room.

account of my business.[99] When Rose married, he was provided with Montcoffer House, two miles distant from Duff House. His office continued to be at Duff House.[1]

The organization of Cullen's charter room continued to be by presses, in which titles to various lands were placed. These were consolidated and inventoried by William Robertson about the time of the sixth Earl's death.[2] There is no evidence that John Adam provided iron boxes but the charter room was made as fireproof as possible,[3] with a Carron Company iron door.

With regard to the Cullen policies, the sixth Earl's taste for a Brownian "natural" landscape was confounded by the maze of courtyards, and formal gardens between Cullen House and the town. The clarity of composition achieved at Banff Castle has been described in chapter four, and Findlater's objective was to achieve the same character at Cullen. To do this meant the demolition of the six walled gardens shown on Peter May's 1764 survey plan (refer to Figure 89).

This ruthless design reorganization carried with it a human element, for the old family gardener, George Nicholson, would have had to have supervised the demolition of work which he had tended for thirty years, and over which he may understandably have presided with proprietary sympathies. Instead he was retired to a post as advisor to the Commission of Forfeited Estates after preparing a 1765 report on his life's work at Cullen (refer to Appendix F); and with this one human impediment removed, the maze of walled gardens were demolished beginning in October 1765.[4]

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99. Taylor (1925) op.cit., 21-12-1765: Fife to Rose.
1. Ibid, 12-01-1723 Fife to Rose: "Continue to mind your business and anytime that's to spare give it to your farm."
2. Grant, (1978) op.cit., p. 247
3. GD 248-49-3 John Adam to James Grant of Grant, 11-03-1765: "As to the Charter Room at Castle Grant, I suppose you intended to put the papers in white iron boxes, which is now the general method and certainly the best in very repect ... in this case you need do nothing with the Charter Room itself, but to shelf it for carrying the boxes, and plaster it. It should indeed have an iron door, to preserve it in case of the accident of fire, which I shall get made for you here of cast iron...".
4. SRO GD 248-1197 Accounts for Cullen Policies from October 1765.

Formal parterres were replaced by lawns and randomly grouped trees and reflect the then immensely fashionable Capability Brown's (1716-83) natural style.[5] A new straight approach road was built to intersect with the Banff to Cullen Road to circumvent the disorder of Cullen Medieval burgh. The new entry gate was built to James Adam's design. Once inside the policies, the road became gently curvilinear; it was brought to the edge of Cullen Burn to provide a precociously picturesque view of Cullen House.[6]

The design seems to have been the collaborative effort of the sixth Findlater,[7] John Adam, James Adam,[8] and perhaps Robert Robinson. It is inaccurate to attribute the design solely to Robinson for he had limited experienced on the estate. Robinson was only a visitor at Banff castle and was not employed for designs there.[9] If he was employed by Deskford on any prior

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5. Watkin (1982) op.cit. p. 67: "His parks are not calculated to stimulate philosophical or historical reflections like early eighteenth century gardens, but to create a sense of almost well-being, a beneficient calm rooted in the pride of land ownership."
6. Hussey, The Picturesque, Studies in a Point of View, p. 17: "The picturesque provided the earliest means of perceiving visual qualities in nature. It consists in the education of the eye to recognize qualities that painters (such as Poussin and Claude) had previously isolated." In this case the view was dominated by the oldest part of the house and the roughness of Cullen Burn. There is a sense of Burke's theory of association in A philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful, 1757, and of Hogarth's step away from rational order in The analysis of Beauty (1753).
7. George Clarke, "William Kent: Heresy in Stowe's Elysium" p. 53 and Toby (1973), op.cit., pp. 130-136. Research at Stowe concluded the landowner played a large design role in defining the terms of reference for consultants, in reviewing and commenting upon sketches, and in approving the completed designs. The ultimate control came when the designs were implemented. The archives reveal Deskford to be part of this same tradition of client-connoisseur.
8. Fleming (1962), op.cit, p. 309: James Adam quote: "What is so natural in landskip is not less requisite for composition in architecture, namely the variety of a contour, a rise or fall of the different parts and likewise those great projections and recesses which produce a broad light and shape".
9. Tait (1980) op.cit., pp. 73-75 misinterpretation of the evidence ~~by~~ Robinson was NOT responsible for Castle Banff. Castle Banff garden was complete by 1755 and all subsequent records do not show major renovation. SRO GD 248-346-5: dated 6-05-1764. Robinson's work for Grant was unsuccessful. See also Deskford's advice to Grant SRO GD 248-672-4.

project, it would have been the simple wooded[14a] Park at Colleonard farm about 3 kilometres westward from Banff. This appears to have been a deliberate attempt to replicated Shenstone's farm of "The Leasowes" which Deskford admired instead of a pleasure ground attached to Banff Castle. Robinson may have consulted at Cullen in 1766 to select and locate the trees,[10] but that would have been the limit of his involvement.[11] The road was likely staked by John Adam with the sixth Earl's consent.

The main feature, James Adam's Ionic gateway, was a bold statement evoking a grand and enlightened corporate image. It was designed between 1765-67 and was executed by John Adam and Company by 1769[12] with the finishing trophy installed in 1770 to a reduced scale. (Refer to Figures 104 and 105.)

The gatehouse's proportions were two vertical parts to six horizontal parts focused upon the eye formed by the archivolt and cast iron gates. Two rooms were provided on opposite ends, with duplicate pedestrian doors with architraves carried by ancones and with a Triumphal Ionic carriageway in the centre. The engaged Ionic columns carried an entablature with a frieze of festoons and an unornamented pediment. The gate was enriched by Greek key meanders and escaloped waves. The archivolt was carried by a Corinthian impost. Duplicate lions and a trophy crowned the composition. The Adam brothers had created many similar designs, such as that for Lord Holland at Piccadilly,[13] or the gate at Sion House,[14] but this

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10. Tait (1980), op.cit., p. 84 and reference SRO GD 267-539-1.
11. SRO GD 248-346-52 Deskford to Sir James Grant 6-5-1764: "This day Mr. Robinson, who calls himself architect and layer out of pleasure grounds, stopped here in his way to Castle Grant, where he tells me he is to make a plan for what we in this country call policy, for you. I told him I should not be fond of having a thing of that kind done for me, except I was present myself, and that I conceived it would be necessary for him to return to Castle Grant to correct this plan according to your own taste, when you come to the country. By anything I have seen of the man's doing, I have formed a good enough opinion of his taste; but it is an hundred to one if he can hit yours, except he had studied the ground along with you, to enable him to form a notion of your inclinations".
12. SM. Vol. 36, No. 68 and BND 16-76, dated 1767.
13. Bolton (1922), op.cit. Vol. 1, p. 63.
14. Henry Hope Reed ed., The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, Plate One.

14a. Tait (1980) op.cit., pp. 97-99: Although Colleonard was closer to the modest gardens of John Adam at Murchieson and Blair Adam.

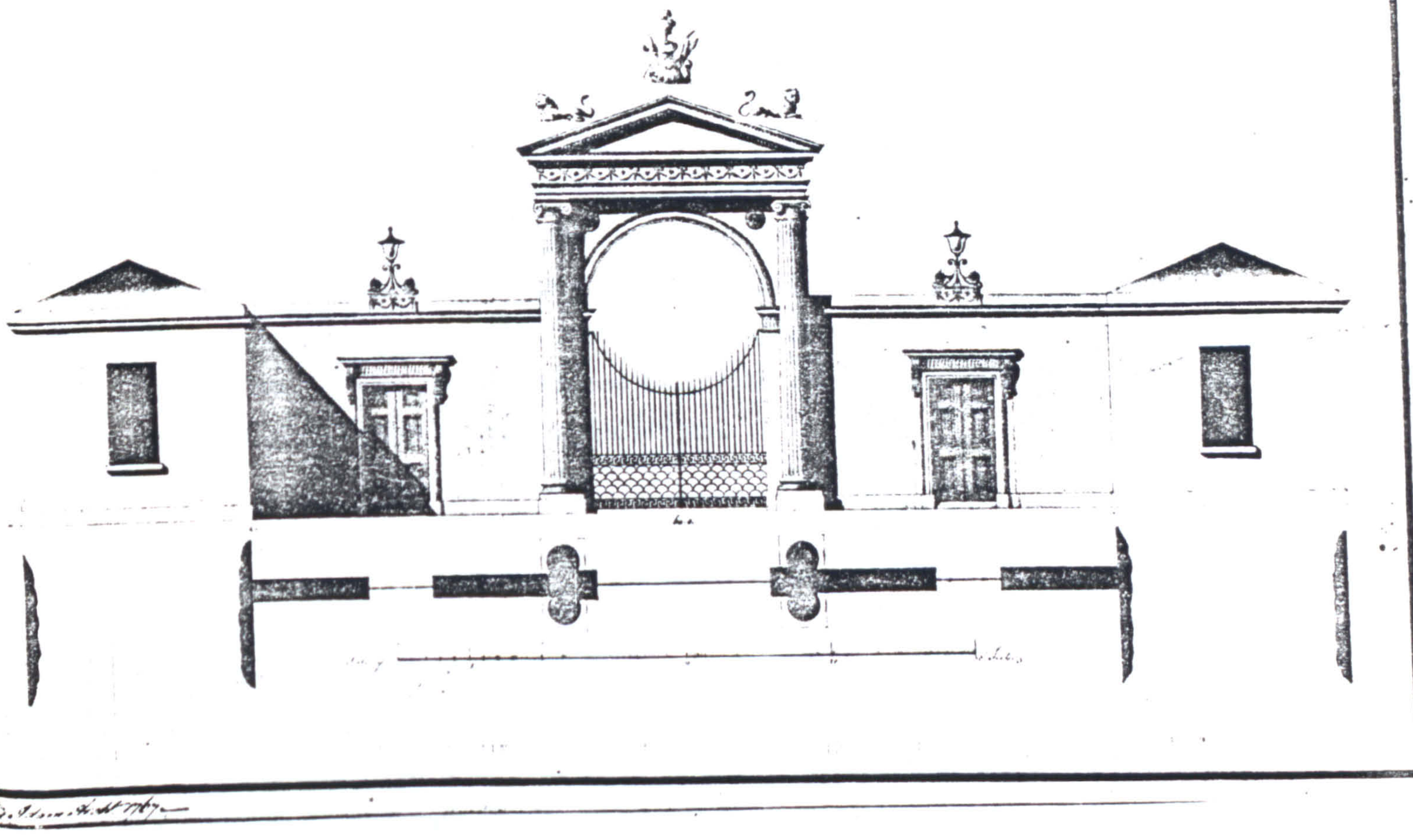

Figure 104 - Ionic Gateway, James Adam, 1767

Figure 105 - Ionic Gateway, 1980

gatehouse seemed to receive a more refined and meticulous attention in detailing.

Adam used the new medium of cast iron mouldings. The mouldings and ornate gates were early commissions fabricated by the Carron Iron Works. The Carron Company was founded in 1759 with specialization in fine malleable cast iron work stoves, grates, nail iron and in supplying cannon and shot.[15] Adam explored uses for this product such as for architectural moulding. It was not entirely a new idea for Sir Christopher Wren as early as 1706-7 made used of cast iron columns in his House of Commons renovation.[16] Still, it was innovative. It was no coincidence that John Adam was both an investor and member of that firm's Board of Directors.

James Adam also produced a rustic gate with lodge design for the western limit of the policies.[17] The covering letter reflects the Earl's growing apprehension of his serious illness and is a response to directions ordering austerity[18] on all capital construction.

The result of the 1765-1770 policy renovation was a Brownian transformation,[19] although it was achieved without strict adherence to Brownian formulae. The house sat as a Georgian castle surrounded by a park, with grass brought to the door of the house. It was a concept that reflected Sir John Dalrymple's approach in his Essay on Landscape Gardening in 1756[20] (Refer to Figure 106.)

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15. M.S. Higgs, "Iron architecture in Britain and America (1706-1880) with special reference to the development of the portable building" Appendix A; S. Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture, p. 169-174; and Higgs, "The exported iron buildings of Andrew Handyside and Company of Derby." p. 175-180.
16. Higgs, ibid, Chapter one.
17. SM. Vol. 36, No. 69 erroneously dated 1783.
18. SRO GD 248-590-3-3 James Adam to Findlater 18-10-1770.
19. Tait (1980) op.cit, pp. 47-48 Dalrymple Quote: "The principal should be in the form of a castle. The elegance and fineness of execution belonging to Grecian architecture, would be here totally misplaced. If in that castle, added to the greatness and solid appearance of the main building, there should shoot up in the middle a gothic tower, pierced and of hardy execution, a sentiment similar to the sentiment of terror . . . would still more correspond to the natural genius of the place."
20. The 1822 survey plan SRO RHP 12879 taken immediately prior to demolition of the medieval town, shows the landscape of 1770.

Figure 106

Cullen House Northeast Front, 1980

The sixth Earl resolved to stylistically renovate Cullen House towards a neopalladian image. Between 1764 and 1770, Findlater accomplished most of his objectives. The speed with which masons arrived on site raises questions as to whether or not the design process was previously discussed. Evidence suggests that at least the west wing extension demolition of the brewhouse, and the new kitchen offices were the result of a deliberate strategic plan first conceived in 1732 by the fifth Earl. Although plans have not survived, they were most likely produced about circa 1760 by John Adam, and were shelved until the sixth Earl was entitled through inheritance, to move the estate's business centre from Banff Castle to Cullen.

The James Adam interiors and the north policies road, planting and Ionic gatehouse appear to have a different genesis. These were concerned with reception, and corresponded to a changing political climate in which the sixth Earl felt secure to make a bid for national office. This was his second attempt; the first resulted in his political isolation by 1755 at the hands of the powerful Argyll faction.

The approach and reception rooms in the then fashionable Adam style, were meant to impress the local gentry and nobles who held the right to vote. In England five percent of the population held adequate property to vote, while in Banffshire the figure was far less than one percent. This small clique had to be entertained and courted for political support.[21] Summerson has brilliantly described the social life of "the circuit" within the London Adam Townhouses,[22] and it was this life that Findlater attempted to replicate at Cullen. The fact that he again misread the political climate, and then ran out of time as cancer forced suicide, does not discredit his otherwise solid reputation as the Northeast's leading improver.

James, Earl of Findlater, from the third Earl to his great-grandson, had cautiously attempted to transform the Medieval quadrangle towards a Scots-

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21. Girouard (1978), op.cit., Chapter 7.
22. Summerson, Georgian London p. 195.

Georgian country house with careful attention to current taste.[23] The evidence is fragmentary, but there is a clear pattern of strategic planning with continuity between generations. James, seventh and last Earl of Findlater would capriciously attempt an architectural revolution designed to obliterate this careful past.

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23. Hussey, English Country Houses: Early Georgian 1715-1760, p. 11: "Cultivation of the mind, the land and the arts became linked with social prestige and prudent economy in a scale of values that centered on the country house. Whist it had always been required to be the self-supporting nucleus of an agricultural estate, it now came increasingly to stand in its design, contents, and surroundings for the enlightenment of its Lord."

CHAPTER SEVEN: CULLEN HOUSE REVOLUTION

1. The Commissioner's Transitional Strategy

Concern over reception vanished with the sixth Earl's violent illness and suicide. Sensing the end, Findlater proposed relinquishing control over the estate to Commissioners. Upon his death in November 1770, the Commissioners swiftly assumed administration, terminated all capital planning and brought contracts for outstanding work at Greenhill home farm to an orderly completion. Cullen House and policies were placed under an austere maintenance regime as the Countess Dowager relocated to her jointure, Banff Castle, and the twenty year old seventh Earl departed to begin his continental education.

Several memorandums survive which describe the general condition of the policies in 1770, such as instructions to John Marr regarding masonry work on dykes and gates.[1] A memorandum concerning the gardener identified that a large staff of 8-12 apprentices and 8-10 labourers were employed at 6 shillings each, while the gardener Mr. Charles, received £ 17, a house, and 6½ bolls of meal.[2] Mr. Charles was given instructions for work to be carried out more thriftily between the appraisal year December, 1770 and November, 1771. This included planting trees in the glen, on Binnhill plantation, the Bauds, and also to plant the kitchen garden.[3] Mr. Charles wrote questions to the Earl of Kinnoull on June, 1771 regarding specific work,[4] including what was to be improved in the nursery ground. The result was that the Earl with Peter May examined the ground from the pidgeon house round the bowling green, nine pin alley, the banks in the glen and marked trees to be cut. They also identified ground to be trenched and drained in the nursery.

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1. SRO GD 248-964-5 note to John Marr about masonry work. (1770)
2. SRO GD 248-964 State of the Garden, 1770.
3. SRO GD 248-680-6 Instructions given to Mr. Charles by the Earl of Findlater Dec.1770.
4. SRO GD 248-680-6 Enquiries to the Earl of Kinnoul from Peter Charles 24-06-1771.

Retrenchment resulted in the policies being leased to generate revenue without the direct expense of farming.[5]

A review of Mr. Charles' performance in November, 1771, revealed shortcomings in the amount of planting carried out.[6] This was followed in June, 1772 with a sharp memorandum to Charles from the Commissioners stating their displeasure with the state of the policies.[7] The gravelled walks and alleys were dirty and full of weeds, the fore and back courts were allowed to grow for hay, and the shrubbery and pleasure ground had not been properly dressed. He was admonished not to rent the parks for grazing cattle to himself, and not to engage in other business without the approval of Mr. Robertson, the chief factor.

The unethical conduct of Charles' acquisition of the leases to policy enclosures without competition had been the subject of a separate report by Peter May in April 1772, where May estimated the value of the 143 acres of grazing parks at £168 as well as the 102 acres of the Parks of Hillocks at£252. May also identified access roads, requirements for securing the fences and hedges to protect the Binnhill plantations.[8] There is no definitive value specified for Mr. Charles' indiscretion, but it had the potential of being twenty-five times the value of his salary.

Apparently the Commissioners warning was not taken to heart, for Peter May was in November, 1773 again requested to prepared a report on the state

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5. SRO GD 248-982-3 Scheme proposed for setting the farm at Cullen, 15-11-1770 by James Wilson, Alex. Wilson and Peter May. Two parks at Upstrath of 40 acres are to be planted with hay and cut; Cow Park to be set for grazing; Old Sheep Park to be set for grazing; Pond Park set for grazing; Well Park set for grazing; Binnhill Park of 20 acres to be sowed with barley and grasses; Auchingall Park set for grazing; Craghead Park set for grazing; Lord Deskford's Park for grazing; Longshanks Park set for grazing; Mill Bray for grazing; Millhaugh Goose Pasture for grazing; Glen next to Shirralds for grazing; two enclosures of parks of Upstrath lately imporved set to grazing; the estimated rental was £278, over about 180 acres.
6. SRO GD 248-680-6 Instructions given to Mr. Charles 23-11-1771.
7. SRO GD 248-680-6 Memo to Charles from Commissioners 11-06-1772.
8. SRO GD 248-951-3-1a Estimated value of enclosures at Cullen intended to be rouped May 12th for summer grass 1772 by Peter May 27-04-1772.

of the policies together with the conditions of the enclosed parks of Whitehouse, Upstrath and Binnhill. May found that the gravelled paths had been satisfactorily maintained, but the lawns, bowling green, nine-pin alley and skittle ground were in disrepair as was the little mount to the west side of the burn above the chinese bridge. The nursery was considered full, but disorderly and the park hedges were not satifactory.[9]

Basic changes were inevitable and by Spring 1774, John Niche, a forester, was retained to be responsible for all estate planting including the policies. John Wilson, the factor of Cullen, was made responsible for hedges about the home farm. Mr. Charles was ordered to confine his operation to the pleasure ground, nursery and kitchen garden[10] with a corresponding decrease in salary. He left the Earl's service shortly afterwards.

His replacement as gardener, Mr. MacDonald, was evaluated in December 1775, by Mr. Ross as "keeping the place in good order."[11] Other than a report on Forester Niche's progress c. 1775,[12] the need for constant surveillance of the policies staff disappears from the records. Both MacDonald and Niche enjoyed long tenure on the estate.

2. Modernization 1775-76

After a five year grand tour, the twenty-five year old seventh Earl returned to Cullen, as a connoisseur full of architectural ambition. Although as Lord Deskford, he had attended lectures by Sir William Chambers (1723-1796) at Oxford in 1769,[13] Findlater was by family ties and by pressure of fashion, firmly in the Adam camp. Robert and James were commissioned in

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9. SRO GD 248-680-6 Report Concerning the State of the Policies and Hedges about Inclosures of Whitehouse, Upstrath and Binnhill Parks. 30-11-1773, by Peter May.
10. SRO GD 248-680-6 John Ross Memorandum 3-05-1774.
11. SRO GD 248-589-2-13 Ross to Findlater 15-12-1775.
12. SRO GD 248-680-6 (Ross) to Findlater c.1775.
13. SRO GD 248-590-3-111 Findlater to Deskford, 23-10-1769.

the summer of 1775 for unspecified renovations, marbles, and a temple sketch for £ 240.[14] The renovations probably are those defined on the surviving sketch (refer to figure 107) for a new brewhouse and a bow window for the drawing room.

John Baxter the younger, was retained as executing architect. Baxter (-1789) was the son of a successful Edinburgh master mason. He was educated in Italy from 1761-68, and upon his return he had the good fortune to become the fourth Duke of Gordon's protégé.[15] At Gordon Castle (1769-1782), Baxter plagerized John Adam's earlier design[16] to provide the extraordinary 184.0 metre long facade of castellated corridors and wings to the central tower house. The undistinguished and repetitive boredom of this Georgian Gothic[17] surprizingly did not deter Findlater from retaining Baxter to expand John Adam's offices at Cullen, including a larder and brewhouse as well as providing internal renovations to the connecting passageways to with the purpose of enclosing the offices in a courtyard; the cost was £ 621-3-2 (refer to Figure 108).[18] Baxter later designed and constructed an icehouse on the edge of Cullen Burn downstream of the great bridge (refer to Figure 109) in 1776,[19] and a "Roman" cold bath in the corner of the court at the hill edge.[20] This was slightly in advance of fashion.[21]

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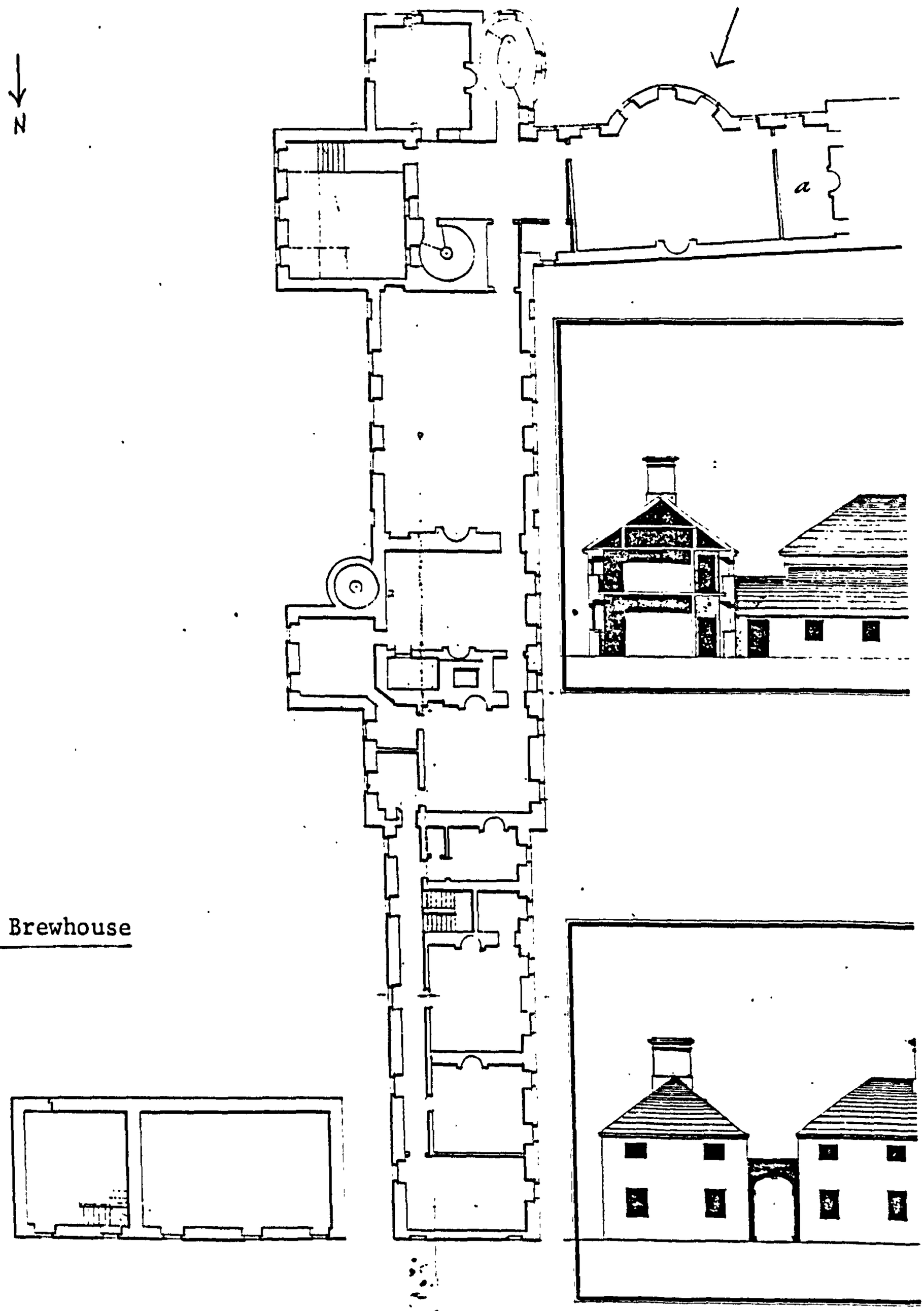
14. SRO GD 248-(591) Robert and James Adam invoice 9-8-1775: This included a subscription to their book. Refer also to SRO GD 248-(588) Invoice Adam dated 3-8-1779 with £210 for designs 23-12-1775.
15. Colvin (1978), op.cit., pp. 99-101.
16. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., Chapter 9; John Adam's two barrack-like schemes of 1764 are RHP 1052 and 1050.
17. J. Macaulay, The Gothic Revival 1745-1845, p. 159. "That apart, Gordon Castle was a telling commentary on John Adam's and John Baxter's inability to handle a huge scheme in either a particularly interesting or even a significant manner."
18. SRO RHP 2550-1 also other plans. SRO GD 248-591-2-255 Estimate for adding a new brewhouse, larder, etc., and filling up the present Brewhouse for a kitchen. 7.1775
19. Refer to accounts crop 1776 for a construction invoice for £ 30.
20. SRO GD 248-800-4-1 Findlater to Ross: 29-03-1777.
21. Girouard (1978) op.cit., p.262: By the 1780's ice houses and cold baths were common.

Figure 107

Plan of Alterations, Ascribed to Adam Office, c.1775
SRO RHP 2550



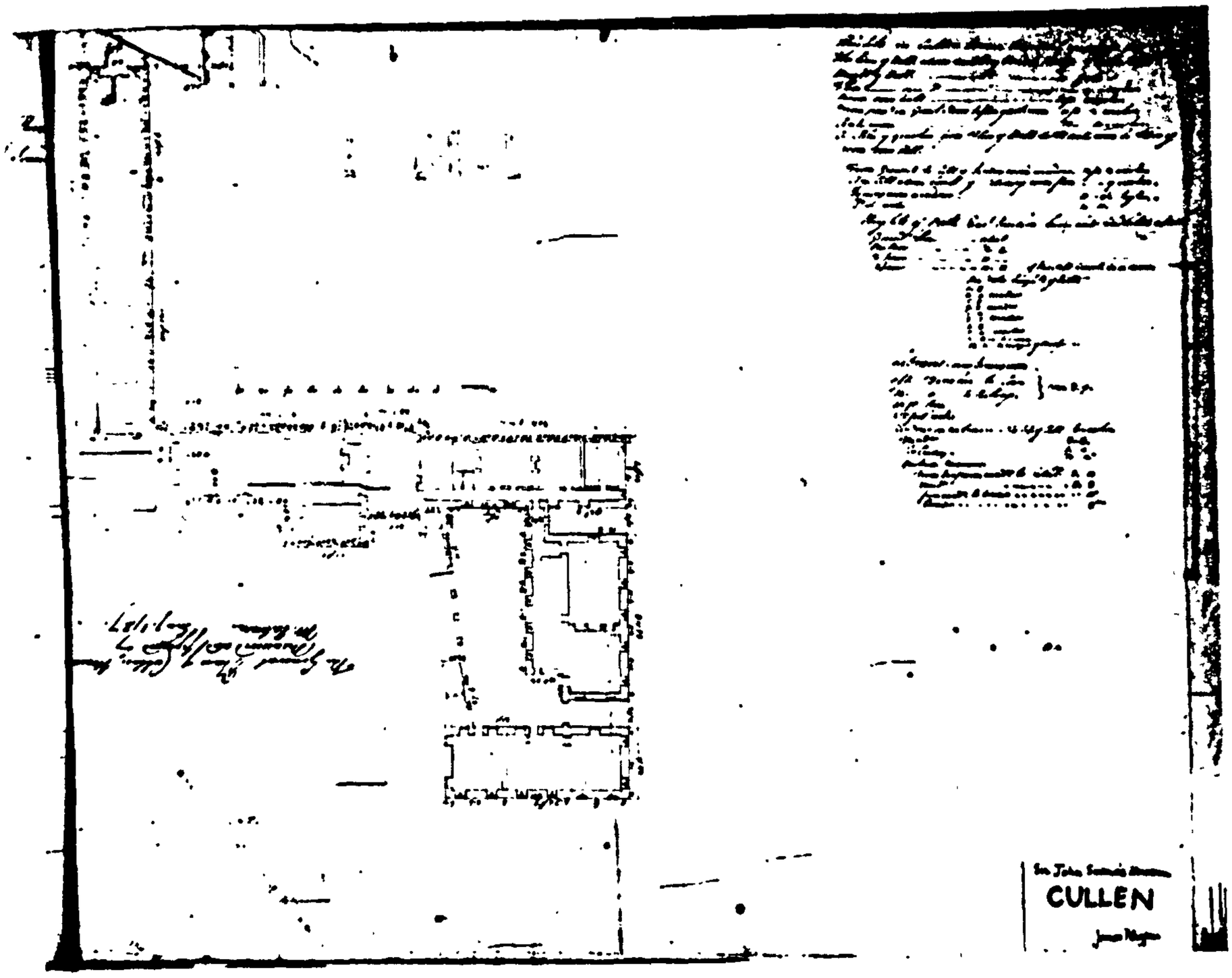


Figure 108 - As Found Drawing Showing Baxter's Renovations to Cullen House, January 1787, by "Mr. Paterson", BND-16-71

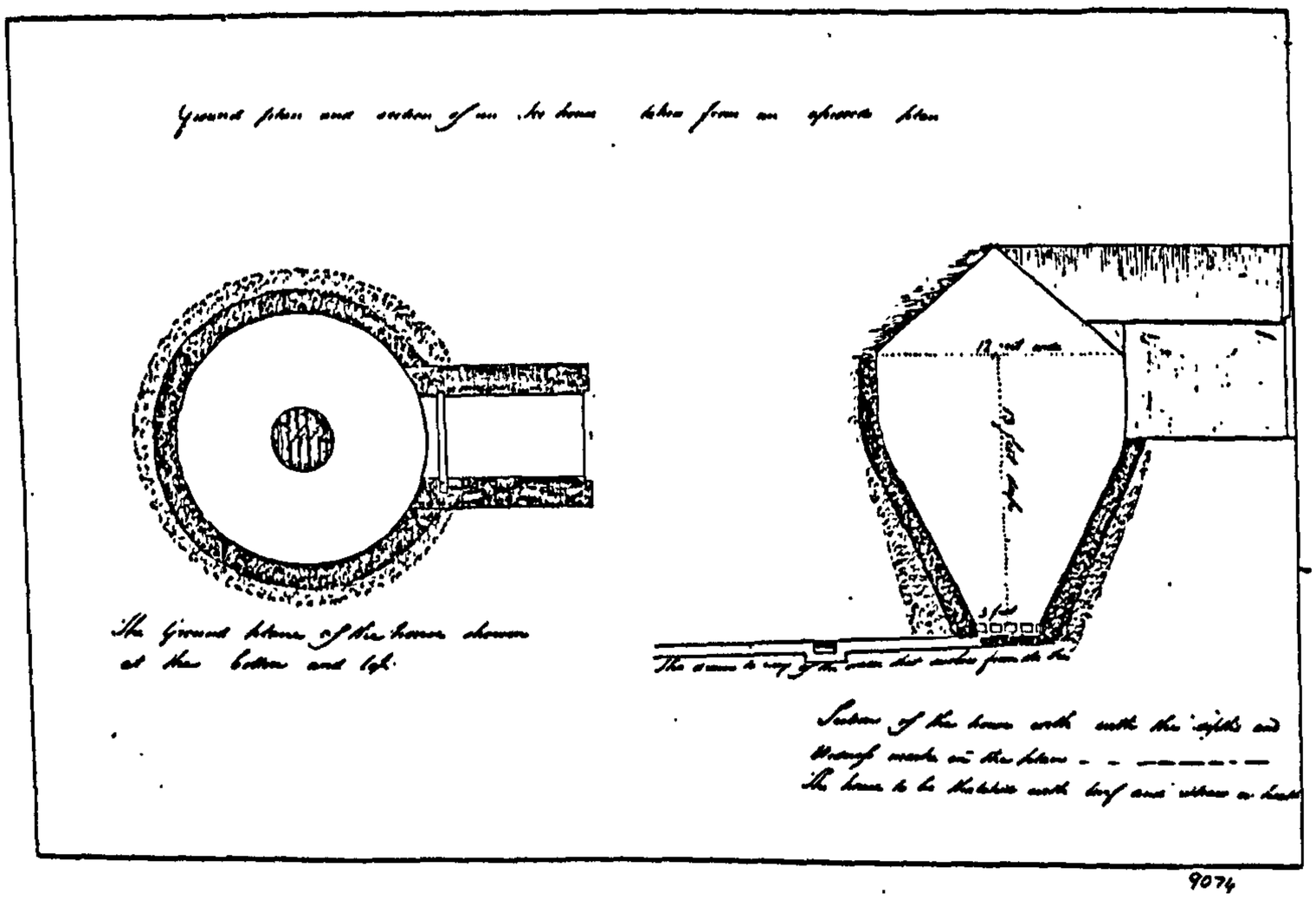


Figure 109 - Icehouse, John Baxter, Architect, 1776
SRO RHP 9074

At the same time as he quoted an estimate for the office renovations, Baxter quoted an estimate of £ 300 for carrying down the oval staircase (presumably William Adam's) to the ground floor, and building a bow to the present dining room and library.[22] This was the Adam design for the tripartite bow window to transform first floor dining room into the drawing room (Refer to Figure 107). The next month, August 1775, Baxter was requested to provide a plan of the alterations and additions.[23] Construction of both the offices and the bow window progressed through 1776.[24]

The drawing room was placed with the best view of the house, overlooking the wilderness garden. The segmental bay or bow window was a form calculated to enhance the view.[25] This room also had a southeast aspect which was preferred, since the sun could be off the room by the time carriage callers arrived. The intimate 2 by 3 Georgian proportions were later altered in the Bryce renovations which doubled the room's length in accordance with Victorian taste.[26]

The completed drawing room renovation exterior was sketched by Robert Adam c. Aug. 1779 (refer to Figure 95). The cylinder form was a favourite Adam device and the detailing leaves no doubt as to the architect. In this case Baxter was merely the executant. Precedent for ascribing this to Adam includes Whitehaven's semi-oval, the three story bow at Wedderburn (1770-78), David Hume's monument in Edinburgh (1777) and the Auchincruive Teahouse

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22. SRO GD 248-591-2-255. Estimate 07-1775.
23. SRO GD 248-567-94 Findlater to Countess Dowager Seafield. 28-08-1775.
24. SRO GD 248-680-1 List of materials needed to complete addition and repairs to Cullen House c.1775; GD 248-680-1 Baxter supply freestone c.1775; GD 248-680-1 Baxter 7.1775; GD 248-680-1 Leys to Ross 15.3.1776 Regarding supply of Baltic fir to Cullen; GD 248-950-4 Invoice for supply Summer 1776.
25. Hussey, English Country Houses: Early Georgian 1715-60, p. 27: "Characteristic of Rococo was a desire for nearer relationships with nature ... a favourite means of breaking down (facades) was the polygonal or canted bay window which also helped the relationship conversely by giving more outlook from indoors."
26. Franklin (1981), op.cit., p. 44.

(1778).[27] The bow to the garden facade at Oxenfoord (1780-82),[28] round tower at Dalquaharran (1785), spiral staircase at Pitfour (1790) and Culzean's saloon followed.[29]

In May 1777, a sketch of the family apartment "Drawn by Guthrie with Mr. Baxter's alterations" was dispatched to Findlater.[30] Further plans were requested in August 1777[31] and November 1777. These plans appear to concern the construction of two complete family apartments, and Findlater's wish to convert the great staircase to a dining room, with a new staircase being constructed.[32] Findlater acknowledged receipt in December 1777 noting that the bow window to the drawing room and the library was complete, and that he intended to execute a new distribution of the family apartments in the following year.[33] The Adam Brothers continued to be involved in Baxter's alterations for in December 1777, James provided designs for a chimney and cornice.

Baxter's plans were sent to Findlater in Brussels, and there are several letters where he discussed showing them to a French architect for revision.[34] By implying the Duke of Gordon's architect to be provincial, Findlater gained social advantage. Considering that the Duchess was at this time riding her horse through London bedrooms, it as an interesting rebuke, and one in which the architect's role to his client was seemingly unrelated to his commission.

The renovations commissioned during the Earl's first residence of 1775-76 were both utilitarian, (such as the offices expansion) and were fashionable,

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27. MacAulay (1975) op.cit., pp. 84-100.
28. Alastair Rowan, "Oxenfoord Castle, Midlothian, for Sir John Dalrymple", C.L. (156), 15 August 1974, pp. 430-433.
29. Rowan "The Adam Castle Style" Part 2 (1974), pp. 679-694.
30. SRO GD 248-800-4 Ross to Findlater 16-5-1777. As per request of SRO GD 248-800-4 Findlater to Ross 14-4-1777.
31. SRO GD 248-800-4-3 Findlater to Ross 12-08-1777.
32. SRO GD 248-800-4-1 Findlater to Ross 29-03-1777.
33. SRO GD 248-800-4-5 Findlater to Ross 29-12-1777.
34. SRO GD 248-800-1 Ross to Findlater 6-1-1778 and SRO GD 248-800-4-4 Findlater to Ross 5-11-1777.

(such as the drawing room) and can be termed "modernization". Poor health was austensibly the reason for Findlater's departure for the Belgian town of Spa. Correspondence shows that renovations to Cullen remained active.

3. Marriage Alterations

Findlater's second residence corresponded with his marriage in Brussels in 1779 to Christina Murray. Priorities included finishing the interiors constructed 1776-77. Robert and James Adam invoiced for two chimney pieces and a glass frame 1-2-1779 for £ 180.[35] On the same day the Adams invoiced £ 21 for designs including plans, sections and details to Cullen House drawing room and dressing room.[36]

The drawing room was further enriched in 1781 with the Rococo chimney piece and mirror[37] designed by James Adam (refer to Figure 110a) and console tables and mirrors for the window "piers"[38] (refer to Figure 110b), both with Pompeian motifs. The ensemble acted as a visual device to achieve parallax - the chimney mirror captured the view of the wilderness garden from the bow windows and reflected this image again to the console mirrors and back to the chimney mirror. The wilderness vision was thereby intensified[39] (Refer to Figure 111).

The marble chimney design provided for side stiles with of a classical tripod sumounted by a lambrequin, and a putti medallion. The central tablet held symmetrical griffins about an urn. The mirrored overmantle's gilt frame

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35. SRO GD 248-590-3 Invoice.
36. SRO GD 248-591-2-239.
37. SM Vol 20 No. 226: James Adam design for a mirror and chimney piece in the drawing room, 1781.
    SM Vol 23 No. 167: Design of a chimney piece for drawing room at Cullen House.
38. SM Vol 20 No. 250; and SM Vol 20, No. 255 dated 2 June 1781.
39. Peter Collins, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, p. 26-28. This use of mirrors to intensify an experience was used by several architects in the late eighteenth century. Soane exploited Parallax at his London townhouse.

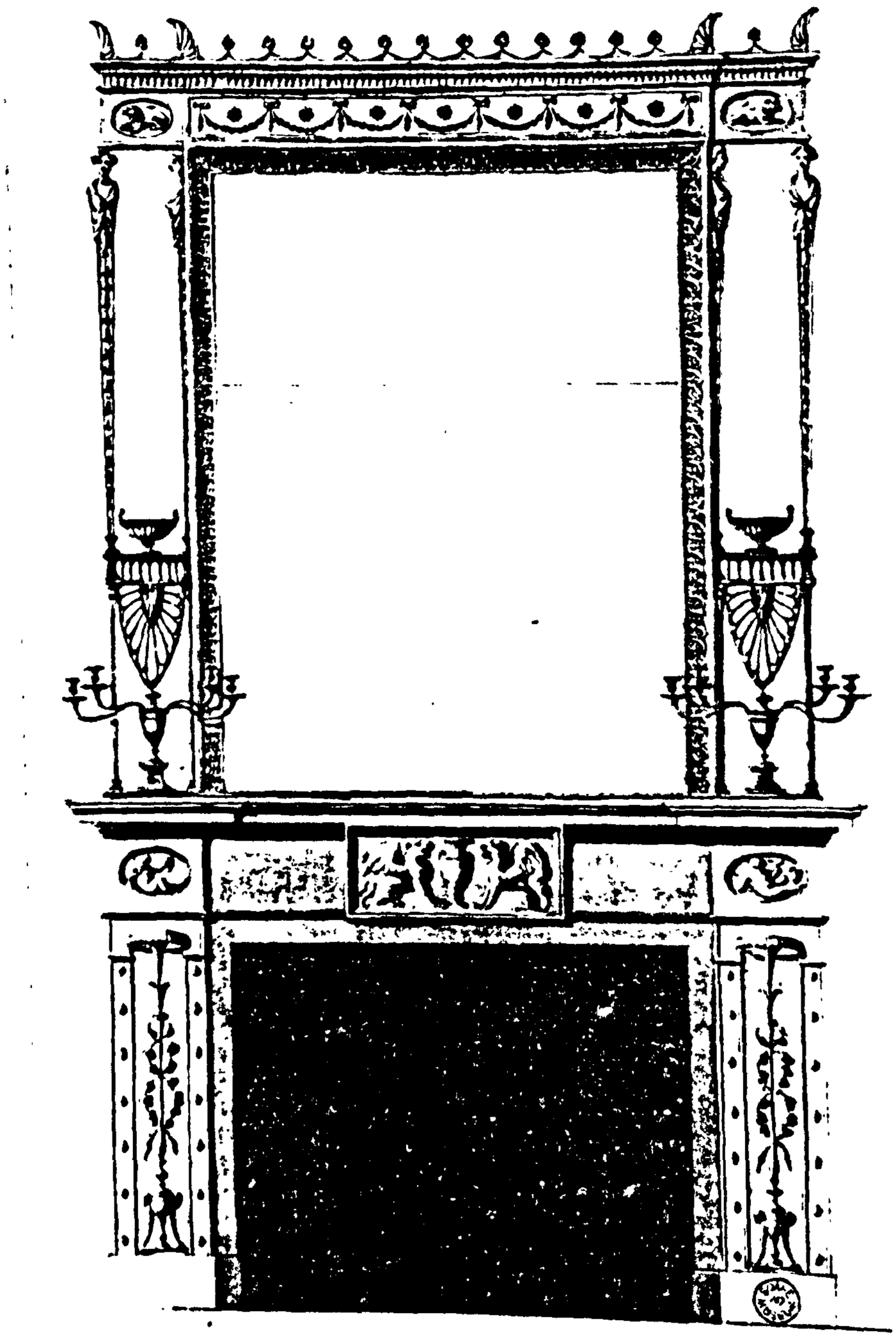

Figure 110a

Chimney Piece and Glass Frame for Drawing Room,
James Adam, Architect, 2 June 1781, SM Vol.23 No.167

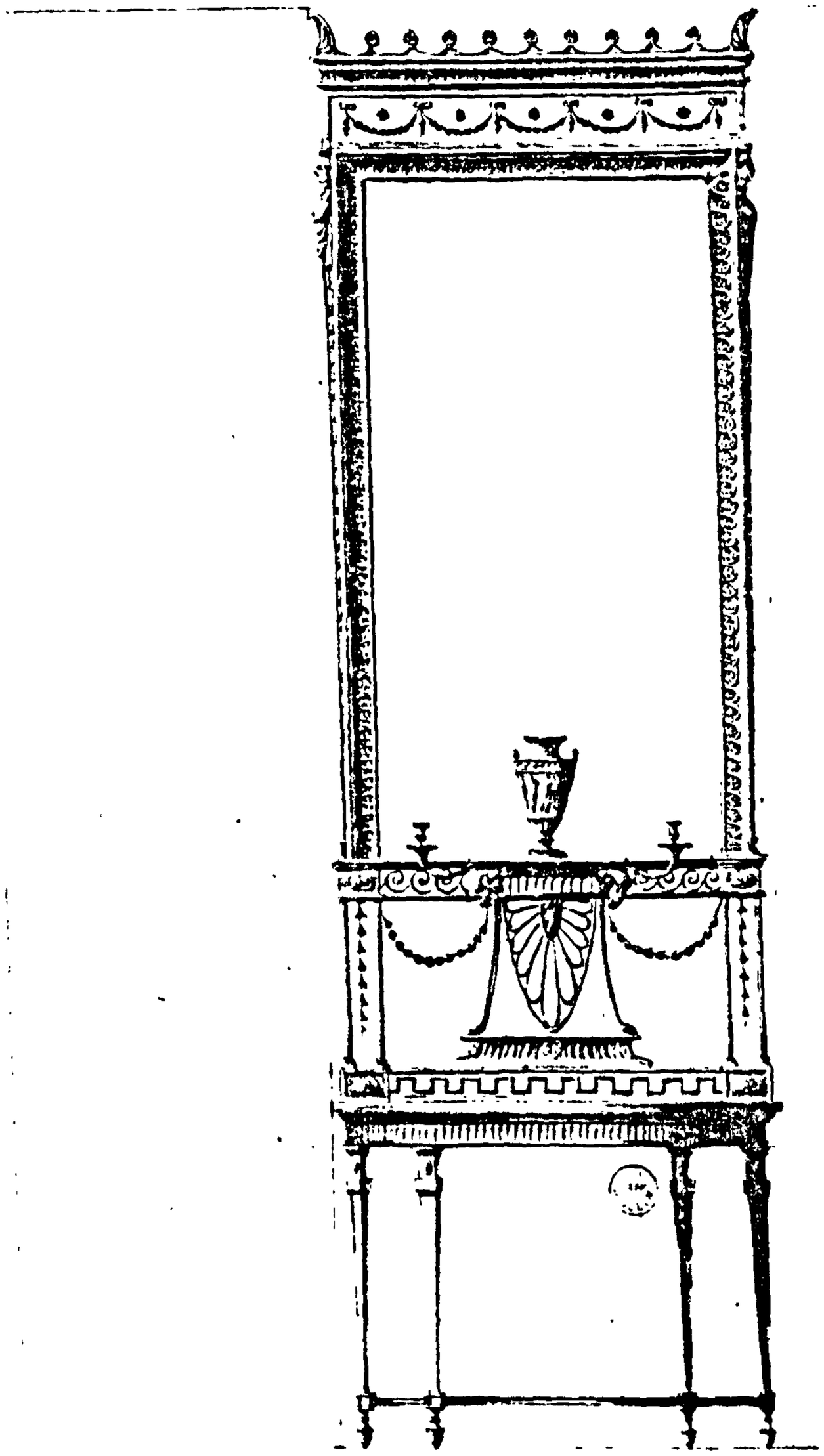

Figure 110b

Design for Mirrors in Drawing Room, James Adam, Architect
SM Vol.20 No.250

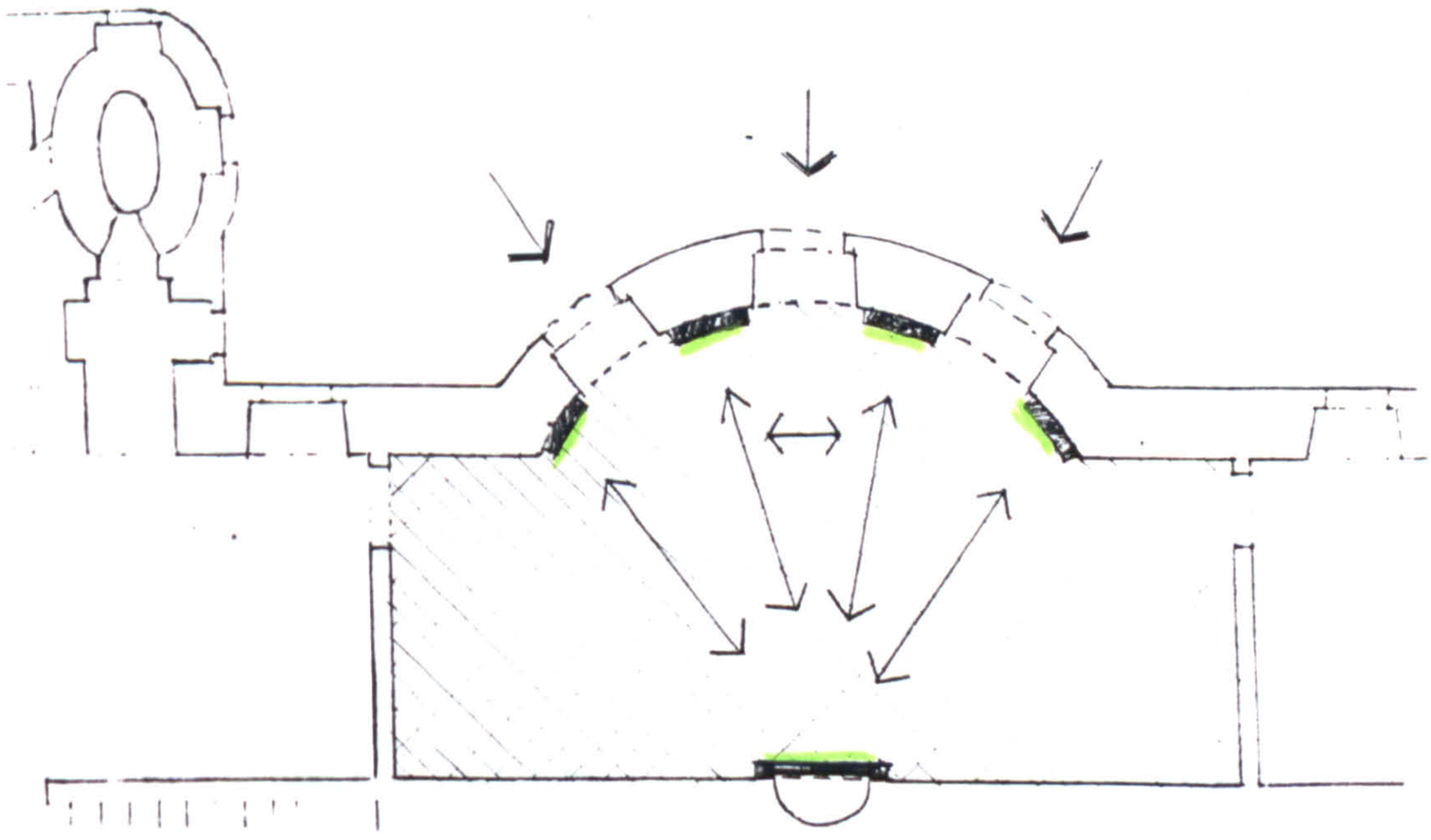

Figure 111

Drawing Room Plan Showing Parallax, with View to Wilderness and View Towards Bow Window.

included a sort of column with candelabra, halfed elliptical patera supporting an urn as the base, with caryads acting as column capitals for the festooned architrave.

The console repeated the theme with a gilded and festooned architrave supported by caryads framing the mirror. The mirror base repeated the halfed elliptical patera image, although here the urn and candelabra detailing differed from the chimney. The console table, probably with scagliola top, completed the exquisite attenuated composition.

Each of the 500 Adam designs of chimneys were unique, however these design bear some resemblance to those at Home House, London 1775-77, Cumberland House, London 1780 and Byron Hall, Yorkshire 1780.[40] The use of console mirrors between windows was employed by Robert Adam in the music room at Harewood House[41] and in the Drawing Room at Syon.

Two drawings which are here attributed to the Adam Office, delineate an attempt to provide a symmetrical Adam castle style facade. The north elevation (refer to Figure 112) existing towers were to be regularized and topped with lug turrets and then were to be connected with an arcuated screen of Norman arches. The latter's rustic arcade carried the loggia with two story elongated columns supporting semi-circular arches and mock battlements. It is a unique screen, which is recalled in the rustics of Syon's river front, Landsdowne House, perhaps in the Adelphi's Great Arcade, and by the 1762 Queen's transparency.[42] Had it been built, Cullen's otherwise austere facade would have assumed an almost theatrical image. The frivolousness of this loggia is accented when compared to a similar problem of connecting two towers with a screened porch at Northwick Park. At Northwick, Lord Burlington 1728-30 created a Palladian oeuvre with minimal expression.[43]

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40. Stillman (1966) op.cit.
41. Bolton (1922), op.cit., Vol. 1, p.172.
42. Ibid., Vol. I pp. 39, 48-49.
43. Wittkower (1974), op.cit., Chapter 10.

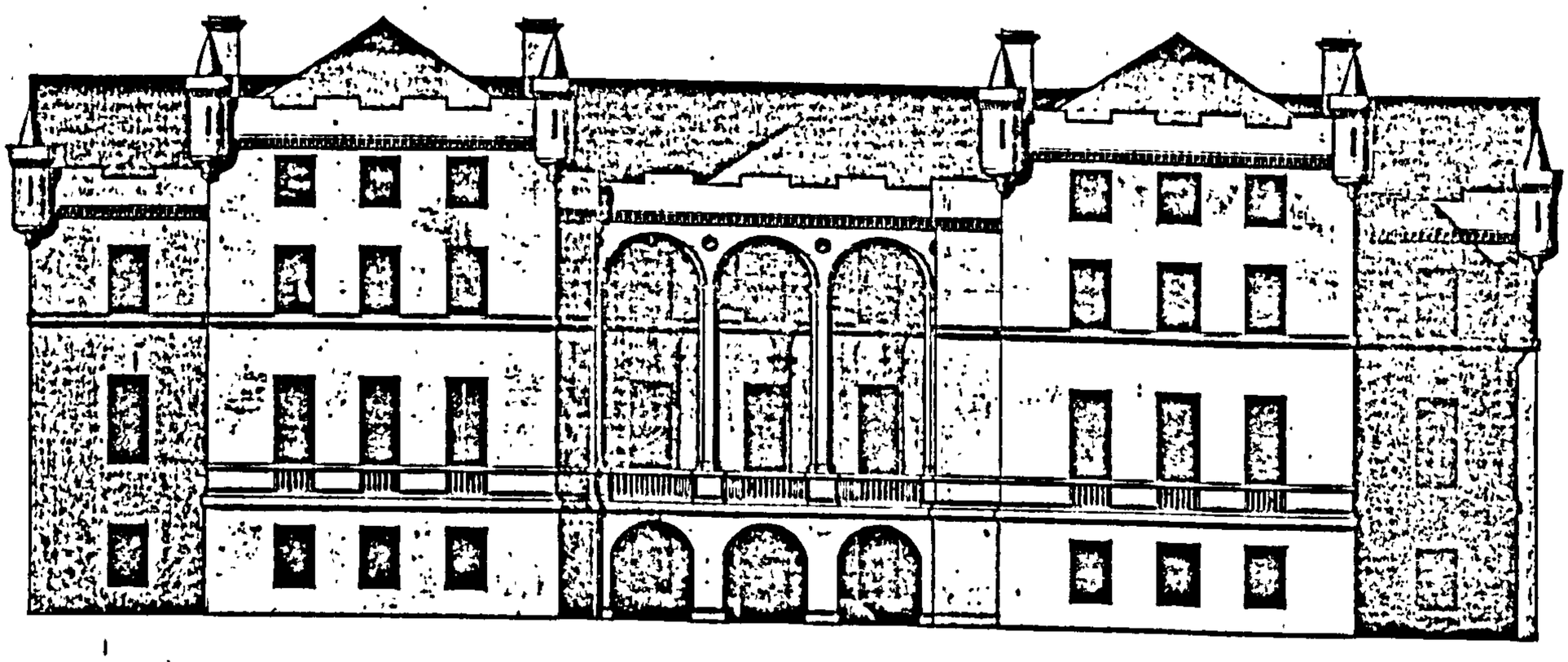

Figure 112 - Elevation of Cullen House with Proposed Screen Ascribed to Adam Office, c.1779; SRO RHP 2550-6

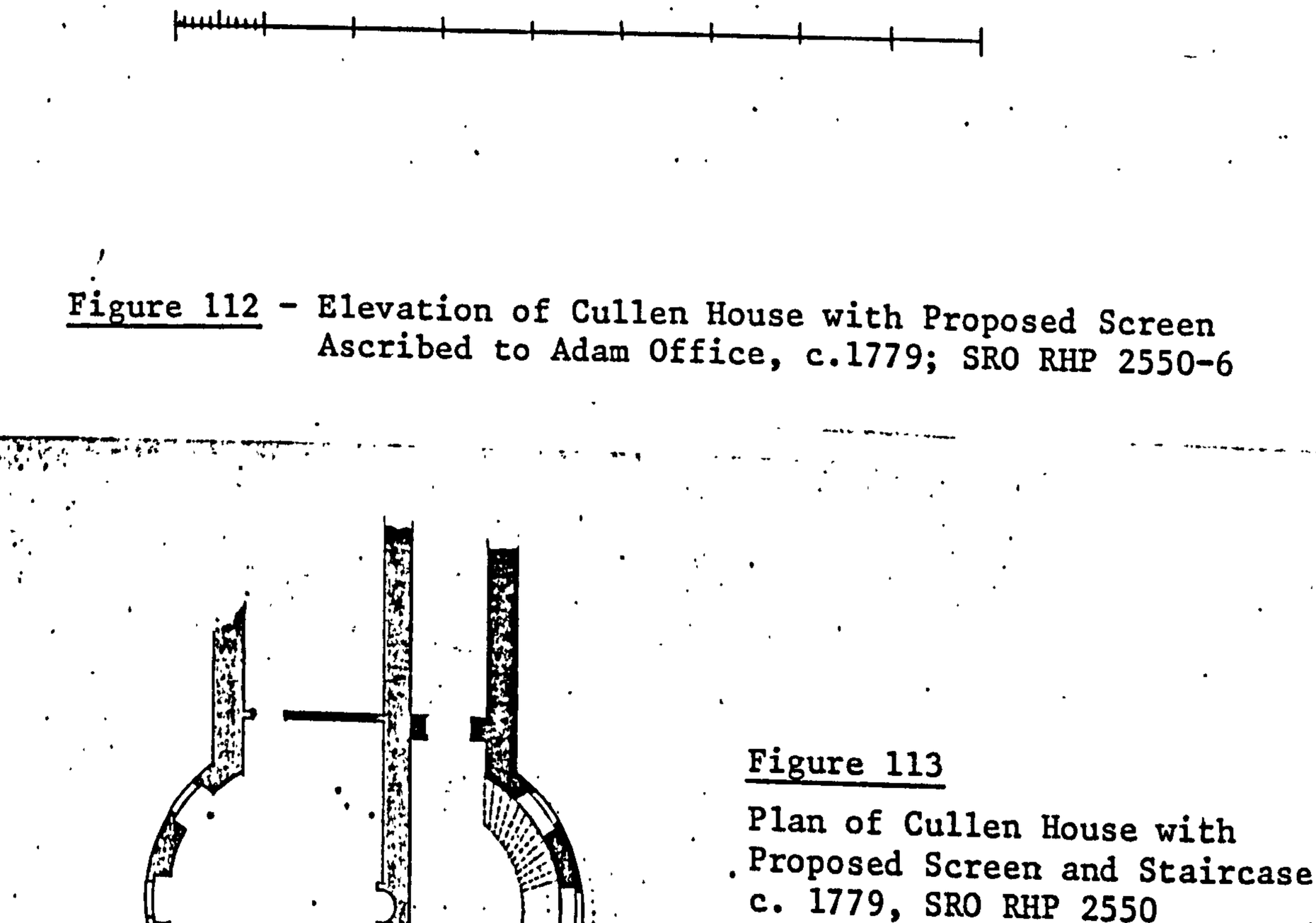

Figure 113

Plan of Cullen House with Proposed Screen and Staircase, c. 1779, SRO RHP 2550

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The sketch plan (refer to Figure 113) shows this screen and the addition of a side crescent staircase with passageway. This was to replace the fourth Earl's great staircase, which was to be converted to a dining room. This more centrally located staircase[44] combined with the segmental bay window designed 1775 by Robert Adam and executed 1776-77 by Baxter, would have created a great elliptical drum, a favorite form employed by Robert Adam on his castle projects about 1779. More detailed designs probably were prepared, but have not survived, although an invoice date 24-6-1779. For unspecified designs and surveys to Cullen House has survived, as has a second invoice for designs dated 3-8-1779[45] from Robert and James Adam.

Findlater managed to escape from assisting the Adams with a loan during the Adelphi credit crisis of 1772-74, however it was inevitable that he, like so may other of the Adam clients, would be called upon for relief, as they drifted from one financial disaster to another. Findlater's turn came with the collapse of the Battersea and Sandend Company in 1780. Findlater responded with a £ 2,000 loan at 5% interest (which was the then current bank rate) for twenty six years.[46]

The Adam brothers' financial horror has been described by Alastair Rowan.[47] William Adam and company was formed in 1764 as a firm of developers and builders' suppliers to assist John from a loss of £18,000 made during the Scottish banking fauilures of 1764. He later recovered his loss, and the company remained active. The 1772 credit crisis resulting in the collapse of ten London and nine Edinburgh banks, stretched the Adams' resources to the limit. They recovered and turned from the Adelphi to invest in "more and more illusory projects." After 1781 John Adam had little to do with the company or his brothers but was committed to mortgage Blair Adam for

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44. Girouard (1978), op.cit., Chapter 7: The placement of the stairs in each alternative attempted to achieve a more centrally located circulation pattern corresponding to the taste for a sequential circuit when entertaining.
45. SRO GD 248-(588)
46. Grant (1978), op.cit., p.161
47. A.J. Rowan "After the Adelphi: Forgotten Years in the Adam Brothers' Practice", pp. 659-710.

£ 36,000 of which he lost at least £25,000.[48] By 1778 the Adams' income from their practice was entirely swallowed by the company's debts. It was bankrupt in 1801.[49]

Poor health and the Countess' desire for continental travel austensibly led to departure in 1781, but once more designs continued to be discussed by post.

4. Emergency Planning

The disastrous early September 1782 snowfall which destroyed much of the northeast harvest, resulted in the very real threat of famine. John Ross wrote of the steps being taken by the Commissioners of Supply,[50] as well as steps he advised for the estate with regard to providing grain and relaxing rentals Ross strongly advised Findlater to return to Cullen and be seen to be concerned for the people's welfare, and to take essential relief decisions himself.[51] Findlater complied, and returned for his third residence of 1783-84.

Findlater's preoccupation during this residence was with a banqueting house and with a renovation to the north tower to provide a new dining room. The insensitivity of commissioning the banqueting house at a time of threatened starvation demonstrates Findlater's isolation from social reality.

Architecturally, the banqueting house designed by the Adam office,

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48. National Register of Archives 0063 Adam of Blair-Adam muniments, 1454-4-197: John Adam to William Adam Jr. 27-02-1786: "As my property is now totally to be annihilated, and that they are to go on, in the natural course of their business, when I am to be exposed to the world as a person so ruin'd that I must sell everything . . . "
49. Mss. Blair Adam Box 1839-39, "An account of a Scotch family from 1688 to 1838 by William Adam of Blair Adam."
50. SRO GD 248-678-1 minutes of Commissioners of Supply and noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates and justices of the peace, 16-12-1782 chaired by Lord Fife.
51. SRO GD 248-591-2-180 Ross to Findlater 24-3-1783.

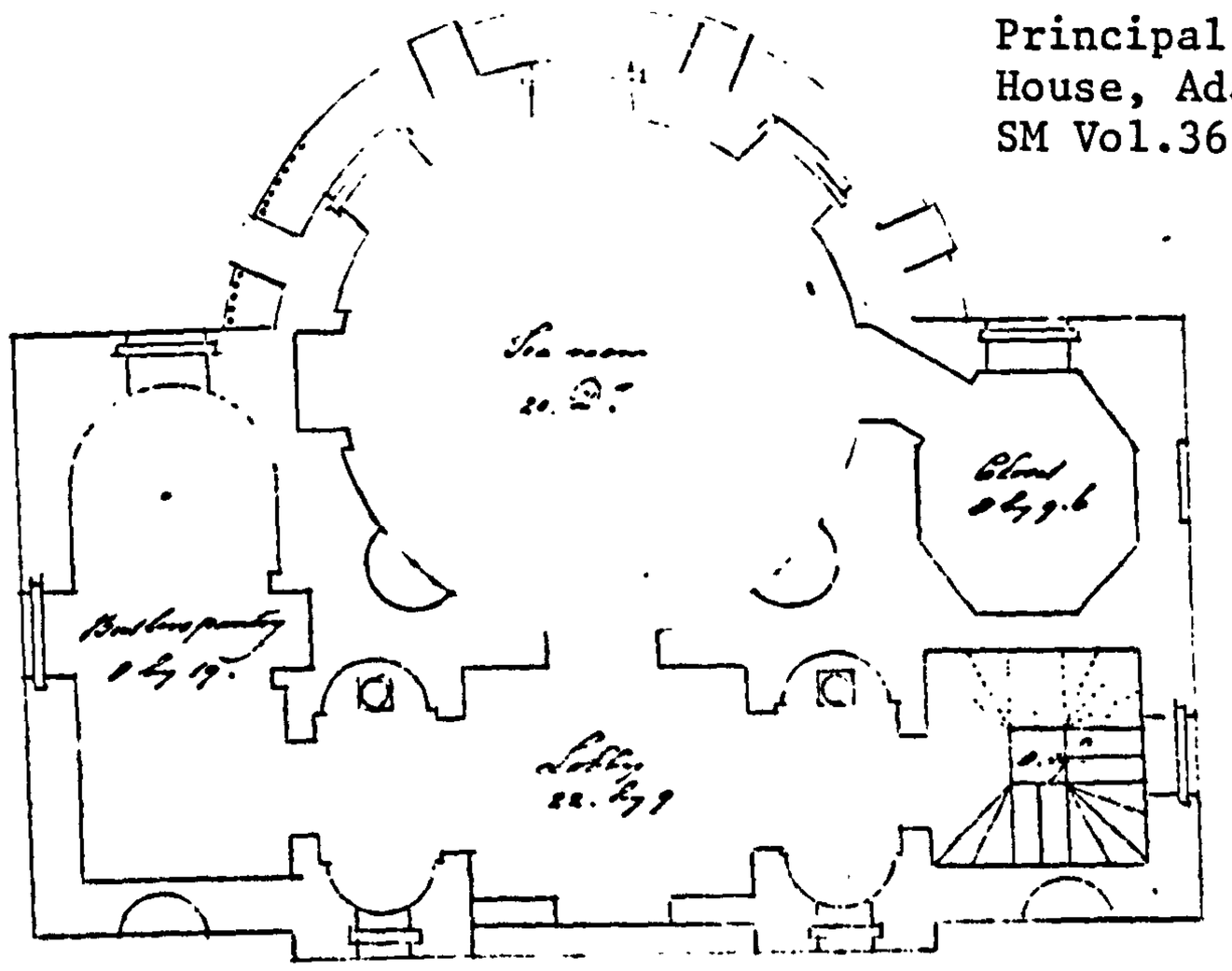


Figure 114

Principal Floor Plan, Banqueting House, Adam Office, 1783
SM Vol.36 No.65

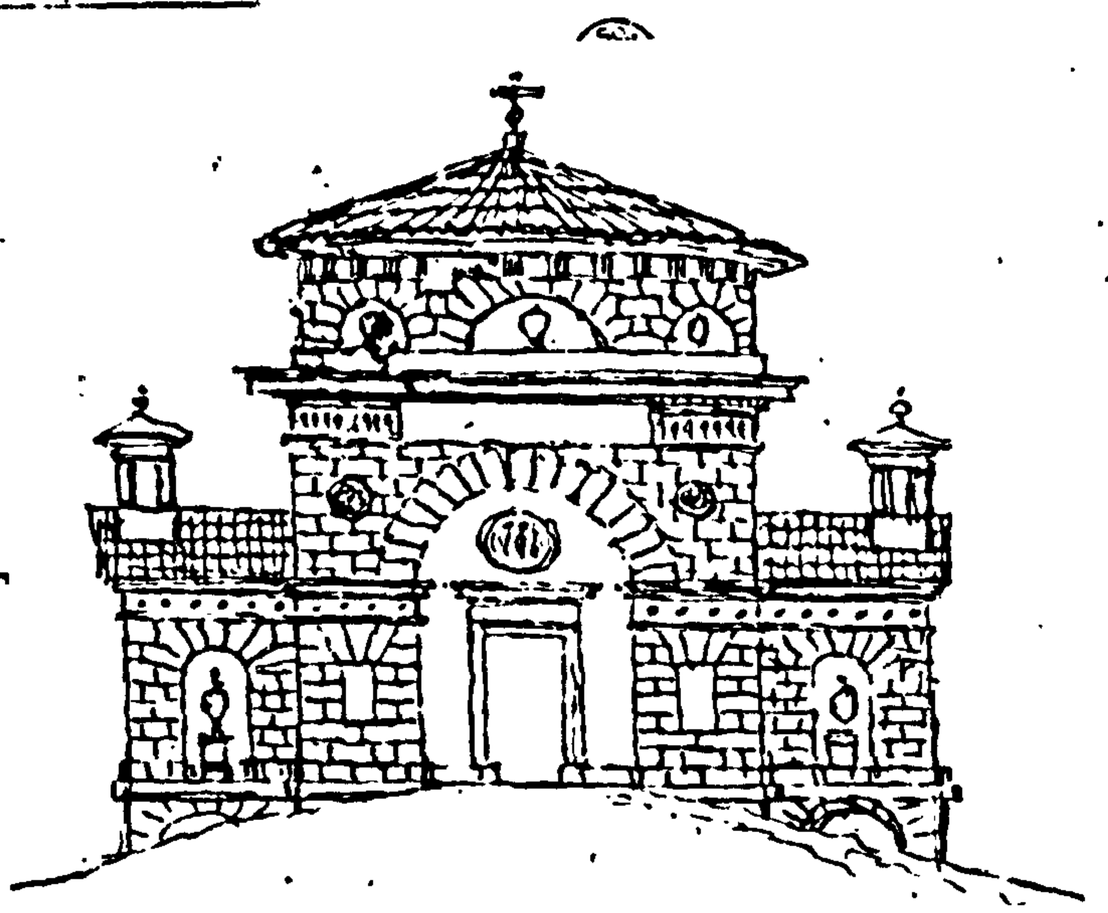
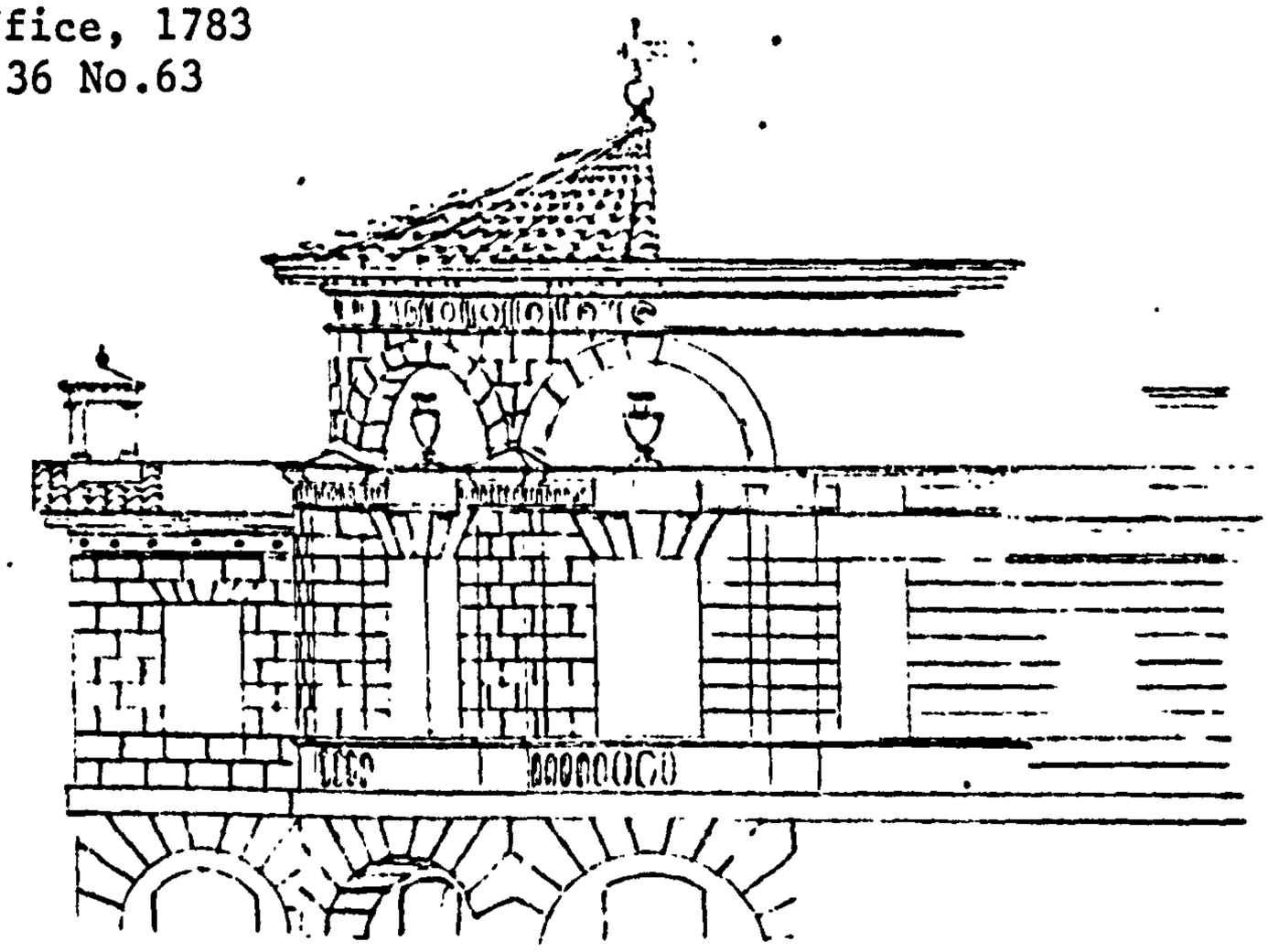


Figure 115

Elevation of Banqueting House
Adam Office, 1783
SM Vol 36 No.63



dated 12 Sept. 1783, would have been marvellous, had it been constructed.[52] (Refer to Figures 114 and 115). It was a substantial pavilion meant to be located within the policies, on a mount, probably where the Temple of Pomona was eventually constructed. The circular tea room was possibly meant to overlook the Moray Firth view over Cullen bay. Secondary rectangular rooms include the entry loggia, serving ante-rooms and cloak rooms with a basement kitchen. The structure's dimensions were 16.1 by 8.1 metres with a 7.8 metre diameter dome. The plan resembled the deputy-ranger's lodge built in Green Park in 1768. The exterior had a ground floor with rusticated relieving arches and smooth inset windows. The tea room drum roof was to be carried upon aedicules with urns. The structure was labelled in the Etruscan style, but was more accurately Byzantine, modelled after the Mausoleum of Theodoric at Ravenna which Robert Adam had measured and sketched in 1755 during his Italian studies.[53] The banqueting room designs reveal notes in both Robert and James' handwriting.

The Adam office also provided a conceptual water colour sketch of a lodge and gate in a castellated style.[54] Dr. Tait interprets this to be a renovation to the William Adam Bridge to invoke the same picturesque image as Adam designed for the Culzean approach bridge in 1780.[55]

With regard to the North Tower alterations, concern had been expressed that the tower should be made to be more symmetrical with the great staircase tower. Baxter was paid £ 26 for designs in 1781, and in December 1782 further sketches were sent.[56] Strathspey wood was being stockpiled in March 1783 for "the proposed alteration to Cullen House north tower."[57] Work

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52. SM Vol. 36 No. 62 Elevation for a Banqueting Room at Cullen; SM Vol. 36 No. 60 Design: SM vol. 36 No. 63 Elevation of Banqueting Room Towards Garden; SM Vol. 35 No. 65 Principal Floor Plan; and SM Vol. 36 No. 64 Sunk Floor Plan.
53. Beard (1978), op.cit., Figure 18 dated 1755 and J. Fleming "An Italian Sketchbook by Robert Adam, Clerisseau and others," (Nov. 1960) p. 193.
54. SM Vol. 36 No. 61 Mislabelled as the Banqueting Room; the original notes on the sketch states that it is the lodge and gate.
55. Tait (1980) op.cit., and Managements Board AYR 43-64.
56. Accounts 1781, and SRO GD 248-589-2-47 Ross to Findlater 21-12-1782.
57. SRO GD 248-591-2-187 Wilson to Findlater 2-3-1783.

seems to have proceeded in the summer of 1783, although it must have been at a very slow pace. Baxter was responsible for construction. In June 1785 masons had completed the stair, water closet[58] and had taken down a wall in the tower, the kitchen chimney was to be heightened. The masons were working on the new dairy.[59] Next month, Wilson wrote that Mr. Baxter had been delayed from forwarding quarry stone for the stairs, as the quarry was flooded.[60] The stairs were not built until October 1786.[61] As late as May 1787, the tower rooms were being plastered, tin plates to prevent fire (presumably for the kitchen chimney) had arrived from London, and alterations to the third Earl's bedroom was soon to begin.[62]

What had been accomplished? A new dining room had been built, the north tower had been made more symmetrical, rooms and passages about the kitchen offices were altered, and the second floor bedroom suite was renovated. It was a modest amount of work achieved over a surprizingly long time. A measured drawing prepared in January 1787 shows exactly what had been done (refer to Figure 108). Baxter appears to have been the design and executing architect,[63] although a letter from James Adam notes that two fireplaces were sent; he asked for more work by which they could decrease their debt.[64] Perhaps not by coincidence, the 1787 measured drawing was prepared by John Paterson who was by 1788 Clerk of Works in charge of the Adam Brothers' Edinburgh drawing office.[64a]

5. Political Ambitions

With the promise of a British peerage, Findlater returned home for his fourth and final residence in 1787, and commissioned a sequence of

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58. This was a fastidious innovation; the first watercloset was built in London in 1775.
59. SRO GD 248-589-2-140 Wilson to Findlater 17-06-1785.
60. SRO GD 248-(588) Wilson to Findlater 30-7-1785.
61. SRO GD 248-(591) Wilson to Findlater 4.10.1786.
62. SRO GD 248-(588) Wilson to Findlater.
63. SRO GD 248-591-2-137 Wilson to Findlater 27-8-1786 Baxter's general plan of house sent.
64. SRO GD 248-590-3-6 James Adam to Findlater 2-9-1785.
64a. Beard (1978) op. cit., pp. 21-22.

extravagant designs. These were in themselves predictable, but together if imposed upon Cullen they would have had revolutionary implications. Findlater selected a promising young architect, James Playfair (1755-94), to execute his wishes.[65] An ambitious number of design projects resulted including: a walled garden, classical renovations to Cullen House, Gothic renovations and miscellaneous domestic improvements.

The choice of architect may have been entirely political. Playfair was Henry Dundas' protégé.[66] Dundas (1742-1811) was one of Pitt's inner circle. He served as MP for Mid-Lothian 1774-90 and MP for Edinburgh 1790-1802, afterwards becoming first Viscount Melville. Dundas was Lord Advocate 1775-83, Treasurer of the Navy 1782-3 and 1784-1800, Home Secretary 1791-4, President of the Board of Control 1793-1801, Secretary of War and of the Colonies 1794-1801 and First Lord of the Admiralty 1804-5. More to the point, he was the Tories' political manager for Scotland[67] and thus "steered the gravy train". Findlater would be named to the House of Lords and would thereby become intimately involved with that part of London society ruling an Empire, only with Dundas' support.

Concurrent with Playfair's commission, Findlater retained Thomas White, a landscape gardener who had worked for Brown,[67a] , and subsequently dominated the Scottish market. White's terms of reference were startling: a megalomaniac expansion of Cullen policies beyond the horizon with a complete reordering of society over four parishes.

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65. J. Mordaunt Crook, The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870, pp. 125-6: Playfair was "An architectural miniaturist who exercised a major tallent on a series of minor commissions."
66. Walker and McWilliam (1971), op.cit., pp. 184-187: Playfair to Findlater: "Mr. Dundas is much engaged at present with India Affairs; I shall however have the pleasure of shewing him every design I make for your Lordship before I send it off."
67. R. Mitchison (1962), op.cit., p. 60 "His ordinariness and approachability united with energy and efficiency soon made him useful to the government when he entered Parliament in 1774".

67a. P. Willis, "Capability Brown's Account With Drummond Bank 1753-1783", in "Design and Practice in British Architecture," Architectural History, Vol. 27: 1984. ; STROUD op. cit., p. 207

Robert Adam reappeared in the Earl's service about January 1789, preparing by August 1789, a series of drawings for Findlater Castle and some other structures. While Adam was considered apolitical,[68a] the model for Findlater Castle, Culzean, had political connotations. Kennedy had been MP for Ayrshire 1768-74, was a representative Scottish Peer from 1776-92 and provided consistent opposition to Dundas. Findlater was guilty of a great many political blunders in his drive for a Westminister peerage; perhaps the dismissal of Dundas' protégé, in favour of a design which was so strongly reflective of the opposition, may be considered one of the more insensitive blunders at a time when such slights mattered. It was the wrong image for a probationary peer.

Findlater used the combination of the three designers' vision not entirely for the sake of enjoyment. He advertised his selection of designers and made his earnest plans for great improvements well known. He trusted that this conspicuous display of wealth and power would prove his leadership abilities. His political masters were to form a different opinion however: Findlater's only ability was the possession of an indecisive taste.

6. James Playfair's Commission

Playfair's exacting record of work for Findlater is preserved in Playfair's "Journal of Architecture."[68] The first entry is "attended at Cullen, ten days besides journey" dated 5 December 1787. By 22 March 1788, Playfair submitted drawings of the proposed renovation to Cullen House for an exhibition.

The architectural programme of the first proposal appears to have had four main objectives: to reverse the main approach to place it towards the great bridge; to provide an entry hall and passageway within the house which

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68. Advocates Mss 33.5.25 Journal 1783-91.

68a. Adam's work crossed the political spectrum even though he had been M.P. for Kinross 1769-1774; refer to Yarwood, Robert Adam, p. 142, and H.H. Reed, ed., (1980) op.cit., Introduction.

would focus upon a central palatial staircase; to double the size of Cullen House with more spacious reception rooms and further guest bedrooms; and to dress the old and new house in a uniform facade "in the classical manner".[69]

The Jan 1788 plan (refer to Figure 116) shows that the existing house was to have been retained except for the sixth Earl's 1764-66 west wing extension. That was to be demolished to achieve the perception of a symmetrical quandrangle (although this was a visual deception), and to allow a forecourt with adequate radius to turn a carriage. The main entry was to be exactly axial with Cullen bridge. The "L-shaped" addition provided for circulation. On the ground floor there was a vestibule and two halls leading to the double staircase. Surprizingly Playfair provided the estate office suite directly off both sides of the main vestibule with the same spatial distribution as the sixth Earl's offices. Playfair's journal lists several drawings and a model.

The "classical manner" chosen bore ~~little~~ SOME resemblance to McGill's 1709 Scots Palladian elevations, however the massing, plans and details followed a Neoclassical discipline with restrained relief reminiscent of Robert Adam.

The composition achieved a remarkable symmetry considering the extent of the false skin over a structure, which was then in part 250 years old.

The strength of the bold form is only appreciated from the perspective (refer to Figure 117). Cullen House had a unique situation being at the edge of a rock cliff with a fall of some 20 metres to the ravine. The old house afforded an opportunity to exploit a moderately picturesque aspect. Robert Adam had captured the baronial grandeur of the "castle" rising from the craggy rocks (refer to Figure 95).[70] Playfair could not have been oblivious to

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69. Playfair's first classical design for renovations to Cullen House dated Jan. 1788: SRO RHP 2545-19 ground floor plan; SRO RHP 2545-18 principal floor plan; SRO RHP 2545-11 one pair story; SRO RHP 2545- "finishing the library"; SRO RHP 2545-8 second story; RHP SRO 2545-13 sketch for altering the bridge; RHP SRO 2545-12 elevation to bridge.
70. BND-16-76 "A picturesque view of the Castle of Cullen in the Shire of Banff" by Robert Adam, n.d.

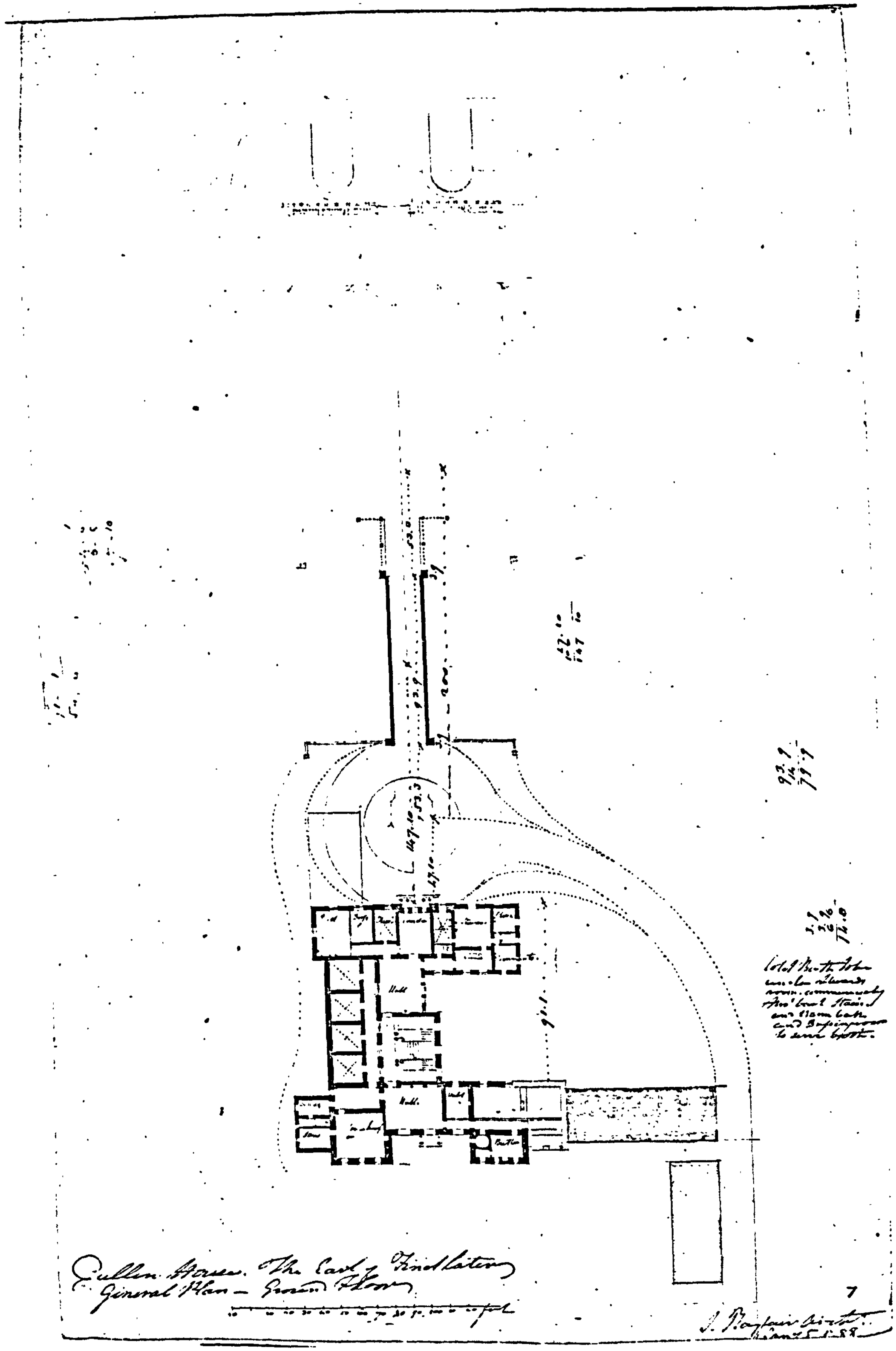

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Figure 11[6]

Cullen House, First Design Neoclassical Renovation,
James Playfair, Architect, January 1788, SRO RHP 2545-7

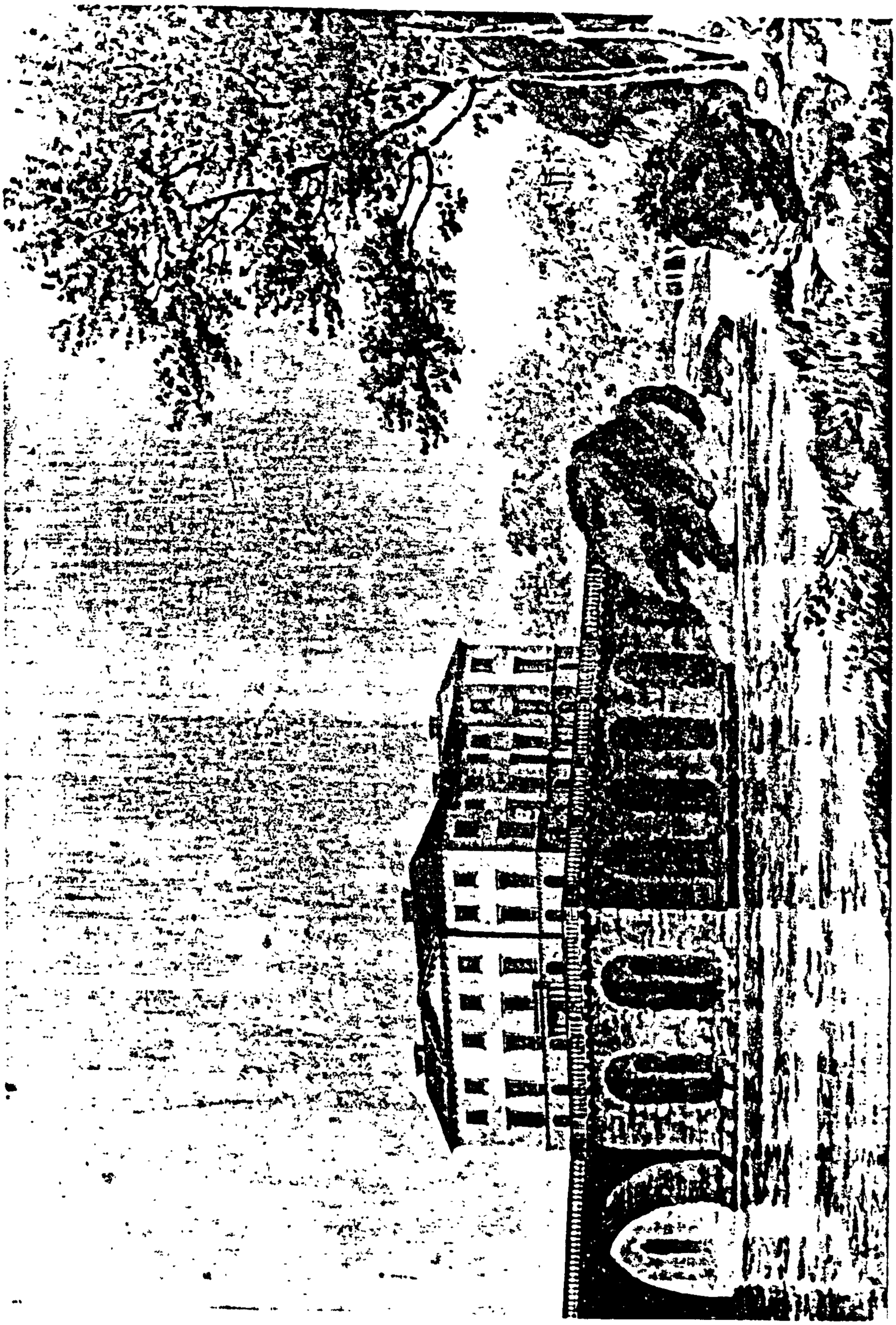

Figure 117

Cullen House, Neoclassical Renovation First Design,
James Playfair, Architect, Watercolour January 1788
BND 504

the picturesque possibilities of such a location, but his first design chose a different direction by clothing the roughness of the rock outcrop with a massive rusticated retaining wall with elongated arches from the base of Cullen Burn to a garden balustrade containing the renovated house. It created a visionary rectangular podium which was uncompromising to the natural conditions. The podium, Neoclassically renovated great bridge and the villa were to be read together as one geometrical composition.[71] Such an expensive and drastic solution must have been controversial.

Playfair had been inspired towards such a form after visiting Boulee and Ledoux in Paris in August 1787. Visionary designs of Boulee such as the Cenotaph for Sir Isaac Newton of 1784, and Ledoux's executed fifty Barrieres of Paris, Palais de Justice of Aix-en-Provence, and the model town of Chaux, as well as their more pragmatic work[72] must have had a great impact upon Playfair's imagination[73]. The Cullen House Neoclassical design was a transition toward the clear primitivism of the Greek Revival expressed in Playfair's Cairness House of 1789-93[74] with its spectacular great hemicycle and lunette arched terminal pavilions.[75]

Other influences upon Playfair's architectural primitivism include Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, second volume published 1789, J.J.

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71. BN-504 first classical design Cullen House prespective in watercolors by James Playfair, 1788.
SRO RHP 2545-7; site plan dated Jan. 1788. This also has a faint pencil sketch of the elevation from the bridge.
72. With this caution: Allan Braham, The Architecture of the French Enlightenment, p. 116: "It has long been customary to group together the maginary designs of Boullee with those of Ledoux and Lequeu, as though these architects were the three heros - the three musketeers of the architectural revolution in France, but three such different artists it would scarcely be possible to imagine ... to the extent that the ideas underlying his drawings differ greatly from his early architectural projects and depend upon the inflation of simple geometric shapes, it is Boulee who seems historically the most advanced of his time".
73. Dunbar (1978), op.cit., p.112: Playfair was underestimated and died before reaching his full potential.
74. ibid., p.115.
75. Walker and McWilliam, Country Life, Vol. 149 No. 3842, 28 January 1971, pp. 184-187 and Country Life, Vol. 149 No. 3843, 4 February 1971, pp. 248-251.

Winckleman's scholarly excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and Robert Wood's discovery of Palmyra and the Doric ruins of Paestrum. Playfair's arrival precociously[76] predicted "Greekomania" by over a decade. His transitional designs can be understood by this definition of the Greek Revival by Mordaunt Crook: "it was always a synthetic style, a compound of Palladian tradition, Neoclassical abstraction and romantic Hellenism; precise archaeology diluted by Renaissance conventions, ordered by rationalist theory, idealized in pursuit of the arcadian dream".[77]

The political overtones of the design process were revealed by Findlater's direction to Playfair to "consult with Mr. Dundas' opinion" and then to enter the proposal at the architectural exhibition.[78] Dundas being both Playfair's patron and the government's political manager for Scotland.

Whether or not one accepts Playfair's version that the public reception to the exhibition was favourable, Findlater must have had reservations, for he ordered two additional proposals. The second variation on the theme[79] was of a tighter plan and must have reflected concern over budget. It was made in June 1788.

The third variation[80] dated August 1788 (refer to Figure 118), was a slightly larger remodelling of the second, with circulation again focused upon a new great staircase. Part of the original tower house and all of the fifth and sixth Earl's west wing were to be demolished. As in the first proposal, the estate office was to be contructed with access from the main hall. This proposal was tighter and leaner than the first proposal, and provided a far

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76. Crook (1972) op.cit., Chapter 2.
77. ibid, p. 152.
78. SRO GD 248-591-2-87 Playfair to Findlater: 14-3-1788.
79. SRO RHP 2545 Playfair's second classical design.
80. Playfair's third classical variation:
SRO RHP 2545-15: elevation to bridge;
SRO RHP 2545-6: south-east elevation and plan of principal story dated Aug. 1788.

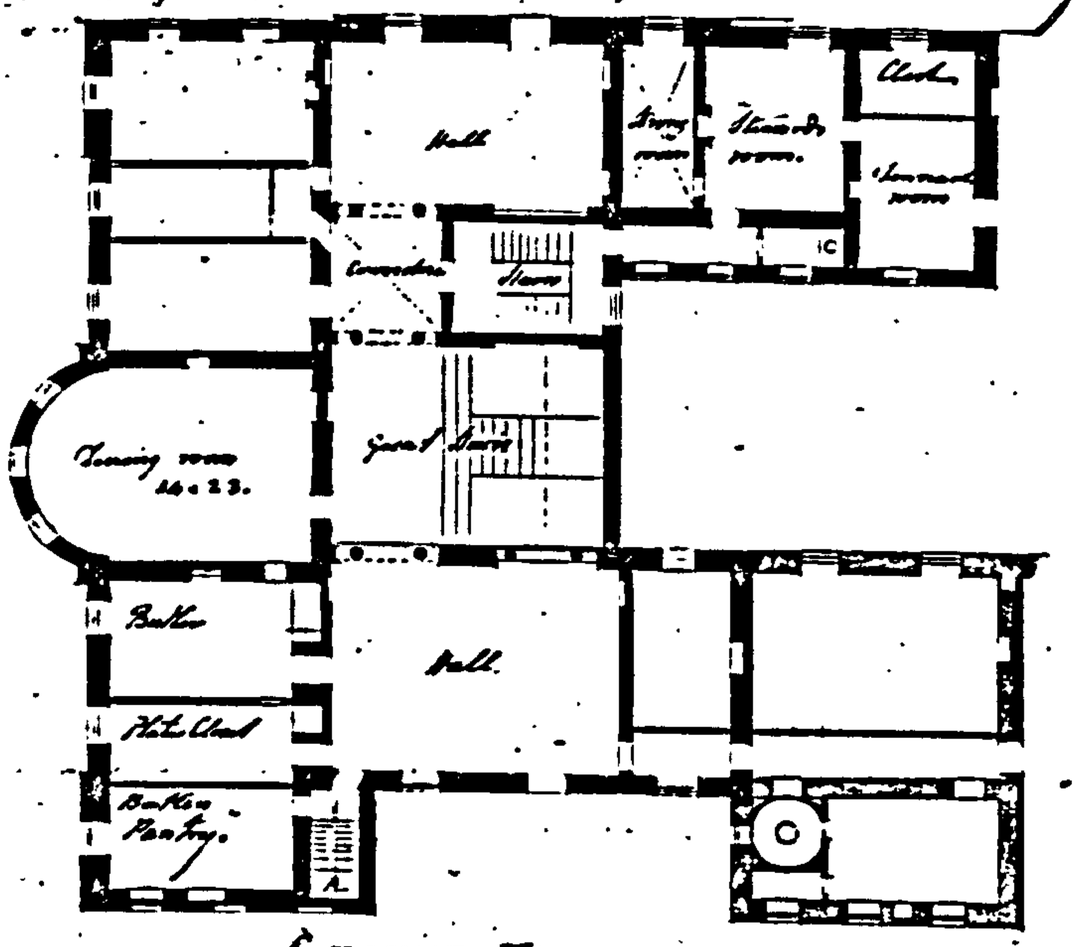
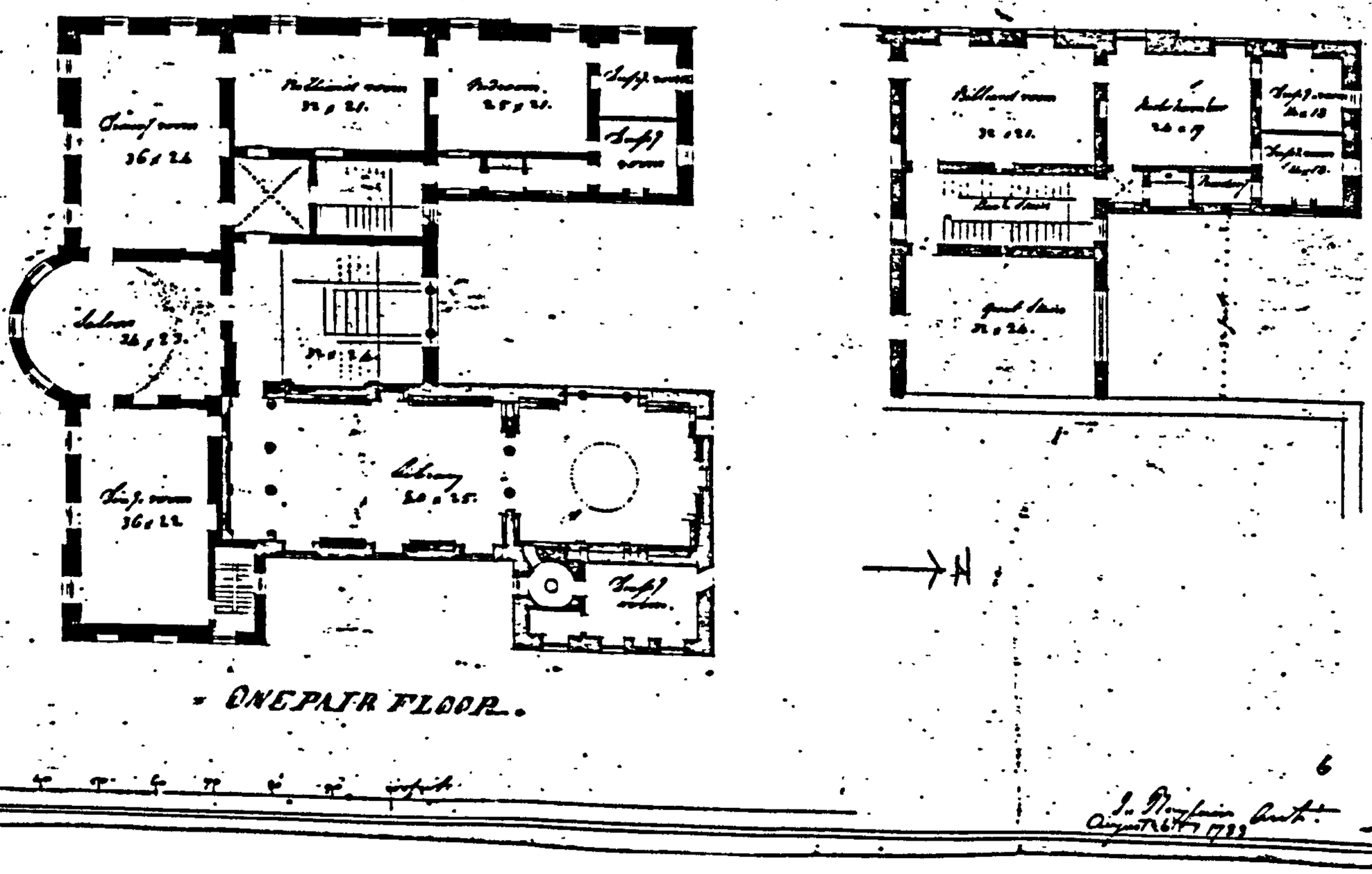


Figure 118

Cullen House Plans and Elevations, Third Alternative
Neoclassical Renovation, James Playfair, Architect, 1788
SRO RHP 2545-6



SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE: REFERENCE RHP 2545
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greater degree of symmetry. The southeast elevation facing the Cullen Burn wilderness shows shallow projecting corner bays with Chiswick-type Palladian windows unified by a common hipped roof. Playfair's use of the Chiswick window was consistent with the Burlington school ornamentation of a flat surface[81] rather than following the pure Venetian prototype as a screen. The cylindrical saloon bay provided a focal point. As crisp and clear as this design was, Findlater deferred construction.[82]

In June 1789, the client made a bewildering turnaround by apparently directing Playfair to prepare designs both for the gothic renovation to Cullen House,[83] and designs for a completely new castle on the same site.[84] A more confusing and potentially unethical situation could not be imagined, for while Findlater appears to have authorized Playfair to continue, he had also retained Robert Adam, from at least January 1789. Playfair, who was aware of Adam's commission, did not initially object, and continued with his Gothic plans for about one year. Adam, on the other hand, may not have been aware that Findlater had not removed Playfair.

The other confusing point was the abrupt change in stylistic direction. To the seventh Earl's contemporaries, of course, this was perfectly rational. The collapse of classical tradition had been discussed for at least a generation before Reynold's Thirteen Discourses of 1786.[85] Afterwards ecclecticism provided diversity with a fashionable philosophical basis. Architects rarely

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81. Wittkower (1974) op.cit., Chapter 11: Description of the evolution of the Palladian window.
82. SRO GD 248-589-2-97 Playfair to Findlater 25.9.1788.
83. Playfair's first Gothic renovation dated July 1789:
SRO RHP 2546-17: elevation and one pair story; SRO RHP 2546-16 ground floor; SRO RHP 2546-: general site plan; SRO RHP 2546-1: first floor plan; SRO RHP 2546-5: second floor plan.
84. Playfair's second Gothic variation dated Aug.1789; SRO RHP 2546-12: section of drawing rooms; SRO RHP 2546-13: section of library and great stairs; SRO RHP 2546-9: north east elevation; SRO RHP 2546- : north west elevation. SRO RHP 2546-7 Southwest Elevation; SRO RHP 2546-8 Southeast Elevation.
85. Hussey (1927), op.cit., pp. 189-192.

declined commissions to work in variations of either Classical or Gothic styles.[86] A popular assuetude developed to provide two stylistic alternative elevations for almost identical floor plans; for instance Robert Adam's two elevations for Baron Mure of Caldwell in 1773 was an early example.[87]

The Gothic re-emergence has absorbed many scholars. Clarke identified one strain as "Gothic Survival",[88] resulting from "a scholarly interest in archaeology and a sentimental delight in decay" by antiquarians. Another was the continuity of traditional construction techniques in Provincial practices. Several noted Rennaissance architects designed special Gothic buildings for special reasons such as Hawksmoor's Towers for Westminster Abbey, or the Gothic compositions of Vanbrugh such as Seaton Delaval 1720-21 and his own Vanbrugh Castle of 1718.[89] In terms of precedent, the Georgian Gothic could be said to have begun as early as Shirburn Castle 1716-25, with its Norman arched windows, round towers and symmetrical massing.[90]

Gothic Revival's literary influences found expression in the Rococo Gothic, or Gothick,[91] designs of William Kent, such as his seminal Esher Place, 1733 and later in Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill. From 1752 to 1770, Walpole formed a "committee of taste" to guide the design process of ten architects' contributions.[92] Strawberry Hill's whimsy struck a responsive chord in Romantic taste, and soon the associative appeal of the Gothic

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86. Clarke (1925), op.cit., p. 82: "Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were a number of architects, some very gifted, all respectable, working in the classical style and regarding it was the only possible style for serious architecture. Yet their patrons were so drunk with romanticism, that at one time or another, every one of those architects was compelled to employ a style which he disliked and despised and of which he was completely ignorant."
87. Macaulay (1975), op.cit., p. 91.
88. Clarke (1975), op.cit., chapter one.
89. Watkin (1982), op.cit., chapter one.
90. Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, "The origins of eighteenth century Neo-medievalism in a Georgian Norman Castle", pp. 289-294.
91. Harris (1982) op.cit., p. 20.
92. Clarke (1925), op.cit., chapter three.

assumed more substantial proportions, especially in Scotland.[93]

Within this context, Playfair's design was not the later antiquarian Scots-Baronial, or the then fashionable Adam Georgian Gothic. Rather, the castle was, to use Playfair's own words: "In the Saxon Style". A strained mixture of arches, mock fortifications including three story center block with four six story machacolated towers, portcullis, kirnel and merlon battlements, labels over large windows and a great staircase with an early perpendicular window. The sketch sets the building in suitably gloomy shadows, partly for Romantic effect, or perhaps also for hiding the architect's seeming lack of skill or conviction with this style.

To eighteenth century minds, Gothic architecture was of two forms: "Saxon" which meant any application of pointed arches,[94] and "Norman" which meant the use of round headed arches. This simplistic definition was adequate for the emminent poet Thomas Gray in 1765,[95] and for James Bentham in The Cathedral of Ely, 1771.[96] Differentiation into Saxon, Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular styles would not occur until Thomas Rickman's 1819 Attempt to Differentiate the Styles... and the subsequent modifications by Willis, Parker and by Charles Eastlake's History of the Gothic Revival.[97]

Playfair's rendering of this scheme shows a quadrangle rising from the unimpaired Cullen burn cliffs, a dammed lake and access across a Saxonized reworking of William Adam's bridge.[98] Paradoxically, the massing was dependent upon Classical symmetry. The contrasting Classical interiors were ordinary.

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93. Macaulay (1975), op.cit., p. 46: "In Scotland the castle was the accepted and understood symbol of a landowner's suzeranity, a notion countryside and by the almost feudal powers of the highland chiefs, and that being so, the style of Inveraray was, therefore, emblematic."
94. Clarke (1925), op.cit., pp. 36, 38 and 75.
95. Georg Germann, Gothic Revival and Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas, chapter one.
96. ibid, p. 41.
97. Macaulay (1975), op.cit., chapter one.
98. SRO RHP 2546-14 rendering.

Figure 119

Cullen Castle, Gothic Rendering, 1789
James Playfair, Architect, SRO RHP 2546

Figure 120 - Melville Castle Watercolour, James Playfair, Architect
R.I.B.A. Collection, 1786

It was a conservative form essentially derived from late Medieval interpretations of Renaissance proportions such as Heriot's Hospital and Drumlanrig Castle. Adam had also relied upon the safe geometry and simple crenellation for his first attempt in the Georgian Gothic: Ubrooke, Devon, 1764, and then for Mellerstain.[99] Perhaps the most obvious influence upon Playfair's "Saxon" Castle was however, the third Duke of Argyll's Inveraray Castle, conceived by Vanbrugh's 1720 sketch, designed by Roger Morris c. 1740 and executed by William, then John Adam.[1]

In both the Classical and Gothic renovations, the overwhelming function provided within the house was the comfort of the aristocratic Earl and his select guests. They would be treated to a lavish display of wealth while servants were confined to backstairs, basements and kitchen offices;[2] each class had their "proper" place in a pre-democratic society.

A comparison of Playfair's work at Cullen and that for Dundas at Melville Castle from 1786[3] is appropriate (refer to Figure 120). Melville, Midlothian was built as a cube form with wings; the style reintroduced the pointed Gothic arch of Inveraray and Douglas Castles. It was similar to Kinnaird Castle designed by Playfair 1787-89 for Sir David Carnegie.[4] The simplicity of elemental geometry and minimal detailing was common to Melville and to Cullen.

The 17,420.0 square metre renovation was estimated at £ 8,915, while

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99. Rowan (1974), op.cit., p. 691.
1. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., p. 46.
2. SRO RHP 2546-11: office quadrangle attached to the north side of Cullen Castle.
3. Macaulay (1975), op.cit., p. 164: "Although Robert Adam was coincidentally dealing with the identical problem of a central mass with joined subordinate groupings, it was in a markedly more individualistic way, whereas Melville merely represents an interesting stage in the elevation of the household offices from their hidden utility in the basement to their later release and expansion..."
4. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., p. 126.

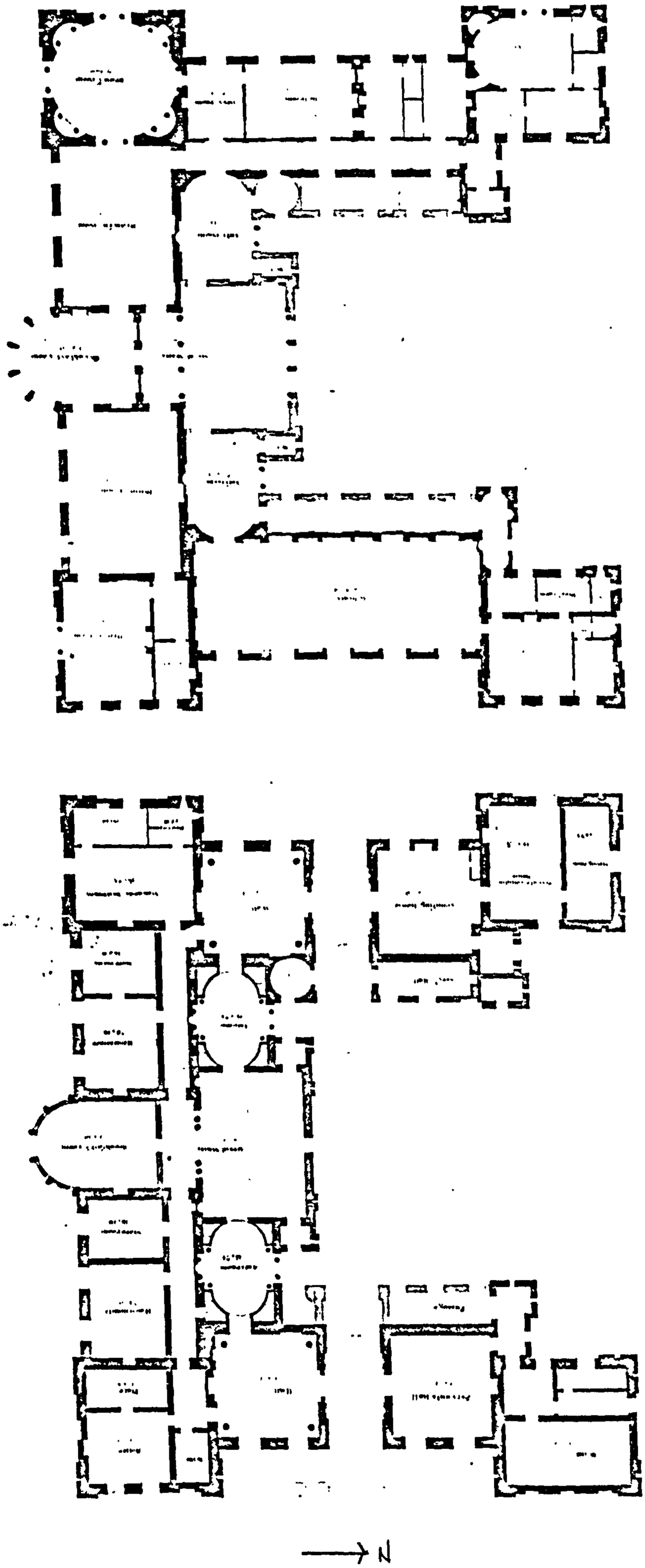


Figure 121

Cullen Castle, Ground and First Floor Plans, James Playfair 1789, SRO RHP 2546-11

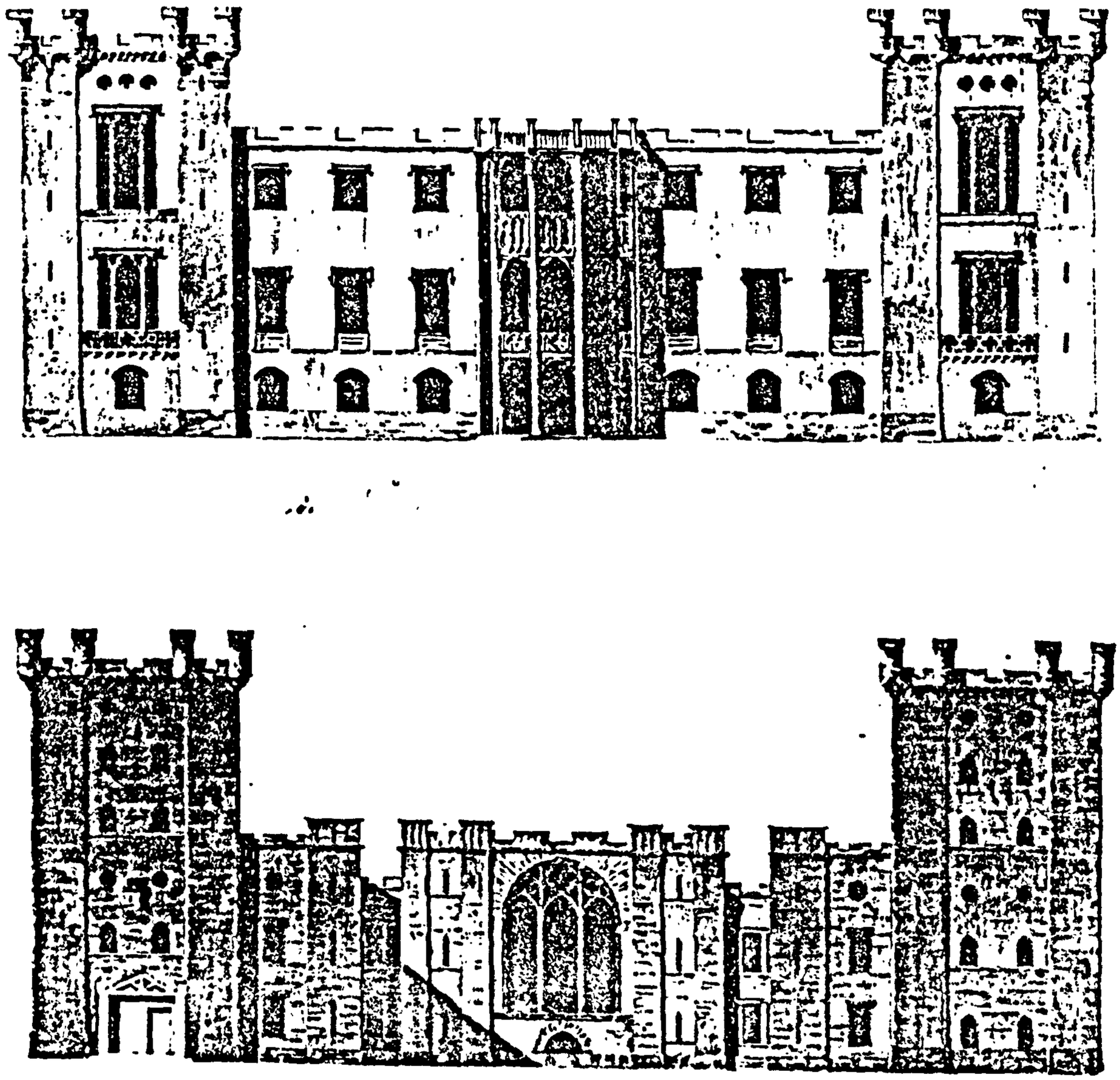
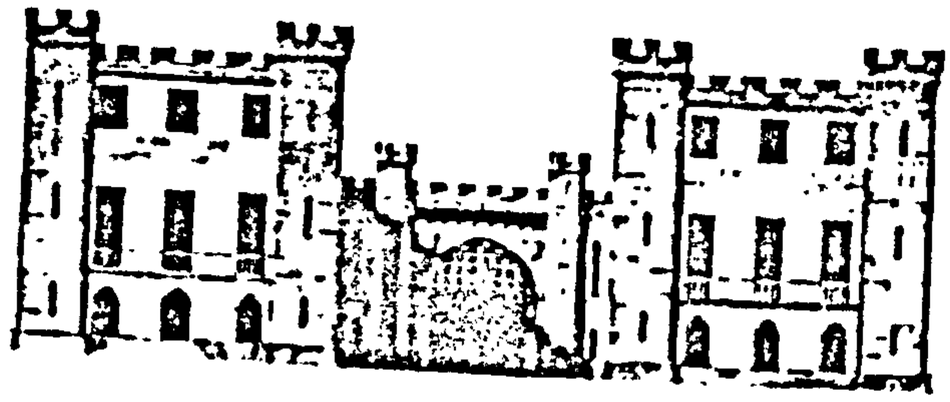


Figure 122

Cullen Castle, Elevations, James Playfair, Architect, 1789
SRO RHP 2546-10



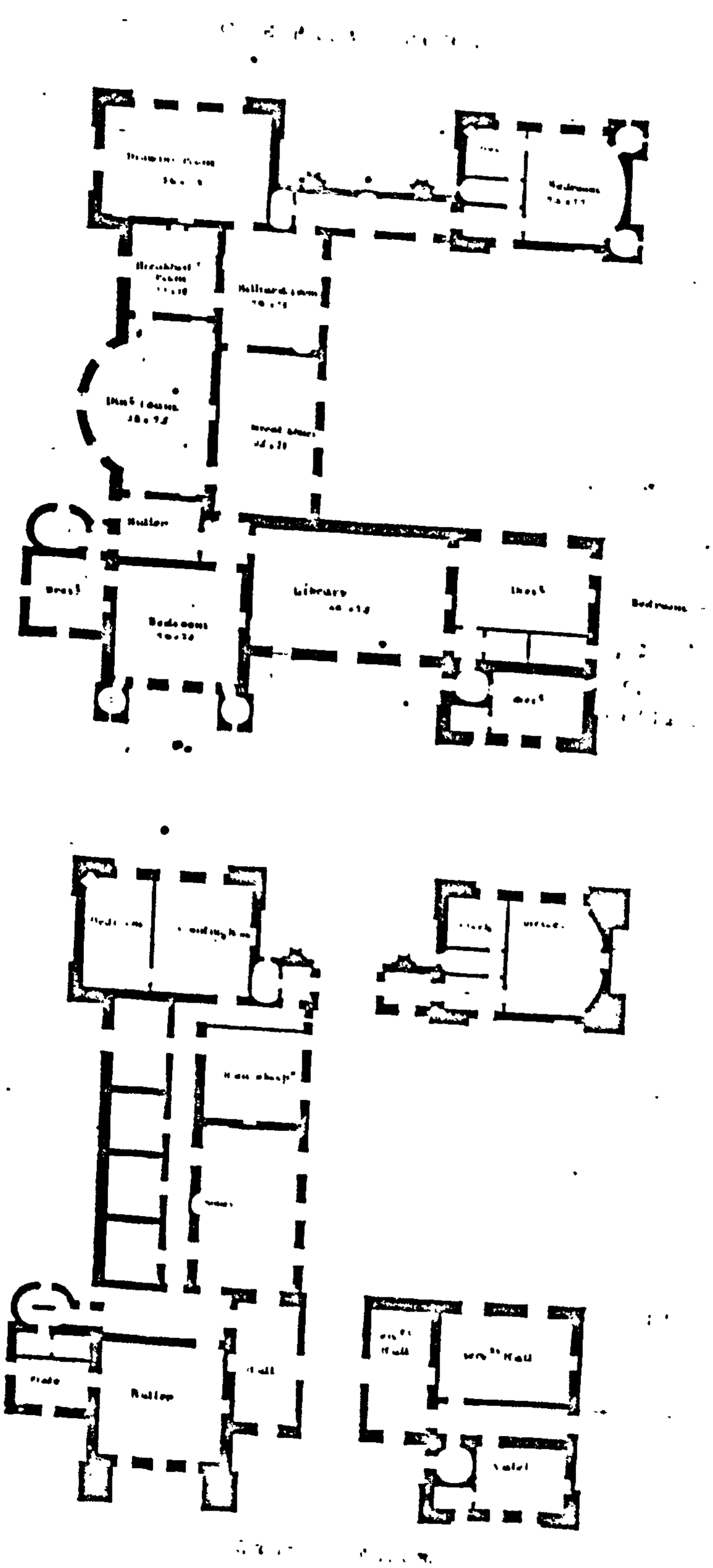


Figure 123

Cullen Castle Remodelling and Innovations, Plans and Elevation, James Playfair, Architect, 1787
SRO RHP 2546-16 and 17

the new castle was a staggering £18,725.[5] Playfair's journal shows the new castle was designed in June and July 1789, while the renovation was designed in August 1789. Robert Adam's designs for Findlater Castle were also dated August 1789.

If Playfair's proposals essentially met Findlater's main preoccupation: the British Peerage, they failed to stimulate the Earl's aesthetic favour, and had the result of terminating Playfair's Cullen career.

The lack of a clean break with Playfair was complicated later by Findlater's refusal to pay the last invoices for designs, and by the public perception that Playfair had been unsuitable.[6] This would cause difficulties in obtaining future commissions; it also led to an ungracious and invalid assertion by Playfair of Adam having applied unethical influence to obtain his competing commission for Findlater Castle,[7] by undercutting fees.[8]

Playfair had better luck with the design of the new walled garden. To assist with the design, Findlater retained a new gardener, Alexander McHattie, upon advice of William Aiton, director of the Royal Botanical garden at Kew.[9]

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5. SRO GD 248-984-2-23. Invoice Playfair: (May 1790) Total £ 360.
(1) site visits for Jan. 1, 1788 - Aug. 8, 1788 taking dimensions and sketches, etc. (2) design for addition and alteration to Cullen House (3) design for addition Saxon style new £ 18,725 (4) design for addition Saxon style alter. £ 8,915 (5) farm offices (6) Grecian villa in Elchies - £ 2,800 (7) new burying ground
6. SRO GD 248-984-2-22 Playfair to Findlater 16.5.1790; need a letter to Mr. Dundas stating that the only reason Findlater has Robert Adam doing plans of Cullen was Adam's friendship and need for work, as stated to Playfair on Aug. 11, 1788. Submitted invoice for work - £ 360.
SRO GD 248-984-2-21 Playfair to Findlater 7.1.1791; wants him to settle account and balance owing other correspondence regarding attempts to recover payment.
7. C.J.W. Christie, "Late Georgian Architecture in Scotland", p. 38 and SRO GD 248-984-2 Playfair to Findlater, 1790: "he offered drawings and free advice to get the commission.
8. Walker and McWilliam (4 February 1971) op.cit., pp. 248-251. Adam chared two guineas a day while Playfair was forced to charge three guineas since he did not have a government salary.
9. Cox (1935) op.cit., Chapter 10.

In March 1788,[10] Playfair and McHattie were at Kew and "the best gardens near London", to acquire an appreciation of the latest technology related to plant material, greenhouses and forcing houses. By the next month, Playfair had the sketches for the architectural elements of the new garden and garden offices prepared, and had obtained McHattie's approval[11] for siting.

About August of 1788, Findlater retained the services of Thomas White with terms of reference to design a greatly expanded Cullen policies. White began by reconnoitering the proposed site of the kitchen ground, and recommending a totally different location. His site was near an old well, was on level well drained ground was out of view of the house by about one-half mile, and had a good aspect. Playfair acquiesced, with the comment in September 1788, that the new situation of the kitchen garden "sanctioned by Your Lordship" will be an improvement.[12] About the same time, a letter from a visiting gardener (to Lord Glasgow), William Wilson, was euphoric in praise of Mr. White's selection.[13] Such praise has been suggested as a confirmation of excellence,[14] however it is doubtful that White, Playfair or the aristocratic Findlater, would have regarded his opinion of consequence.

The walled garden consisted of a rectangular enclosure of three acres surrounded by a 6.5 metre high brick wall. (Refer to Figure 124) There were glass houses along one long side attached to the wall facing due south. The gardener's lodge, model Cottages Ornee for labourers and maintenance compound were nineteenth century additions. A curvilinear ornamental garden was also proposed, but was not constructed towards the south. Construction began 1788, with completion the following year. Findlater had placed an extensive order for exotic fruit trees and seeds with Aiton, and this material began to arrive in November 1788,[15] valued at £ 92[16] indicating that some

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10. SRO GD 248-591-2-87 Playfair to Findlater 14.03.1788.
11. SRD GD 248-589-2-101 Playfair to Findlater 22-04-1788.
12. SRO GD 248-589-2-97 Playfair to Findlater 25-09-1788.
13. SRO GD 248-589-2-61 William Wilson to Findlater 28-09-1788.
14. Tait (1980) op.cit., p. 163.
15. SRO GD 248-591-2-103 William Aiton to Findlater 17-11-1788. Also SRO GD 248-589-2-85 William Aiton to Findlater 24-01-1789.
16. SRO GD 248-583 Aiton invoices for fruit trees.

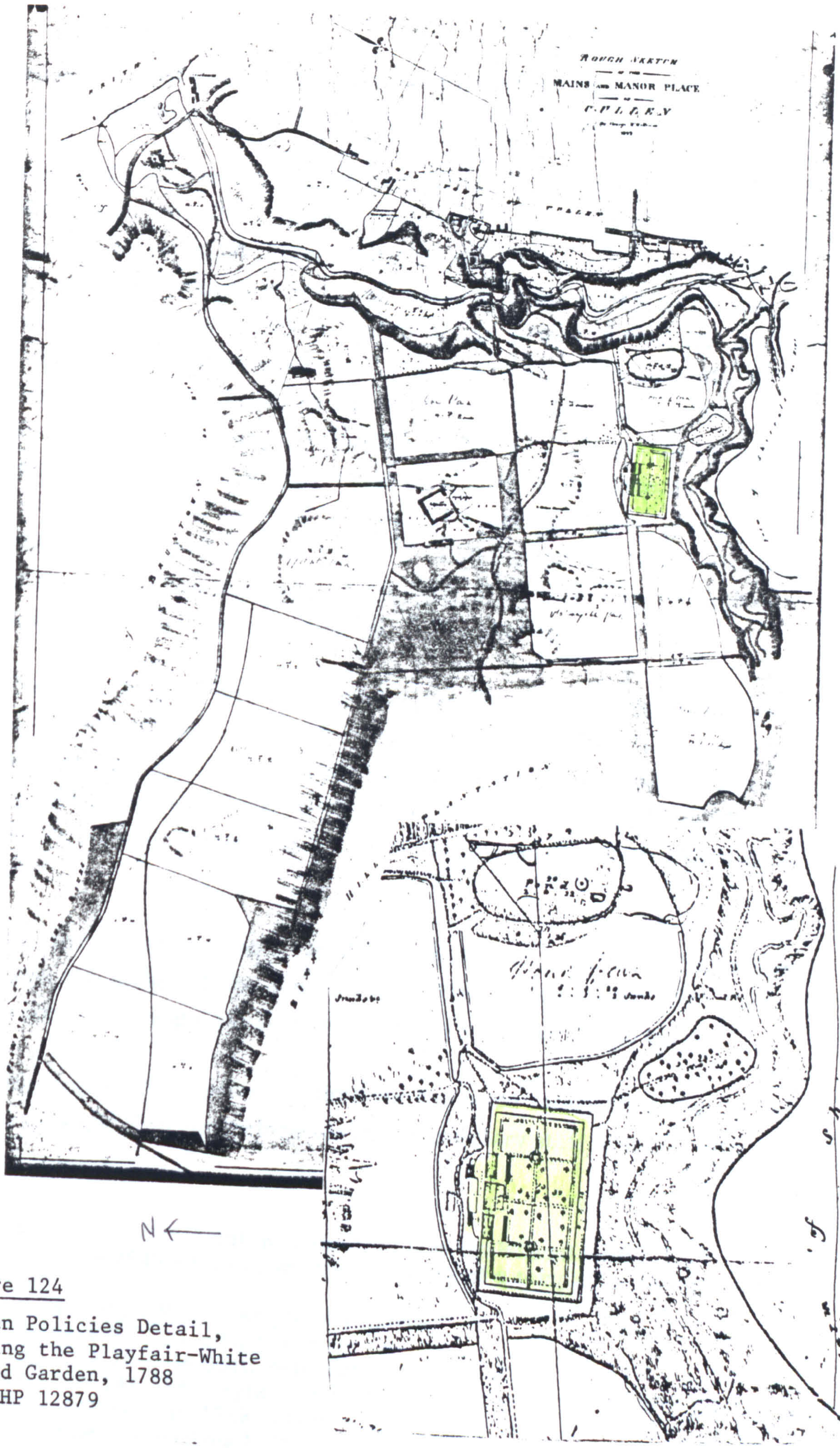

Figure 124

Cullen Policies Detail,
Showing the Playfair-White
Walled Garden, 1788
SRO RHP 12879

some protection must have been ready. Later, other sources of tropical seeds were also located, with thirty-two species arriving in one bundle.[17]

Another Playfair creation dated June 1788, was the "Temple of Pomona", a Grecian exedra with flower garden, designed for an unspecified location in the policies. The elevation (Refer to Figure 125) shows a rectangular Greek Revival temple with distyle-in-antis portico and Ionic capitals supporting an unornamented pediment. Entry to the naos was through glazed and arched double doors. The semi-circular naos was elaborated by three aedicule, no doubt holding statues. Playfair's construction estimate was £ 200. The finished drawings cost a disproportionate £ 6 - 6. This was not merely a visual folly, but was meant to function as a place of refuge since the naos was 5.5 by 7.0 metre with a 2.6 by 6.4 metre portico and was heated by means of a flue under the floor with furnace behind.[18] Construction was stone with cast iron details. The rectangular cast iron treilage in front enclosed one eighth of an acre and was to be filled with flowers. It was not built.

The only folly to be constructed was coincidentally also called "the Temple of Pomona", but it was of a later vintage, c.1820. It was an open peripteral rotunda with Ionic columns and a central statue of Mercury. It has a commanding location on the west mount overlooking Cullen Bay.[19] The architect is unknown, although it is a clear copy of Vanbrugh's 1719 Rotondo at Stowe.[19a]

Playfair's prolific designs for Cullen House had a corresponding assignment with the design of the staff offices. Plans dated August 1788 show a Gothic office quadrangle joined on one side to a northeast castle tower.[20]

His August 1789 Gothic revisions for the home farm office show a two story quadrangle with entry clock-tower, a three story staff house,[21] barn,

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17. SRO GD 248-590-3-100 William Allardyce to (Wilson) 6-04-1791.
18. SRO RHP 2545 - Five plans and elevations of a temple for flower garden, 1788.
19. BN 1419 and BN 809 Temple of Pomona.
19a. Downes (1977) op. cit., p. 109.
20. SRO RHP 2545-16 South and East Elevations 1788.
21. SRO GD 248-588 Playfair to Findlater 7-02-1789. Also SRO RHP 2546-18 from Office Plan 1789, 2546-19 Castellated Style, 2546-20 south and east elevation alternatives 1789.

Figure 125

Temple of Pomona, James Playfair, Architect, June 1788
SRO RHP 2545-5

stables, cowsheads and maintenance quarters. (Refer to Figure 126). There is some resemblance with what actually was built c. 1820.[22]

Findlater's decision to reconstruct Cullen Town may have been made as early as April 1788, for he authorized Playfair to prepare sketches for the new town hall and a new church. The two surviving sketches of the hall show a structure of a civil style suited to a provincial Italian Opera encompassing meeting rooms, debtor's prison and a school.[23] (refer to Figure 127) Playfair's estimate was £ 500. The April 1788 plans of the church were followed by a model in June 1788; the church design has not survived, but likely would have been similarly frivolous.

Playfair concurrently was retained by Sir David Carnegie to design Farnell Church, Angus (1788-89). It was a small rectangular four bay chapel in a Gothic Revival style, with intersecting tracery windows and curved gables. It's avant -g: arde use of buttresses and pinnacles demonstrated both maturity of design and archaeologically correct in detail.[24]

How Farnell church could have been created by the same architect as designed the clumsy "Saxon" Cullen castle remains a mystery, for obviously Playfair was capable of deft use of the Gothic Revival. Perhaps the client's terms of reference and interference may have been at fault.

One of the last designs in Playfair's Cullen repertoire was the proposed cemetery or burying ground at Cullen designed July 31 and August 1, 1789. It was a pentagonal Vauban fortress with 64 metre diameter demulune and possessed a monumental pyramid entry inspired by Boulee and Ledoux.[25]

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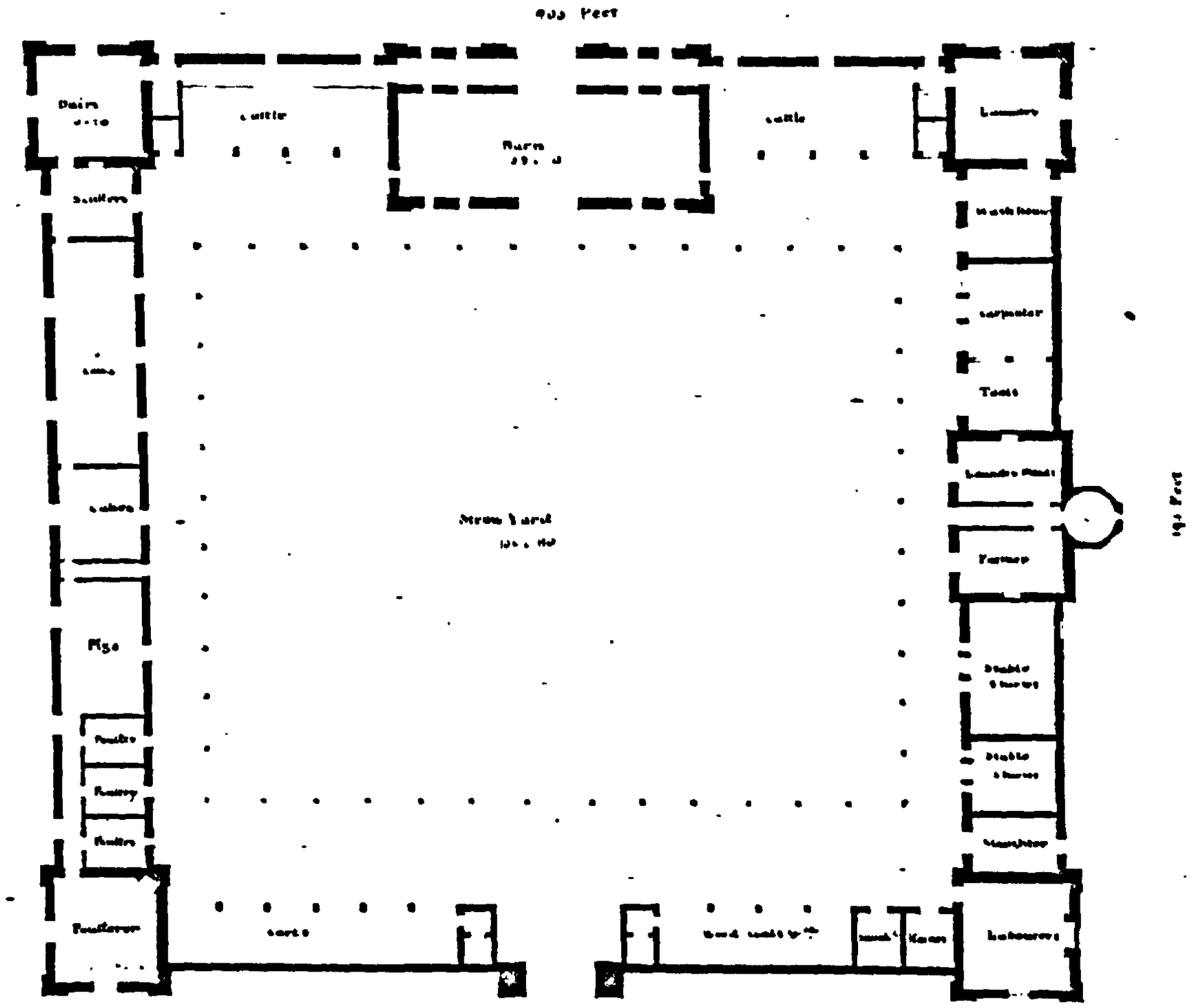
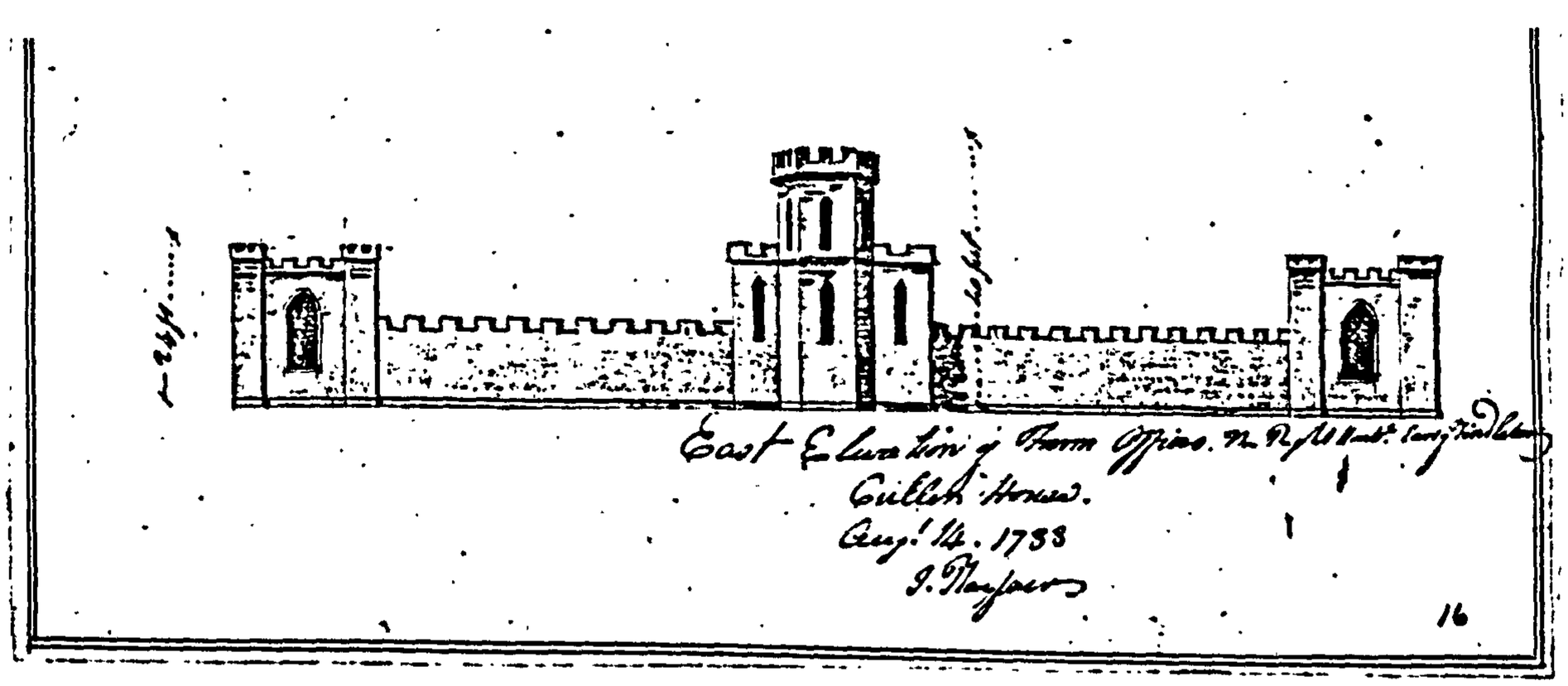
22. BN 1108-18 Home Offices c. 1820 and location shown on plan SRO RHP 12879 dated 1822.
23. SRO RHP 2545 - Town Hall.
24. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., pp. 256-58.
25. SRO RHP 2545 Cemetary, James Playfair.





SOUTH ELEVATION.

Figure 126

Farm Offices, Plan and Elevations, James Playfair, Architect
August 1789; SRO RHP 2545-16 and 18

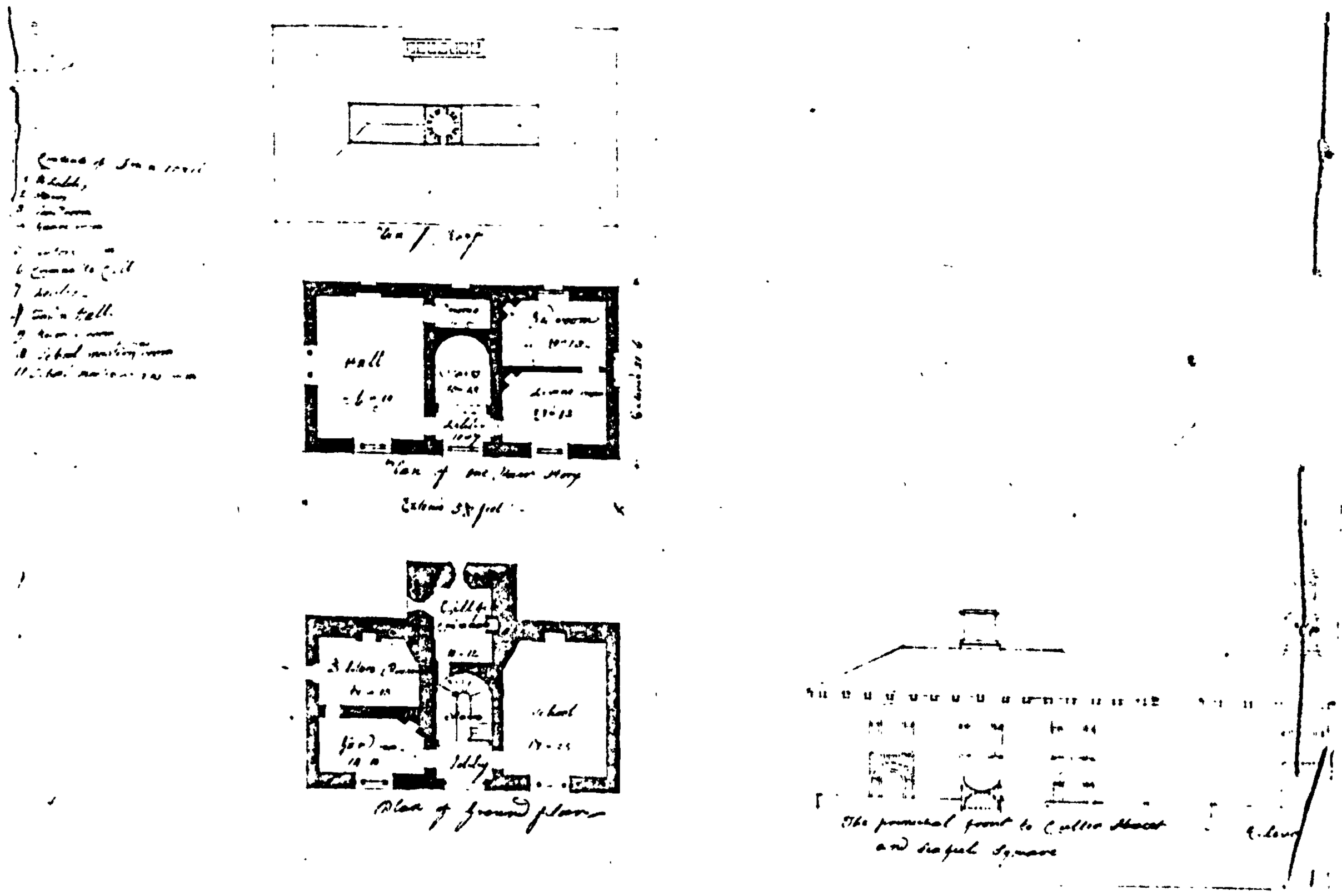


Figure 127

Proposed Town Hall for Cullen, James Playfair, Architect, June 1788, BND-7-7

This may have been Findlater's esoteric way of suggesting that Playfair's usefulness was drawing to a close, however Findlater kept Playfair busy through the month of August with studies for Elchies Villa and the final Gothic proposal for Cullen House.

7. Robert Adam's Findlater Castle

Robert Adam (1728-1792) was the obvious choice for a pretentious architectural connoisseur such as the seventh Earl of Findlater. The strong family connection, the consistent banking of Adam's practice, the fact that Adam had maintained an office in Edinburgh after his eclipse in London[26] about 1775,[27] as well as his continued preeminence in Scottish architecture all added to his preference for appointment. Political expediency aside, Playfair was most likely a second choice due to Adam's being overextended in the 1783-1787 period of commuting to London from Edinburgh to maintain a national practice.[28] By 1789,[29] the stress of such a task forced Adam to retreat for longer periods to his Edinburgh office and it is logical to assume that upon advising Findlater of his interest and willingness to accept a commission, the response was Findlater Castle.[29a]

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26. Rowan (1974) op.cit., pp. 667:
Some reasons for Adam's becoming unfashionable includes the continuing monetary crisis reducing building demand, new architectural practices, awareness of archaeological precision and of Adam's ecclecticism, and the disreputable nature of William Adam and Company's debts.
27. Bolton (1922) and Summerson, Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830 p. 256: "After 1775 .... The career of the famous brothers descends rapidly in significance, and we need trouble with Few buildings belonging to the last seventeenth years of Robert's life."
28. Rowan (1974) op.cit., p. 671: Adam maintained his Edinburgh office from 1772 to supervise Register House. He had an annual one to two month Scots tour of clients.
29. Margaret H.B. Sanderson, "Robert Adam's last visit to Scotland, 1791", pp. 35-46.
29a. SRO GD 248-984-2 Playfair to Findlater 16-05-1790: Findlater had told Playfair on 11-08-1788, that Robert Adam would do plans of Cullen due to friendship and the fact that Adam needed the work.

Progress was slow; by January 1789 Robert Adam reported little progress,[30] but two weeks later, Adam's concept began to take shape with the recommendation of demolishing both Cullen House and the town.[31] As the concept progressed, it was obviously a revision of Culzean Castle.

Culzean, Aryshire, before Adam, was a Medieval collection of inconsequential buildings randomly distributed about a modest keep on a rocky promontory overlooking the Atlantic. The connoisseur tenth Earl of Cassillis, upon inheriting in 1775, determined to relocate his seat to Culzean, and retained Robert Adam.[32] The first phase began in 1777 (refer to Figure 128), with construction of symmetrical rectangles on both sides of the keep.[33] A separate kitchen wing was built, as was a corridor to connect with some existing domestic buildings. The principal rooms were decorated 1779-82. At the same time, the double castellated garden terraces were built to provide the distinct architectural unity of castle to landward site. (Refer to Figure 129)

In 1780 the main approach bridge was built as a picturesquely ruined causeway which was meant to conjure associations with Medieval Italian fortifications. A Baroque concatenated oval courtyard with main entry hall, was built on the kitchen side of the Castle. The Gothic stable block was conveniently built diagonally opposite the main door.

The drum brewhouse[34] was built in 1779 in an attempt to bring order to the random outbuildings. This apparently did not satisfy the client, for the architect was directed to demolish the outbuildings and build a unified linear block to join the brewhouse and kitchen along the 32 metre high rock cliffs of the Castle's ocean front. This block was joined to the 1777 main block by

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30. SRO GD 248-590-2 Robert Adam to Findlater 14.01.1789.
31. SRO GD 248-(570) Robert Adam to Findlater 1-02-1789.
32. Richards, Who's Who in Architecture from 1400 to the Present Day.
33. Tait (1980) op.cit., p. 109 and Macaulay (1975) op.cit., p. 97: Adam made a pencil sketch of the old towerhouse and decided to reuse it as the basis of construction.
34. A.T. Bolton (1922) op.cit. Vol. II Chapter 30 pp.17-19.

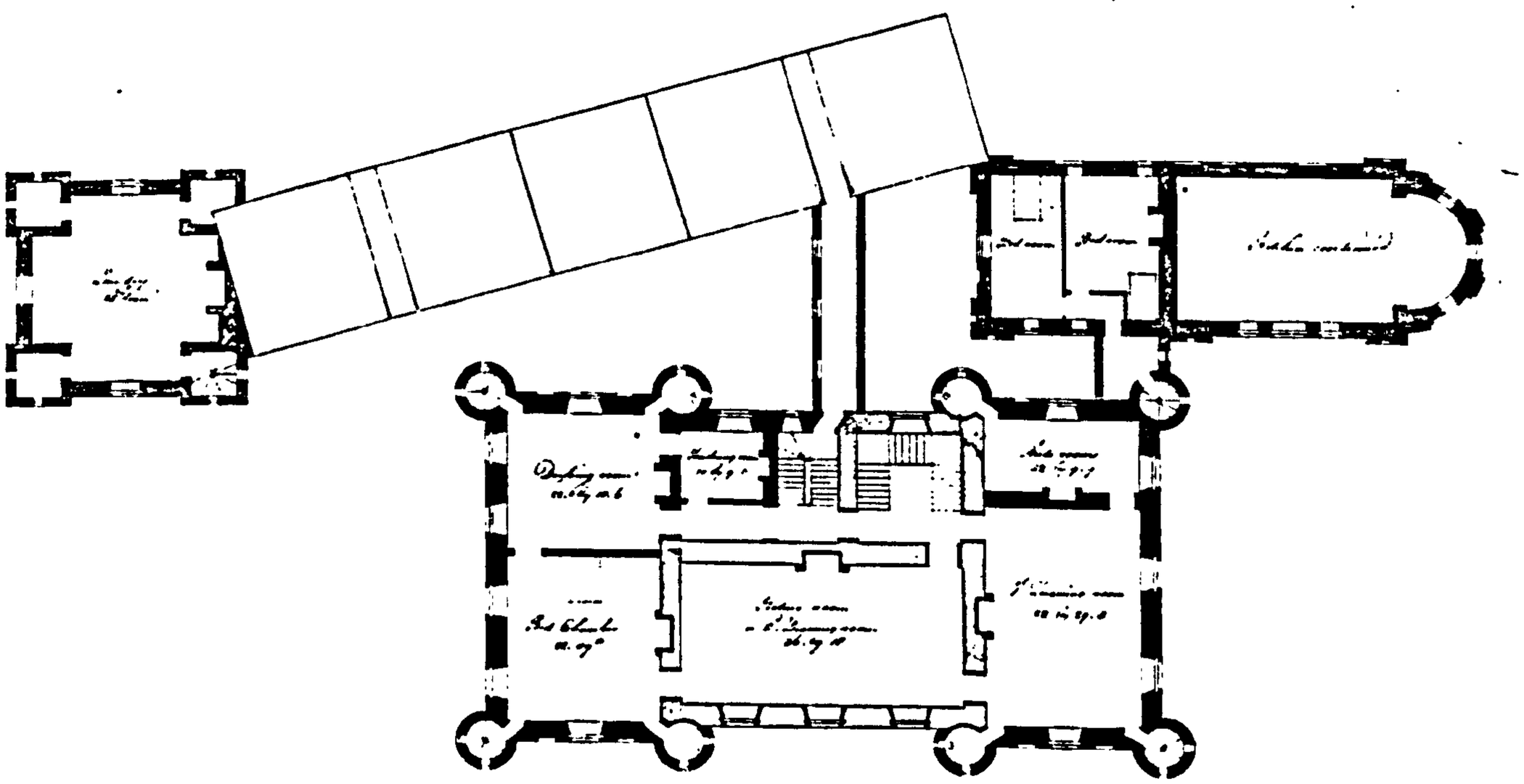

Figure 128 - Culzean Castle, Plan of First Floor Showing Additions to Tower House, 1777, Robert Adam, AYD-43-51

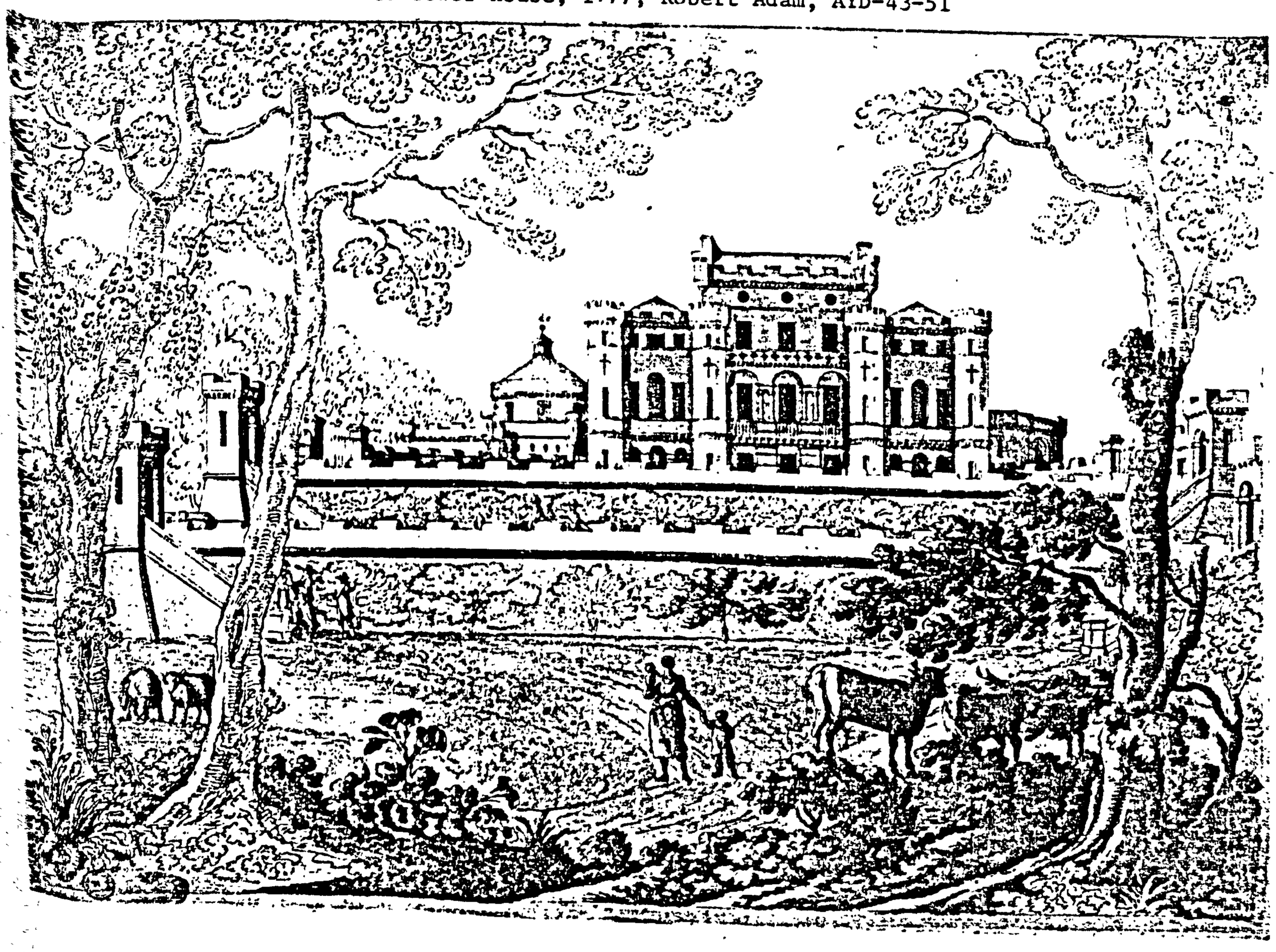

Figure 129 - Culzean Castle, Watercolour of Garden Front, Robert Adam c.1779, SM Vol.1 No.31

means of a central rectangular great staircase. Adam added a stroke of conceptual genius by including a great salon rotunda (refer to Figure 130), which dominated the plan and the facade.[35] The original sketches for the saloon[36] were for an immense splayed two storied arcade with deeply recessed windows and balcony. The domineering Romanesque form was completely out of proportion with the undistinguished offices. Fortunately, this proposal was abandoned in favour of a more elegant, yet still powerful solution: the salon drum arcade was confined to the rustic and symmetrical three story wings balanced the drum. This both related the addition to the rectangular 1777 main block, and provided a stronger sense of unity with the kitchen and brewhouse wings.[37] (Refer to Figure 131)

Three years later in 1787, the staircase was gutted and was replaced by the famous toplit oval staircase, the pivotal element in a complex evolution (refer to Figure 132). The 1779 brewhouse was demolished one century later to provide space for additional rooms. Precedent for the central stairs included the circular staircase with dual oval back stairs at Landsdowne House 1761-8, or even Bruce's octagonal staircase at Hopetoun House 1696.[38]

Where the exterior massing and interior great oval staircase evolved gradually from the limitations of the unique Culzean site and of its existing medieval keep, Findlater Castle was meant to be a fresh interpretation, free from constraint. It was to be a purer Adam version of the Georgian Gothic, but once more to be picturesque in exterior detail and siting, but classical in the symmetrical massing and interiors.[39]

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35. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., pp. 99: "From the onset he determined on a great round tower as the central element and eventually linked it to the earlier landward portion by the oval staircase ..." This is incorrect.
36. SM Vol. 37, No. 9
37. Rowan (1974), op.cit., p. 683: A bold sense of weight and massing with mullioned windows, label and hood mouldings all shed from the final design.
38. Fenwick (1970), op.cit. Chapter 8.
39. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., p. 88: "Adam's gothic can also be regarded as the effect of an interest in planning which strained old conventions to the point where they could no longer be hemi-cycles, having heaved against a classical planning membrane, finally burst through to free themselves."

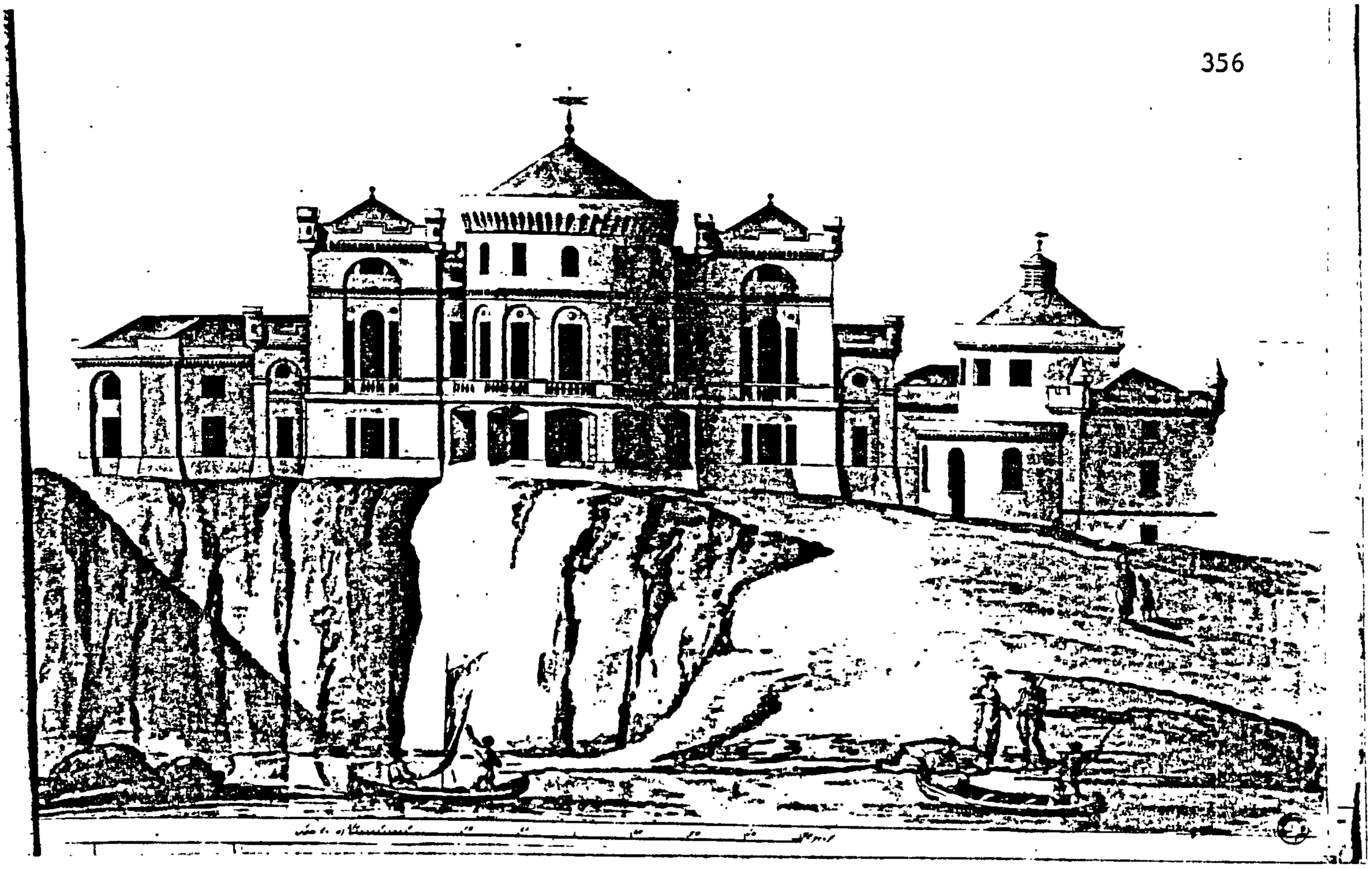


Figure 130 - Culzean Castle, Perspective of Ocean Front, SM Vol.37 No.1

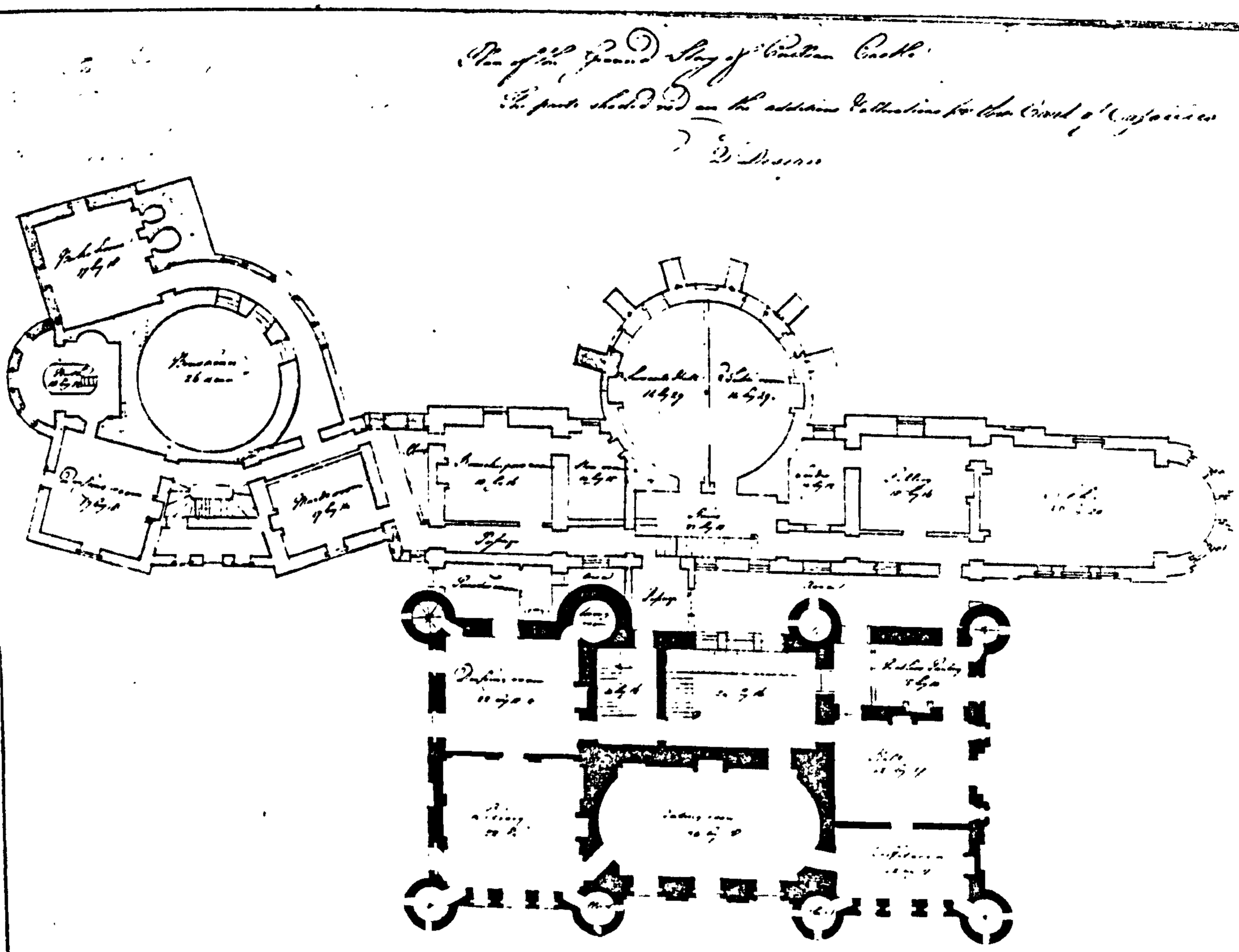
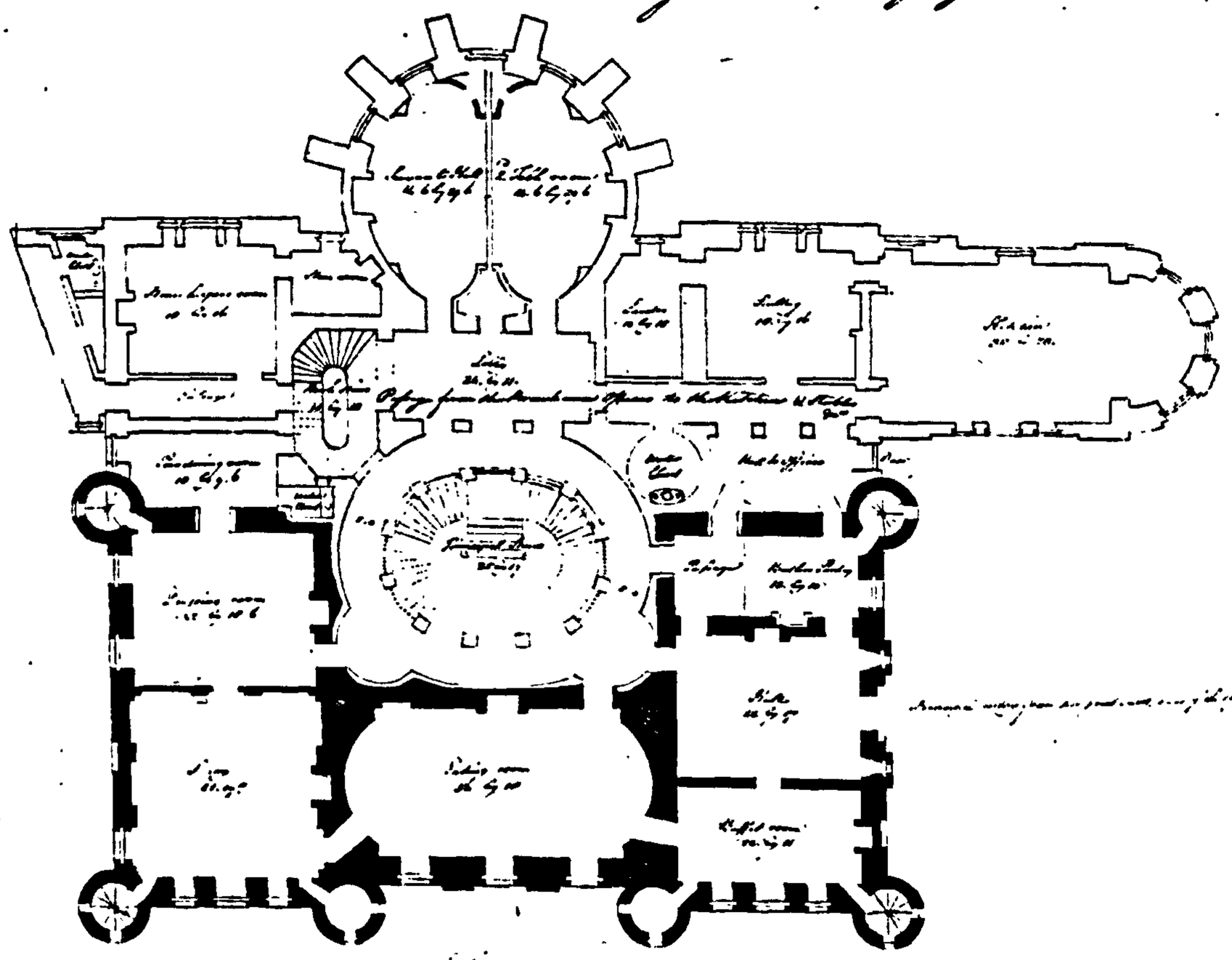
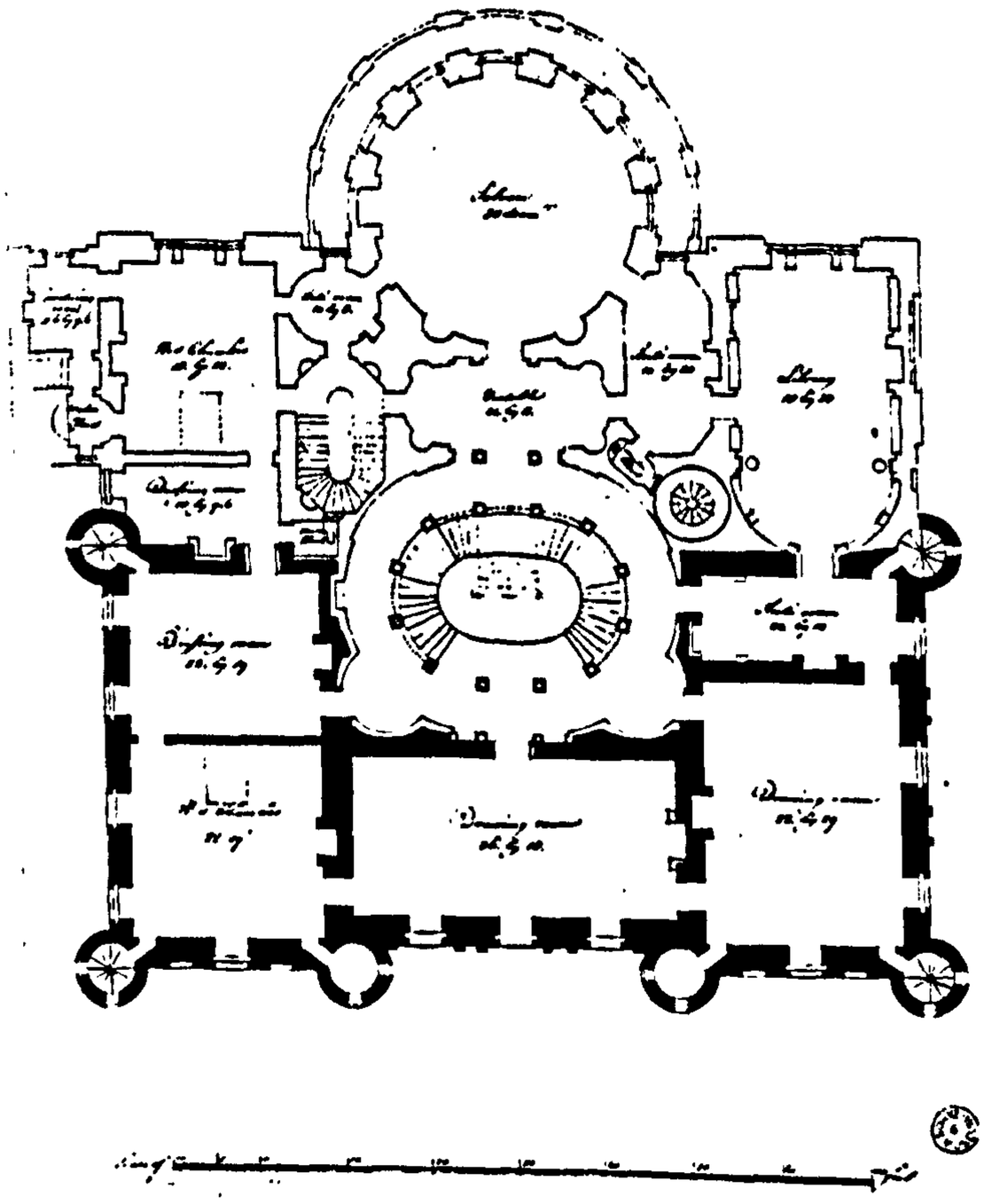


Figure 131 - Culzean Castle, Ground Floor Plan Showing Great Saloon 1784
SM Vol. 37 No.8





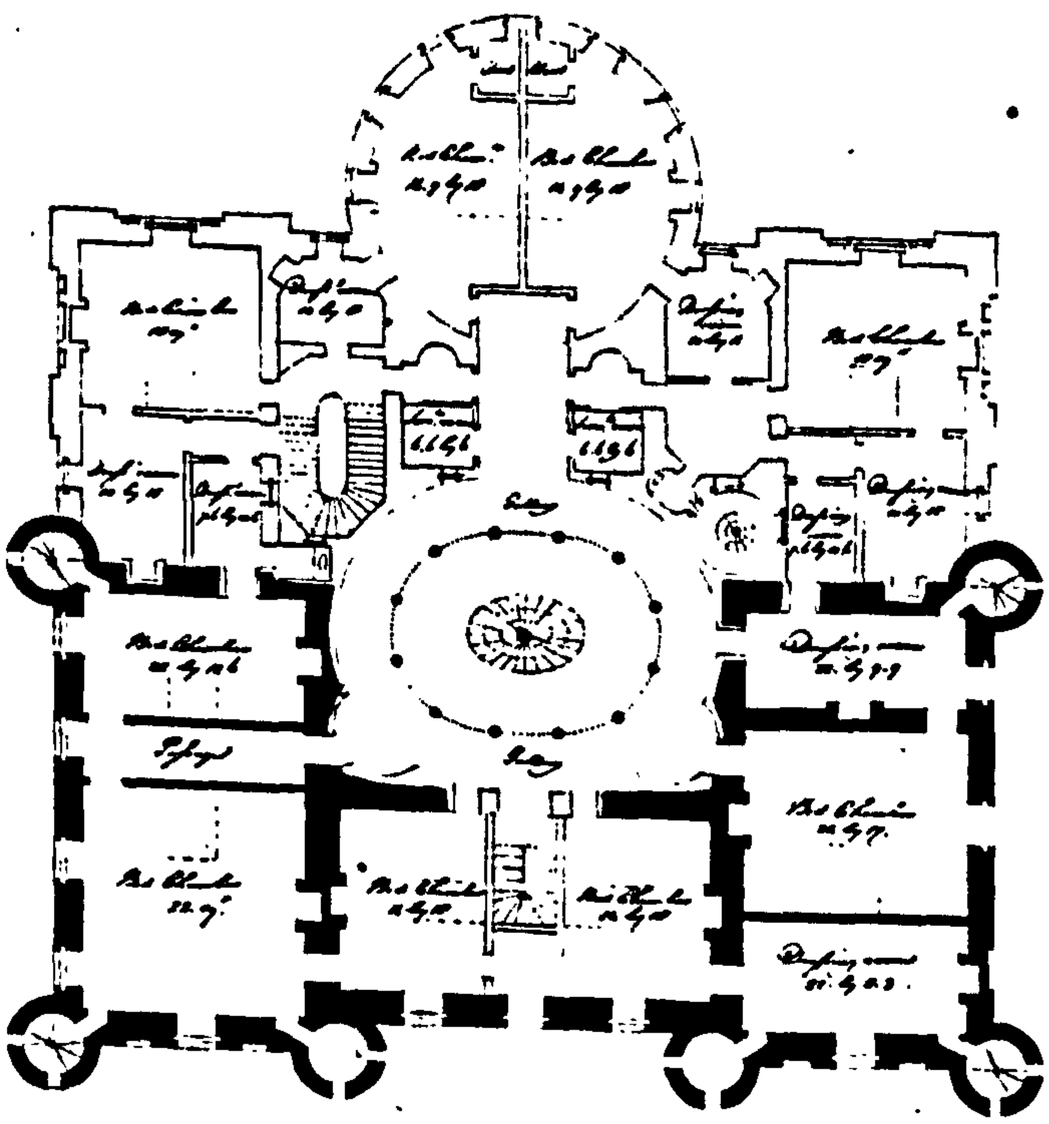


Figure 132 - Culzean Castle, Floor Plans Showing Great Stairs, 1787
SM Vol.37 No.5, 6 & 7

The plans for Findlater castle[40] show a new house of about 30,970.0 square metres with service quarters, rising from the same location as that of the demolished Cullen House. It would be a Medieval style derivative not from the traditions of the Scottish northeast, but from Roman fortifications and Italian hilltop castles coupled with Georgian proportions and massing. These symbols provided a respectability to the genre which at that time Scottish precedent did not have.[41]

The Adam Castle-style was therefore neither Gothic Survival or Gothic Revival in inspiration. It was unique. Findlater Castle belonged to an eighteenth century style generally known as Georgian Gothic, but it was derivative classical fortifications rather than Gothic associations.[42] It owes its mature treatment to Adam's twelve castles, twenty-six castellated projects and 40 designs beginning with Ugbrooke in 1764.[43]

The estate business offices including steward's room, charter room, and clerks' offices were relegated to the basement along with storage and servants quarters.[44] (Refer to Figure 133). Entry was separated from the main house, and would have been through the kitchen offices to the north corner, a significantly subordinated location from the ground floor location enjoyed in Cullen House. Culzean, by contrast, did not have a basement, and did not have business offices within the house.

Characteristic of the day, the functional spaces of the kitchen office compound were grudgingly provided in the least obtrusive corner almost as an afterthought. (Refer to Figure 134). Findlater's instructions were to keep the business area away from the body of the house, and so the circular Gothic

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40. Walter L. Spiers (1979), Catalogue of the Drawings and Designs of Robert and James Adam in Sir John Soane's Museum.
41. Dunbar (1966), op.cit. pp. 120-122.
42. John Fleming, "A 'Retrospective View' by John Clerk of Eldin, with some comments on Adam's Castle style" pp. 75-84.
43. Geoffrey Beard (1978) op.cit, p. 16, Rowan R.S.A.J. (122) p. 692 footnote 26 for complete list of all projects and Rowan, "Robert Adam's last castles" pp. 494-97.
44. SM 36 No. 32 Basement Floor Plan.

Figure 133

Findlater Castle,
Basement Floor Plan,
Robert Adam, 1789
SM Vol.36 No.32

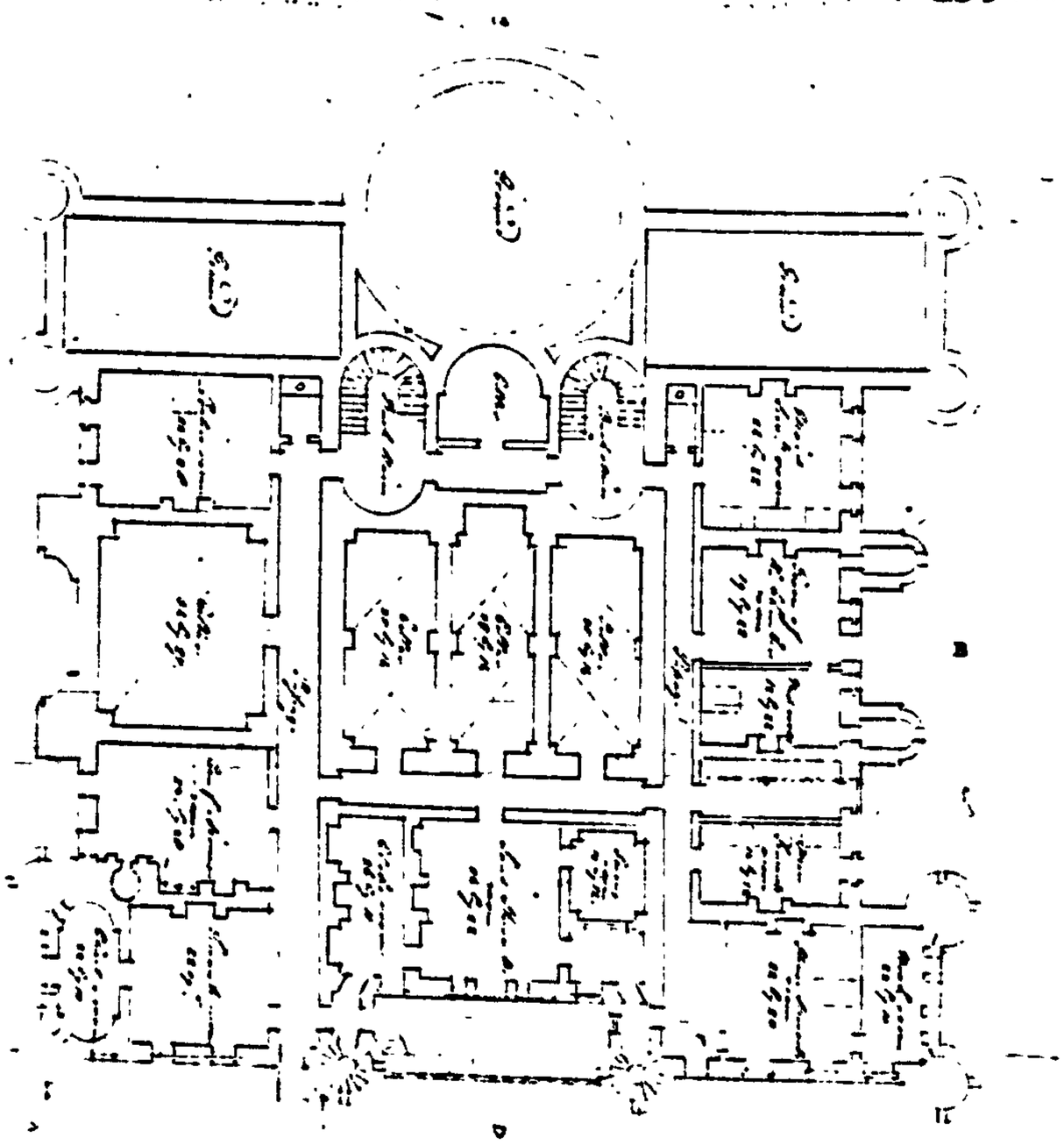

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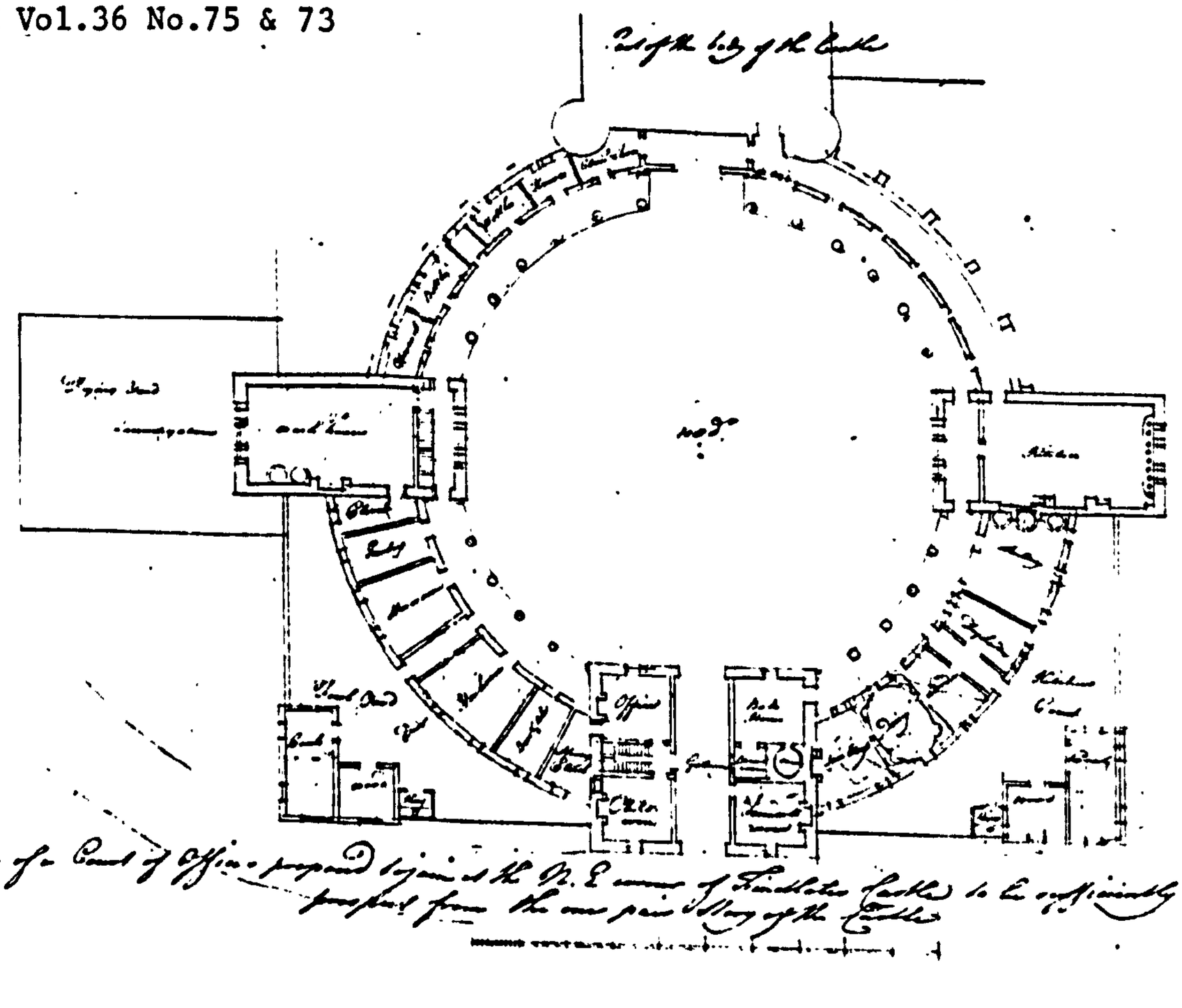
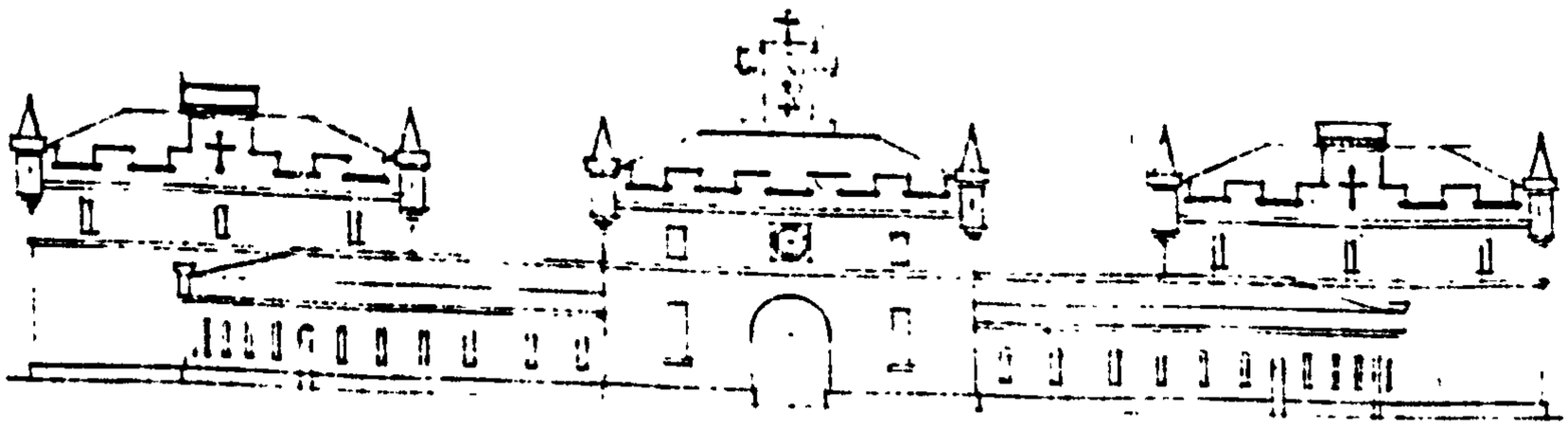
Figure 134

Kitchen Office Plans
and Elevation,
SM Vol.36 No.75 & 73





arcaded cortile abuts the north corner, and it was "to be sufficiently sunk not to interrupt the prospect from the one pair story of the castle."[45] Adam does not show the connection to his principal building plans of August 1789, nor does White indicate the location on his 1790 plan of the enormous policies.[46] Servants and their tasks, were seemingly not to exist in Findlater's new order.

Findlater's main floor plan (Refer to Figure 135) provided a private suite for the Earl on the west corner facing the policies.[47] It was a central location meant to offer control over the household, and was modest in comparison to the great suites the first and second stories afforded to guests.[48] A private suite adjoining the Earl's, with connecting stairway to the basement offices was provided for the steward.[49] John Wilson's reaction to the proposal is not recorded, however the confirmed bachelor coincidentally announced his marriage and his need to establish a separate household.[50]

The principal entry at Findlater was a formal one with Port-Cochere derivative of a medieval barbican, while Culzean's entry was restricted by the site to the kitchen office side. The Findlater great hall led directly into the oval staircase and at a right angle, to a vestibule with dual oval backstairs and into the circular eating room. Culzean had an exactly opposite sequence, with smaller spaces and less articulate transitional forms. The first floor plan (Refer to Figure 136) of both shared reception rooms opening off the oval

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45. SM Vol. 2, 157, 175.
46. This is reminiscent of Capability Brown's attitude; Hussey, The Picturesque, p. 142: "to realize this, it was desirable to eliminate the back door and service region, which he (Brown) sometimes succeeded in doing by means of a subterranean approach to the tradesmen's entry. At Claremont you reached the back door by a tunnel under lawns."
47. SM 36 No. 34 Principal Floor plan. See also SM 36 No. 30 section and SM 36 No. 31 section.
48 SM 36 No. 35 Bedroom Floor Plan
49. Girouard (1978) op.cit., p. 206: In 1786 the Earl of Pembroke wrote that he was: "Convinced of the absolute indespensable necessity of a land steward, doing nobody's business but mine, living and boarding in the house and transacting everything in my office."
50. A.C. Brown, (1936) op.cit., p. 32

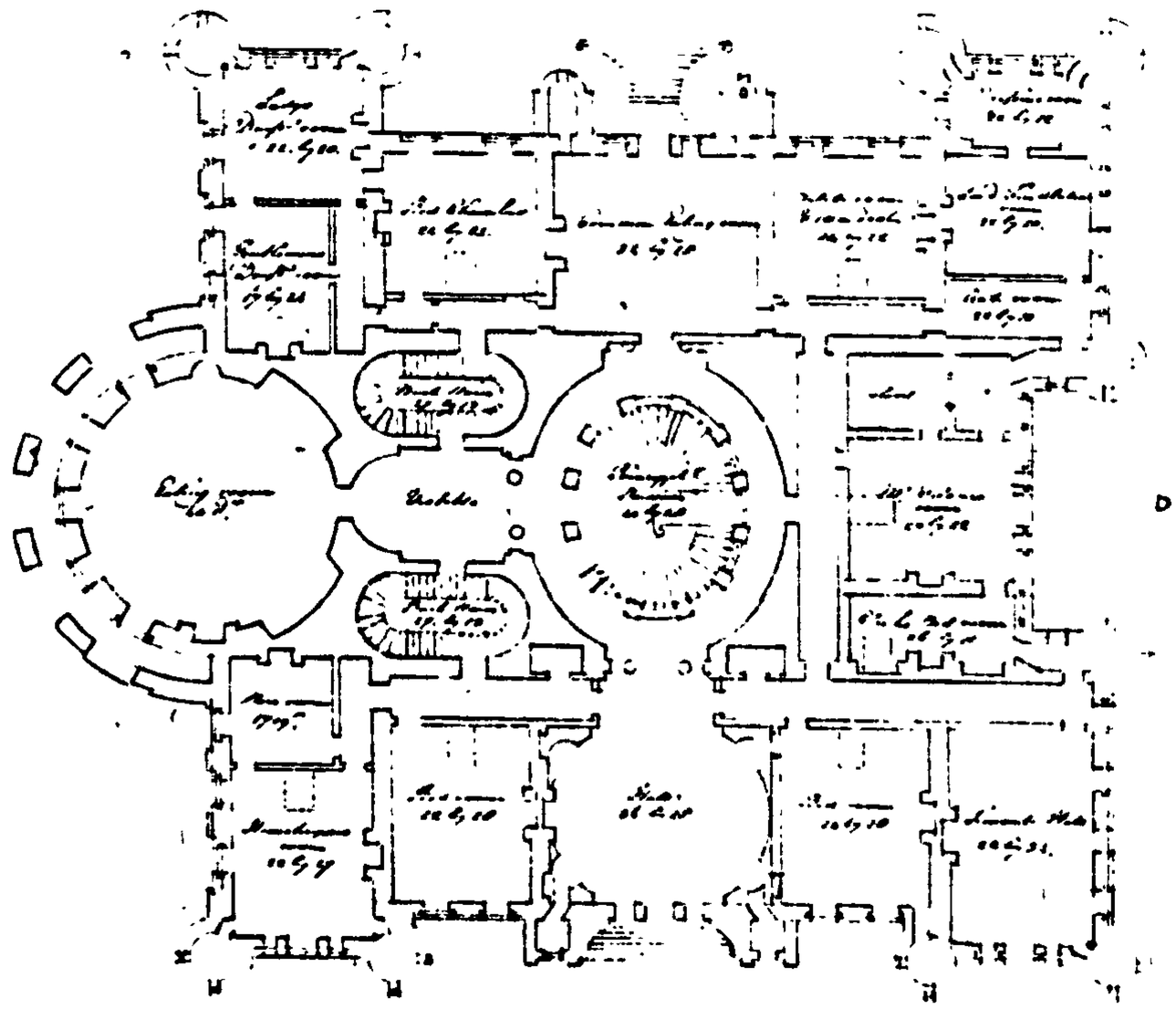

Figure 135

Principal Floor Plan
Robert Adam, 1789
SM Vol.36 No.34

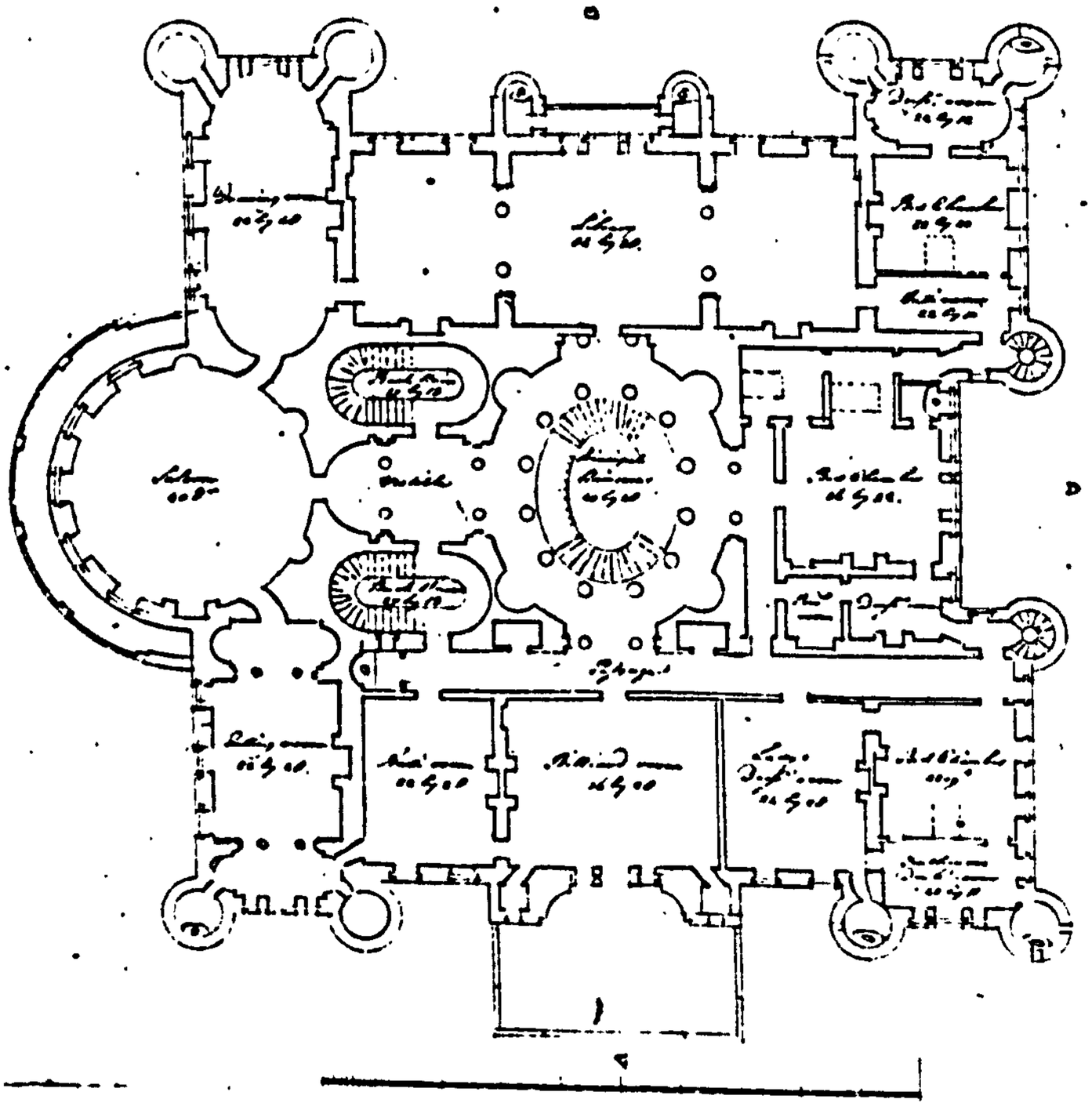

Figure 136

Findlater Castle
Parlour Floor Plan
SM Vol.36 No.33

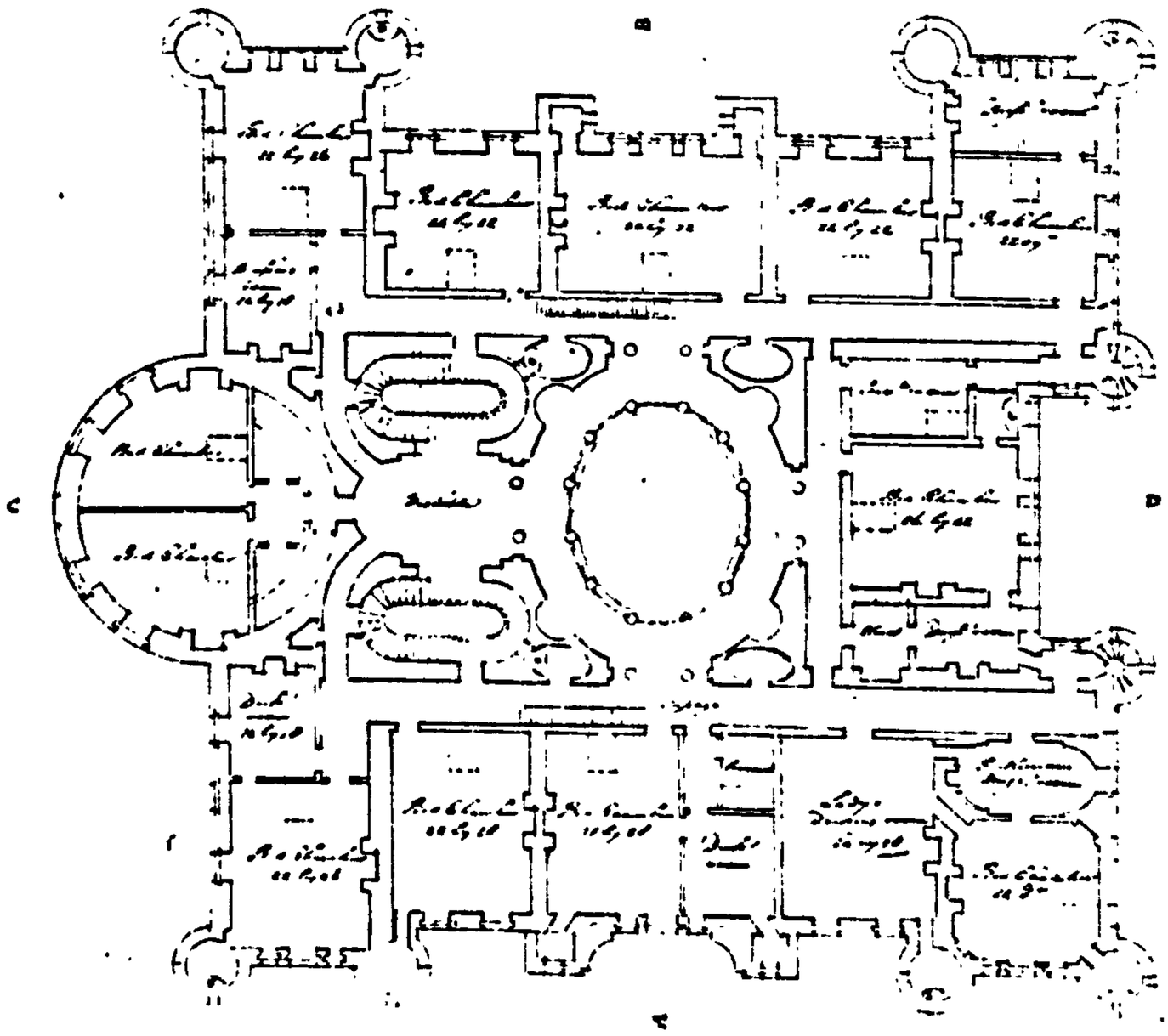

Figure 137

Findlater Castle, Bedroom Floor Plan, Robert Adam, Architect
1789, SM Vol.36 No.35

staircase. Culzean had the great saloon, library and two drawing rooms, while Findlater had the saloon, drawing room, dining room, the relatively innovative billiards room and a massive 27.1 metre long library overlooking the policies.[51] Both had a bedroom floor. (Refer to Figure 137). Provision of a great number of suites suggests that this house had begun to reflect the changing taste towards house parties, in an idyllic solitude.[52]

Both castles shared the same rectangular plan with central top-lit oval staircase and circular saloon. Culzean's block was 27.4 by 30.9 metre with a 10.0 metre diameter saloon. Findlater's design showed a 45.1 by 46.0 metre block with a 12.9 metre diameter saloon. Although the concept required symmetry, this was not achieved at Findlater without due attention to grouping rooms for sun and view, and with a strong connection with the policies.

The facades at Findlater (Refer to Figure 138) were conceptually similar to Culzean, but there were differences in detailing.[53] Findlater's south-east elevation pitched on the edge of a 20.0 metre drop to Cullen Burn was less dramatic than Culzean, however there was a strong picturesque intent. Findlater's arcaded rustic, five story drum and block resembled not Culzean, but Dalquharran Castle built 1785 (coincidentally for Adam's sister who married a Kennedy).

Culzean's west front of 1777 had mock crenellation, while Findlater employed a solid parapet with balistraria which resembled the currently designed Seaton (1789-91). The corner towers on the S.E. facade resembled Airthrey Castle (1790). The Findlater southwest elevation facing the policies had symmetrical towers similar in massing and detail to Culzean's garden front, while the clocktower was quite different; Adam would employ a similar design at Mauldslie Castle in 1792. Although Findlater had generally austere finished elevations, there were a number of crests and the main entry tower held a monumental escutcheon, no doubt to be emblazoned with the British Earldom's new heraldry. The Earl of Cassillis did not require such advertising for Culzean.

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51. SM 36 No. 33 Parlor Floor Plan
52. Girouard (1978), op.cit., Chapter 8.
53. SM 36 No. 27 Southeast Front; SM 36 No. 29 Northeast Elevation, SM 36 No. 28 Northwest elevation; SM 36 No. 26 Southwest elevation.

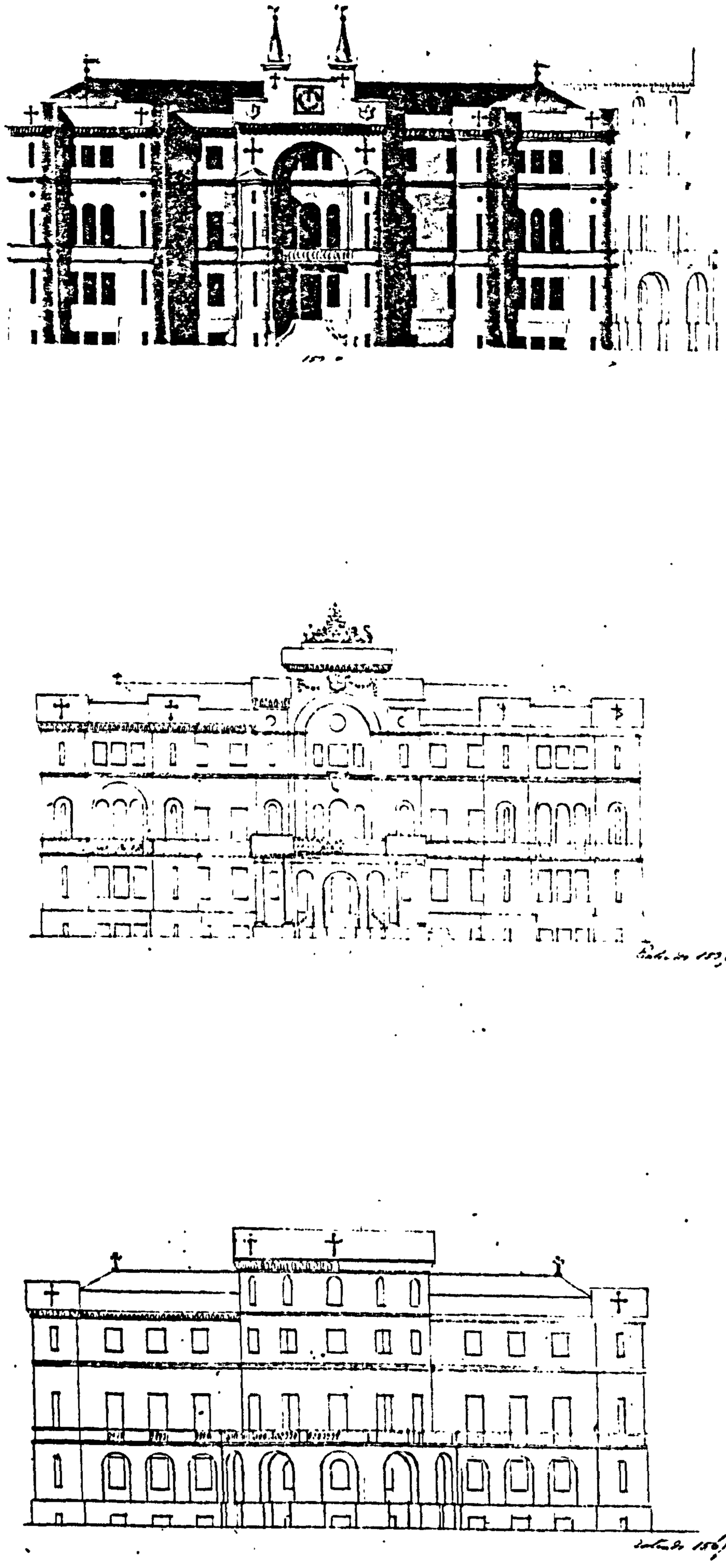

Figure 138

Findlater Castle, Three Elevations, Robert Adam, 1789
SM Vol. 36, No.26, 27 & 29

Adam intended his castles to be seen in a picturesque setting of water, woods and cliffs, and so he simplified the detailing to be viewed as a powerful image from a distance. Findlater as at Seaton, had "thick cut chunky machiolation and huge and deeply incised crosslets with parapets."[54] In sum, the facade demonstrates the culmination of the Adam's castellated image in a flowing sense of movement from the symmetrically distributed towers with interspersed turrets and bow windows. None of the elevations were meant to be read from two dimensional plans, but were to be realized in three dimensions where the passage of sun and shadow could make the form come alive.[55]

The designs for Findlater Castle were described by Adam as rough sketches, and there is no evidence of a perspective being rendered. Had the proposal been taken to the next stages, they may have produced the consummate edition of the Georgian Gothic; but it was not to be, and instead Adam applied innovative and creative genius to Seaton. In terms of a place in architectural history, the perception of Adam's castellated style has dramatically altered since Blomfield's[55a] 1897 absolute rejection, to Bolton's dismissal as a regretable aberation in 1922,[56] to Rowan's more recent appreciative analyses.[57]

James Macaulay's recent work on the Gothic Revival has evaluated Seaton and Culzean in the "First Rank of European Architecture" as it was the

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54. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., p. 108-109 and Rowan (1974) CL 156, pp. 494-97.
55. Robert and James Adam, The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam Esquires, 1778, Preface, p. iii: "Movement is meant to express the rise and fall, the advance and recess with other diversity of form..."
55a. Summerson, in R.S.A.J. 122 (1974), p. 710.
56. Bolton (1922), op.cit., p. 94: "without the requisite knowledge of the detail and character of Gothic architecture, Adam was unable to embody his romantic visions in serious architectural form:", and: "It is more than doubtful if Robert Adam had ever grasped the significance of the structure and growth of the old castles in relation to their sites.."
57. Alistair Rowan, "After the Adelphi: Forgotten Years in the Adam Brothers' Practice", in Royal Society of Arts Journal, 122 (1974), pp. 679-94: "One of the most personal idioms ever devised by an architectural firm."

result of a deep and unique personal philosophy.[58] Although Findlater Castle shares much in common with Culzean's concept and with Seaton's massive detailing, Findlater lacked sufficient conviction to place it in the architectural forefront. It was a formula, and it was not the only project in which Adam retreated, to previous concepts, for there were at least two others in a similar vein, one designed 1790 for Col. William Fullarton and the other designed in 1791 for Lord Kames' son George Drummond of Blair Drummond.[59] It was competent and paid the bills, but it is distressing to think that the last years of a genius were spent upon satisfying the extremities of an aristocrat's whim.

8. Thomas White's Policies

Thomas White's principal commission was the design of a vast demesne of over 15,000 acres (50 times larger than the 5th Earls policies) with productive farmland and forests converted to a park for the pleasure and status assertiveness of the Earl. Had it been executed, White's Gordon Castle Park c. 1786[60] would have fitted into one corner. White's first plan of 1788-89, locating Playfair's creations, has not survived except for a plan entitled "an extension to the plan..."[61] which was generated by the completion of negotiations to purchase the neighbouring estate of Rannas in 1789. Findlater proposed to entirely absorb this purchase of £ 22,527 into his pleasure retreat. White's revised 1790 plan locating Adam's buildings, has fortuitously survived.[62] (Refer to Figure 139)

All traces of the formal allées, arboretum and home farm were to have been obliterated to be replaced by a Brownian composition.[63] The serpentine

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58. Macaulay, The Gothic Revival 1745-1845.
59. Sanderson, (1982) op.cit., pp. 35-46.
60. SRO RHP 2383 Plans of Gordon Castle Park c. 1786.
61. BND-16 Design for the Continuation to the West Approach to Cullen House 1789.
62. SRO RHP 12877 Plan dated 1790.
63. Watkin (1982) op.cit., Chapter 4, The formula included: concealing the ends of water with trees, unassuming architecture, no abrupt contrasts, smoothness, tree clumps, diagonal vistas, tranquil movement suggested by sheep, cattle and clouds, and the inevitable lake in the middle distance.

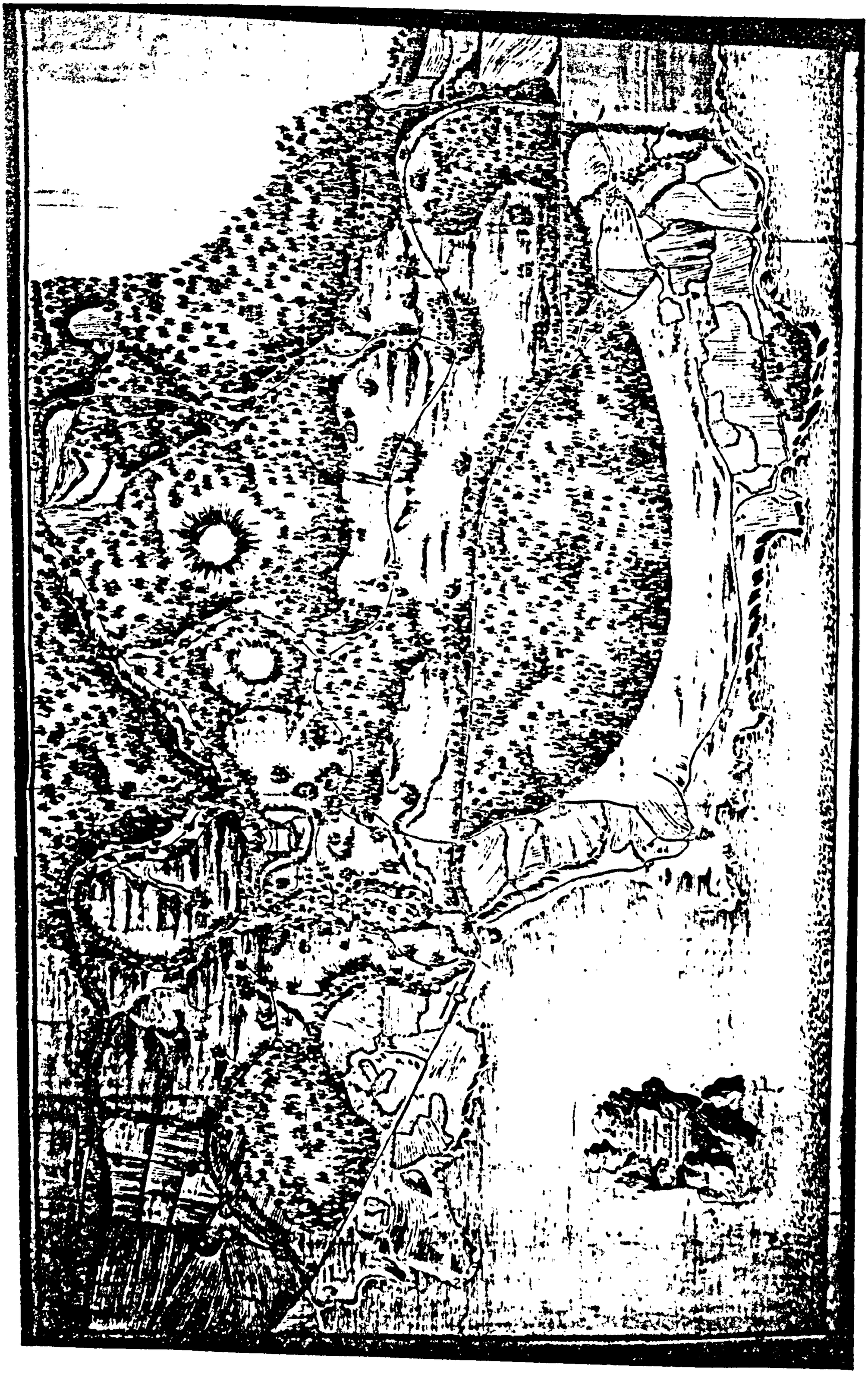

Figure 139

Plan of An Extended Improvement to Cullen, Thomas White, Landscape Gardener, 1790, SRO RHP 12877

paths and roads, the tree clumpings, and the organization of vistas into tightly composed pictures,[64] were all present. The one missing element, that of irregular lakes, was replaced by views of Moray Firth.

The large crescent forest towards Findochty-Portnockie has been interpreted as being calculated to obliterate an especially picturesque view of castle ruins at the edge of dramatic sea cliffs[65] This is not accurate. Cordiner's drawing was of Findlater castle, which was three kilometres down the coast in the opposite direction, well beyond Cullen's view. The crescent forest in fact was largely in existence, as a reclamation project which originated in the 1730's on a boggy lake and wasteland known as the bauds of Cullen. (Refer to Chapter 5) By 1766, this forest had been completely planted.[66] White was merely incorporating it in his plan with a slight geometrical rounding out of the existing boundaries.

The first step in White's plan's execution was the survey of a by-pass road from Kilnhillock to the northern end of Cullen Town via Crannach Hill plantation.[67] George Brown's survey, attached to the petition to the Commissioners of Supply for the right to construct the road, was not executed. The intent was to move commerce and the town beyond the new boundaries of the policies.

No correspondence exists in the archives between White and Findlater, and so a presumption may be drawn that all designs were the result of personal discussion. Adam was certainly aware of the value of White's contribution, for

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64. Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View and Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown, pp. 27-35 The formula is defined somewhat differently from Watkin.
65. Tait (1980) op.cit., p. 161-163.
66. SRO RHP 11839.
67. SRO RHP 11855-1 April 1789.

Adam had had some degree of collaboration with Brown on several projects.[68] The 1790 revised plan demonstrates that Robert Adam must have been consulted as well, for his Findlater Castle, rectangular home farm offices and riding stables (Refer to Figure 140) modelled after Hadrian's mausoleum (Castle St. Angelo),[69] are inscribed on the plan. The home farm offices at Cullen (refer to Figure 141), lack the imagination of the Culzean home farm's (refer to Figure 142)[70] Saltaire Cross superimposed upon an octagon.

Robert Adam's correspondence expressed the opinion that both Cullen House and Cullen Town should be demolished, and these were two crucial decisions in establishing a project brief for White.[71]

White's aesthetic treatment of Cullen policies were predictable, for a designer who advertised himself as a disciple of Brown,[74] filling the Scottish market which Brown declined to serve. It was to have been a soft rolling park identical to any which had Brown's influence.[72] Very few unique features were incorporated.[73] This was designed prior to the Payne Knight, Price and Repton dialogues beginning in 1794.

That is, however, not all that should be said about White's design. The seventh Earl's land use policy would have resulted in the displacement of several thousand people from the medieval town and the farmland within the new policy boundaries. 15,000 acres of productive land was to be converted

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68. Stroud (1975) op.cit., p. 90: At Bowood 1762, Croome 1760, Ugbrooke 1761-71, p. 103: Syon 1760, Alnwick 1760, p. 105: Harewood 1758-65, Chapter 6: Audley End 1761, Luton Hoo 1765, Compton Veryney c. 1768, Chapter 13: Nuneham Courtenay 1778.
69. SM Vol. 36 No. 71 Stable offices dated Aug. 1789. It provided stalls for 40 horses, 4 coach houses and a central riding house with gallery. Refer also to MacAulay (1975) op.cit., pp. 85-87.
70. The Architect's Journal, No. 24, Vol. 161, 11 June 1975. Refer also to J.M. Robinson (1976) op.cit., pp. 17-31.
71. SRO GD 248-570 Adam to Findlater 1-02-1789.
72. Stroud 91975) op.cit., pp. 212-213 Map and pp. 214-247 for list of Brown's commissions.
73. Hipple (1967), op.cit., pp. 193-194: "The taste for the picturesque is a taste for a greater measure of complexity and intricacy than either the beautiful or sublime affords."
74. Stroud (1975) op.cit., p. 207.

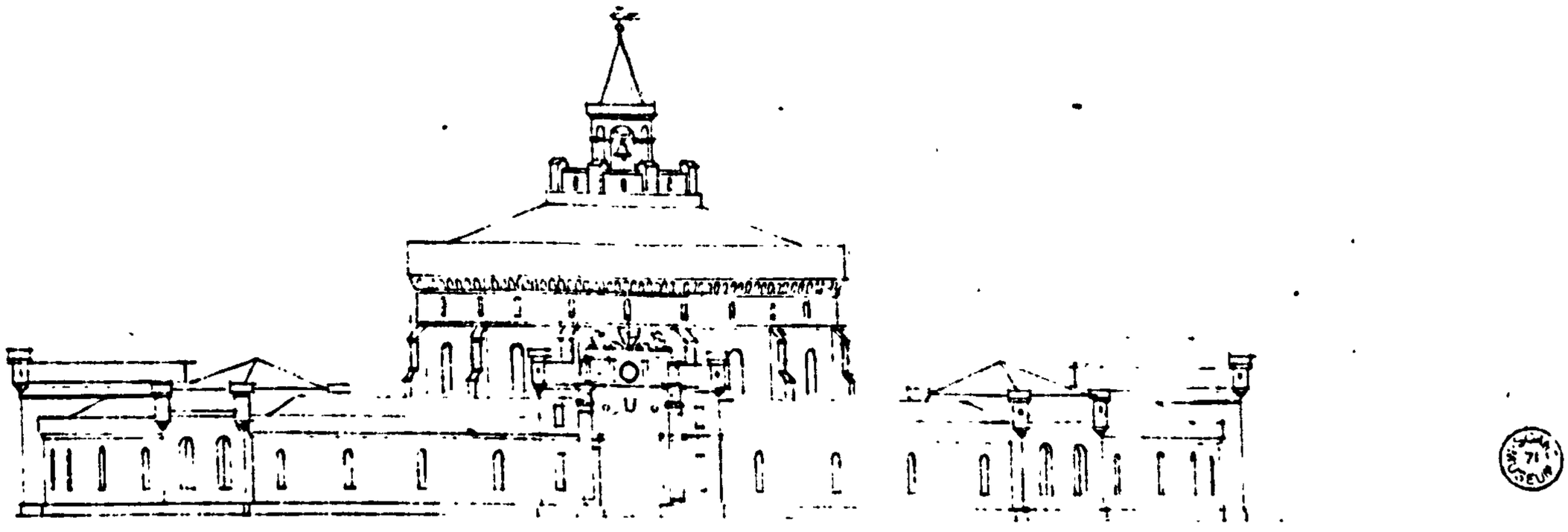
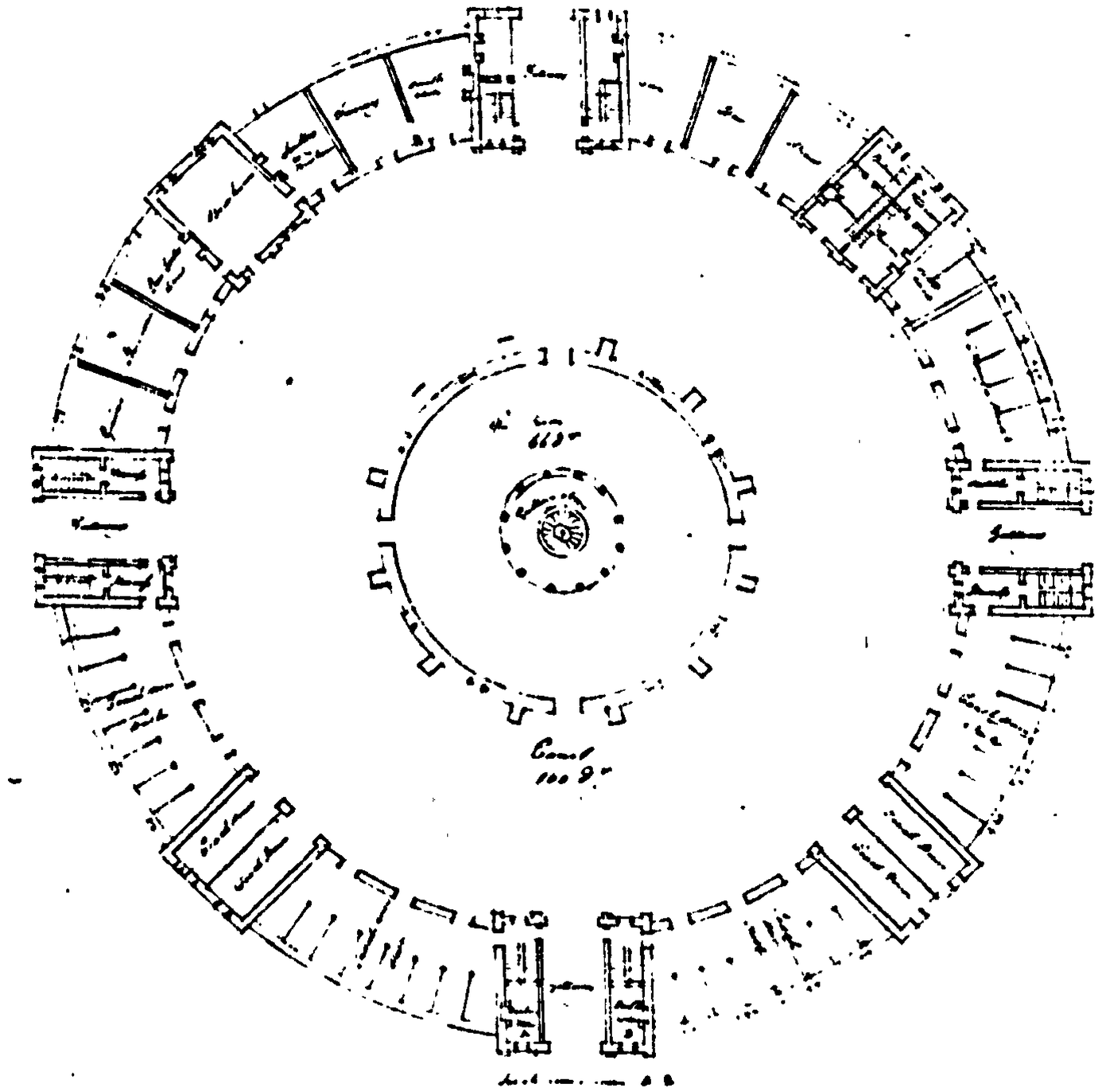


Figure 140 - Plan and Elevation of Stable Court Plan, Robert Adam, Architect, 1789; SM Vol.36 No.71 & 72



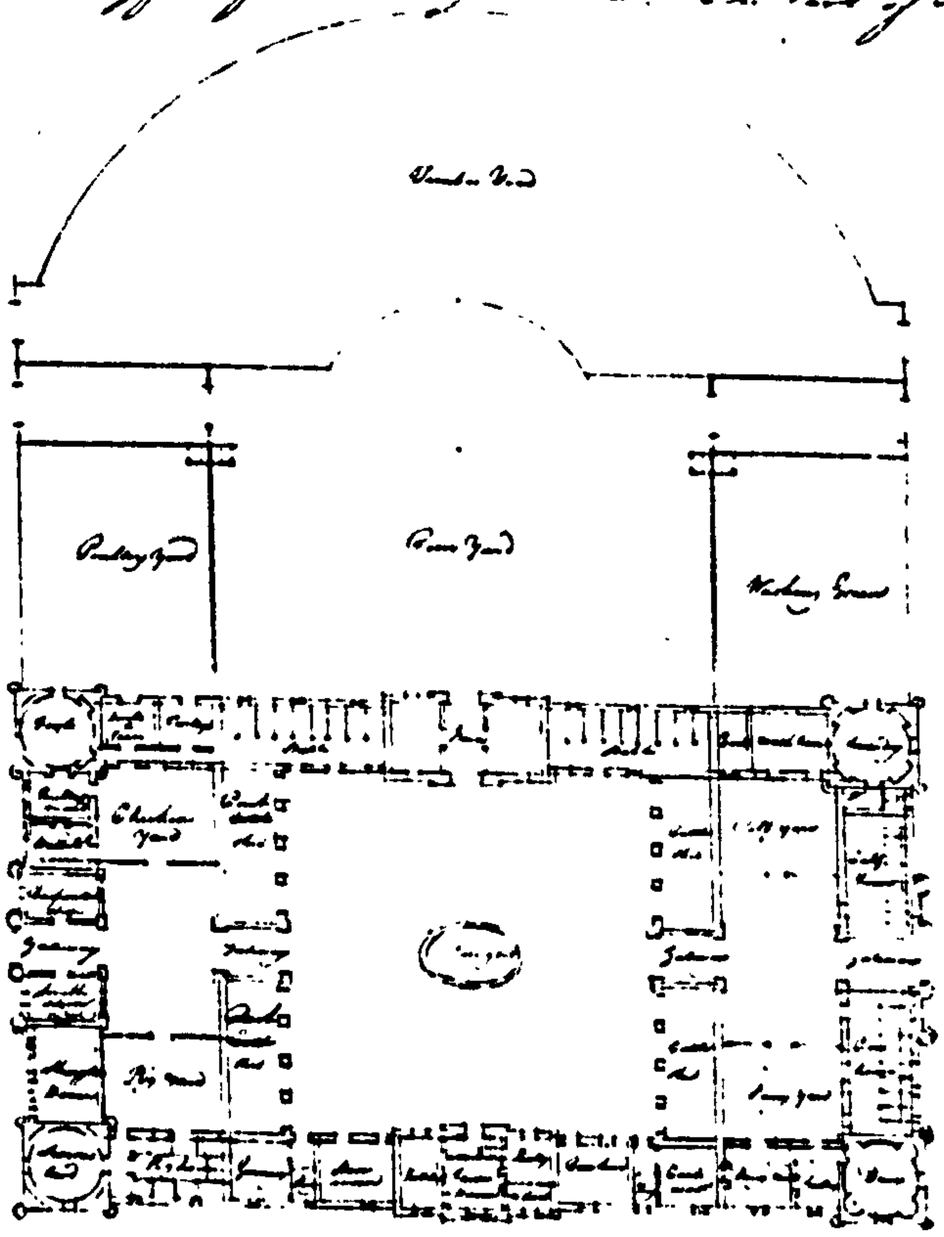


Figure 141 - Plan of Court of Farm Offices, Robert Adam, Architect c.1790, SM Vol.36 No.78

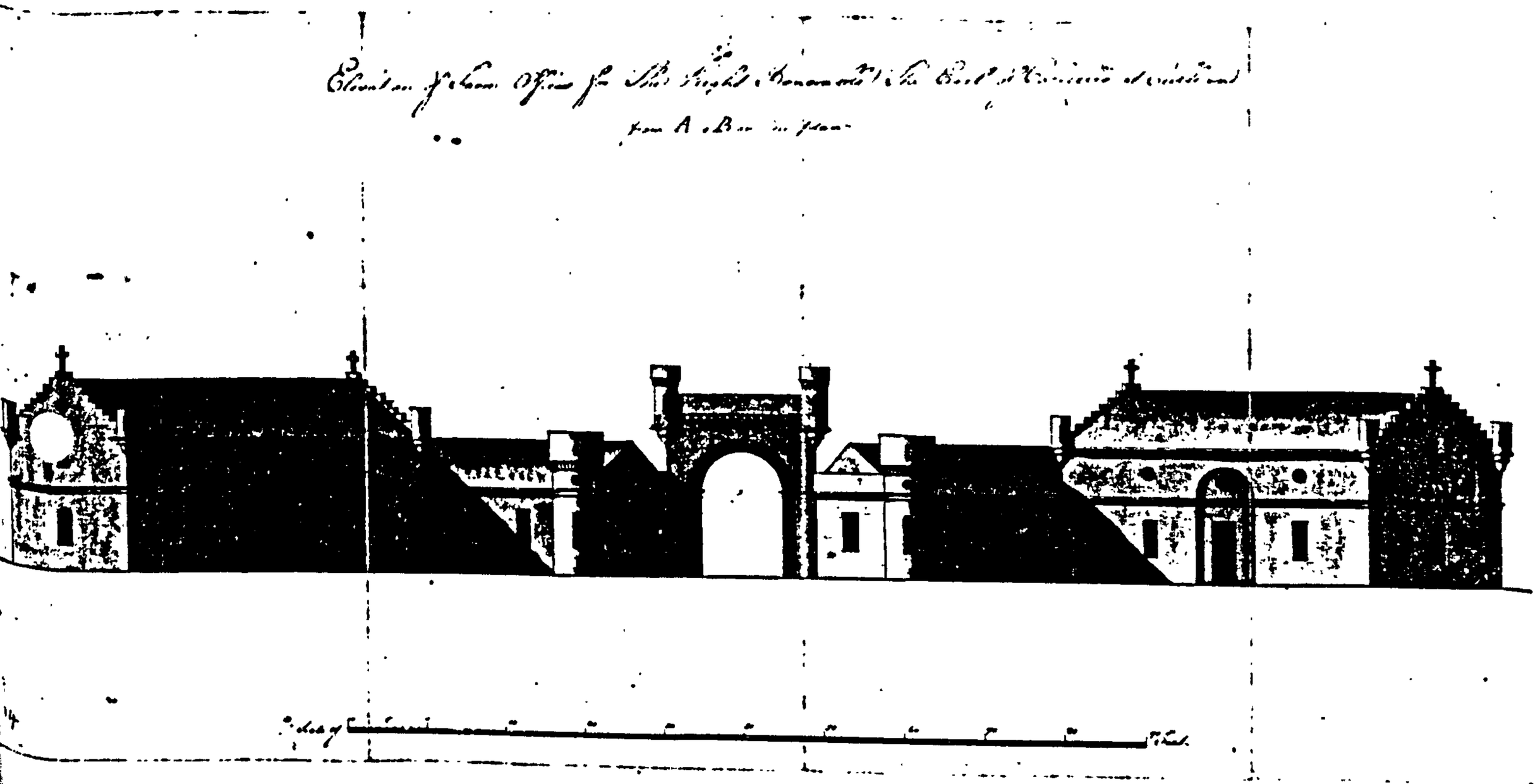


Figure 142 - Culzean Castle, Elevation of Farm Offices, Robert Adam, Architect, AYR-43-60

into a riding ground for one man's health with a significantly negative cost-benefit.[75] While it was not to be realized, it was proposed, and the Earl had the legal right to implement his plans. The cost excluding architects' fees, of even the modest improvements to the walled garden and some other planting from 1788-1793 which were executed totalled a fortune of £ 8,092.[76] The Commissioners' austerity saw to it that such extravagance was brought back within the economic reality of the estate's resources.

9. Dresden Exile

While Findlater was intent upon achieving a place within architectural history, his heir, Sir James Grant of Grant, must have been driven to desperation. The Grant Estate was exceedingly burdened with debt, and the prospect of inheriting the Findlater wealth, must have seemed Grant's only and inevitable salvation. Findlater's proposed construction program, if implemented, would have burdened the estate with hundreds of thousands of pounds of debt.[77] White's policies and Adam's Findlater Castle would have been a disastrous paradise.

Under the terms of the fifth and sixth Earl's wills, the entire Findlater estate was not entailed. The seventh Earl had some latitude to effect capital improvements even if they were not in the long term best interest of the

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75. Hussey (1927) op.cit., p. 140: "But agricultural reform was in the air, and the improver of grounds liked to think that he was also benefiting husbandry." This was a fallacy.

76. SRO GD 248- Accounts 1788: £ 620
SRO GD 248- Accounts 1789: £ 2,787
SRO GD 248- Accounts 1790: £ 2,680
SRO GD 248- Accounts 1791: £ 1,459
SRO GD 248- Accounts 1792: £ 318
SRO GD 248- Accounts 1793: £ 228

77. Marjorie Plant, The Domestic Life and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 32; The craze for building caused many people to spend more than they could afford. Architect's estimates were only one element. Many were led to financial ruin by the cost of interiors and policies.

estate.[78] Grant had to be very careful, for Findlater had the potential to bring the estate close to bankruptcy, or at least to alienate the unentailed property. Outspoken opposition through court action as heir under right of entail was unwise.

A political solution was devised to embarass Findlater into a self-imposed exile. It is not paranoic to imagine a Grant conspiracy to request removal of the offer of a British Peerage for Findlater, in such an abrupt manner as to collapse his ambitions. Nor is it paranoic to imagine that a political manipulator such as Henry Dundas would not comply with such a request, conditional, as it would be, upon the long term political support of the Grant interest.

A reconstruction of how this was accomplished requires a discussion of the broad political pattern of alliances between 1783-90 in the northeast. There were five seats in the House of Commons including Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Inverness, and the Elgin District Burghs. The 1784 election gave victory to the Dundas faction lead by the Duke of Gordon over Earl Fife's coalition with Findlater and Grant. A by-election was forced in early 1786 by the death of Alexander Garden of Troup, M.P. for Aberdeen. This time Dundas' candidate, James Ferguson of Pitfour was defeated by the Fife interest.

On 24 March 1786 the Duke wrote to Dundas outlining three courses of action for the Government's political future.[79] Those were: an alliance between Gordon and Fife which would carry the north-east, or secondly to continue to oppose Fife but to form an alliance with the Moray Association which would result in three seats with great expense, or thirdly, for Dundas to win over Findlater and the Grants and then for this alliance to oppose Fife.

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78. An heir had the legal right to object to an entailed estate being encumbered with building costs or other debts. For instance Murthly Castle, Perthshire 1829-32 by Gillespie Graham remained a shell due to a court ruling. Macaulay (1975) op.cit, (p. 250).
79. H. Furber, Henry Dundas: First Viscount Melville 1742-1811, pp. 208-9.

The chances of winning with the latter strategy were assessed by Gordon as very probable.

Which course did Dundas choose? Furber states: "although these proposals were sent to Dundas in the early spring of 1786, he apparently took no action upon them for over ten months".[80] Chapter three discussed Pitt's offer of a British Peerage to Findlater if he would return home and support the Tories against the Whigs in the upcoming election, which seemed to be shaping up over the Regency Bill. Dundas had recommended Findlater as a result of Gordon's proposed alliance. The offer must have been made prior to the June 1788 Regency crisis, for the Earl was resident at Cullen and had begun discussions with Playfair by December 1787; Chapter three may be an imcomplete interpretation.

Returning to the Duke of Gordon's letter; Dundas had other cards to play, for Pitt simultaneously encouraged a growing rappoachment of Dundas with Fife. Dundas spent the greater part of 1787 reconciling the Duke of Gordon to a political coalition with Fife. This was achieved by ensuring the Fife alliance would hold; Dundas carried out secret negotiations with the Grants through Fife during the spring of 1787 and by the fall, Dundas forced Gordon to accept a coalition with Fife, Findlater and Grant.[81] On 20 September 1787 Gordon was threatened with political excommunication if he did not cooperate. The next day Gordon replied to Dundas that he accepted. A political alliance which would secure the north east for the Tories in the next election was made, and Findlater was advised by Grant to return home to be available for the peerage prize. Findlater accepted the bait.

The Regency Bill did not precipitate an election and the combination of the King's recovery in February 1879, together with the French Revolution, strengthened Pitt's position. The northeast alliance held in a 1789 by-election for Banff, and in the 1790, and 1796 general elections.[82] In addition, from

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80. Ibid, p. 209
81. Ibid, p. 211
82. Ibid, pp. 226-228.

April to July 1790, Dundas led a successful campaign to control the appointment of the sixteen representative peers. Fife was rewarded 16 June 1790 with the creation of a British Peerage, but surprizingly Findlater was not. By December 1790 Findlater was advised by Dundas that the offer was withdrawn, although Pitt offered to give the Peerage to Grant with Findlater's permission. This insult precisely achieved Sir James Grant's wish without a hint of collusion, for Findlater left early in 1791 and named Grant as chairman of the Commission to oversee his estate. Grant must have been delirious.

Thus Findlater's radical policy of demolishing Cullen's past to replace it with a personal universe was never executed. He had to content himself with writing, with a ghost author, nine books on architecture,[83] and in constructing a castellated mansion in Dresden. Findlater's Dresden Castle (refer to Figures 143 and 144) was a weak interpretation of the Robert Adam Castle style. Between 1801 and 1807 Findlater extracted up to £30,000 from the estate to build the castle, furnish it and construct a walled garden.[84] His Commissioners' chaired by Sir James Grant, protested the investment, but were powerless to stop the cash flow.

Findlater's will opened in 1811, allowed the Grants his unentailed Scottish property, but bequeathed his Dresden Castle to his servants, the Fischers. Between 1811 and 1814, the Grants fought the terms of the will in court. They claimed Findlater was a reputed homosexual and had been seduced by the Fischers into making the codicile and thus requested the will be set aside by undue influence. The fact that the Scottish Court upheld the terms of the will casts doubt upon the Grants' claim. Findlater may have been consciously attempting to damage his heirs by a strategic plan of his own.

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83. SRO RHP 2549: Bound Architectural plans of a four story catellated house attributed to be the seventh Earl's Dresden Castle. c. 1801-3.
84. Grant (1978) op.cit., pp. 71-3 Vol. 2: nine books on architecture which he published in Altenbourg between 1798-1800 entitled: "Plans Et Desseins Tires De La Belle Architecture".

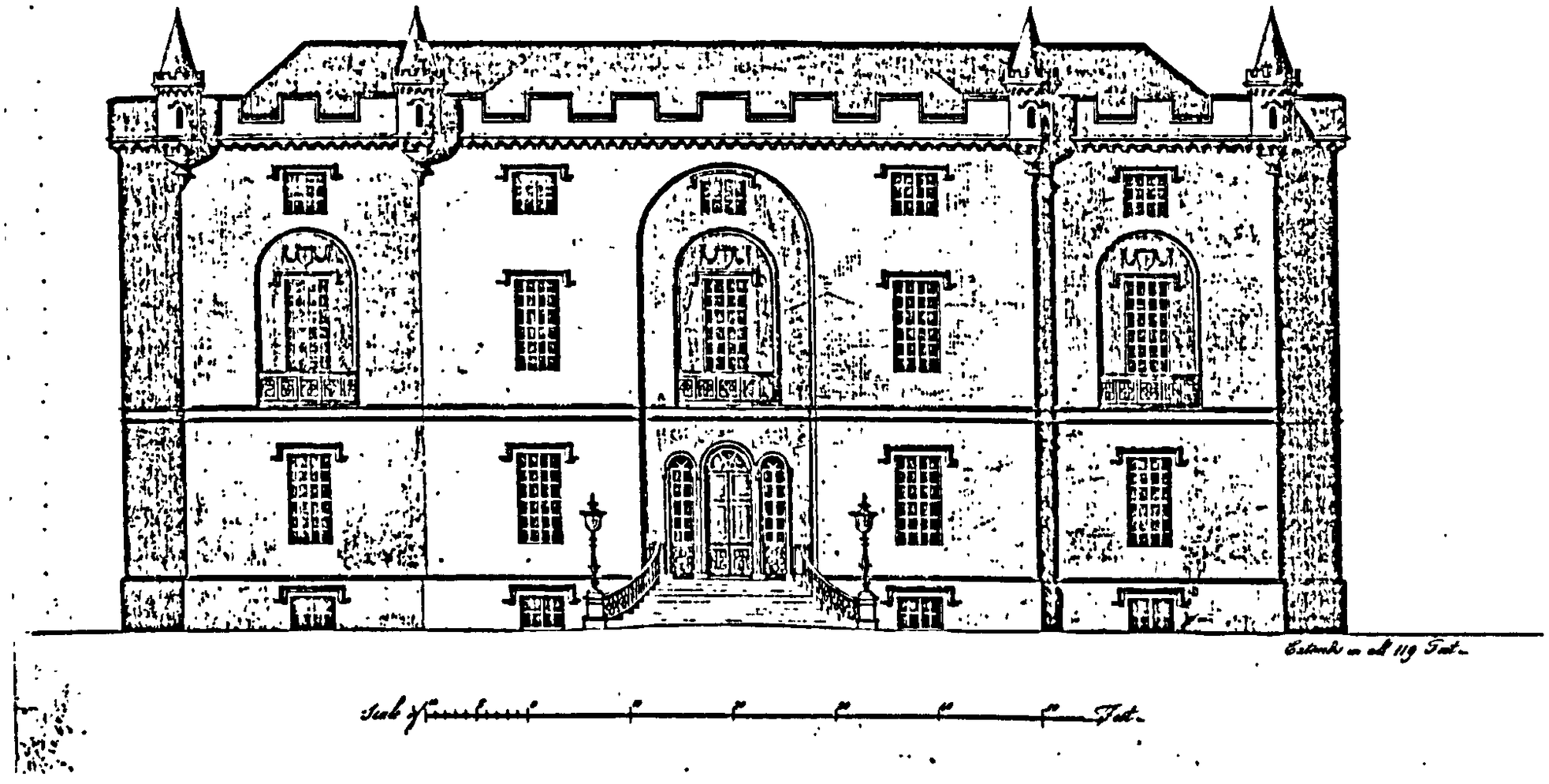

Figure 143 - Dresden Castle, Elevation, c.1803
SRO RHP 2549-3

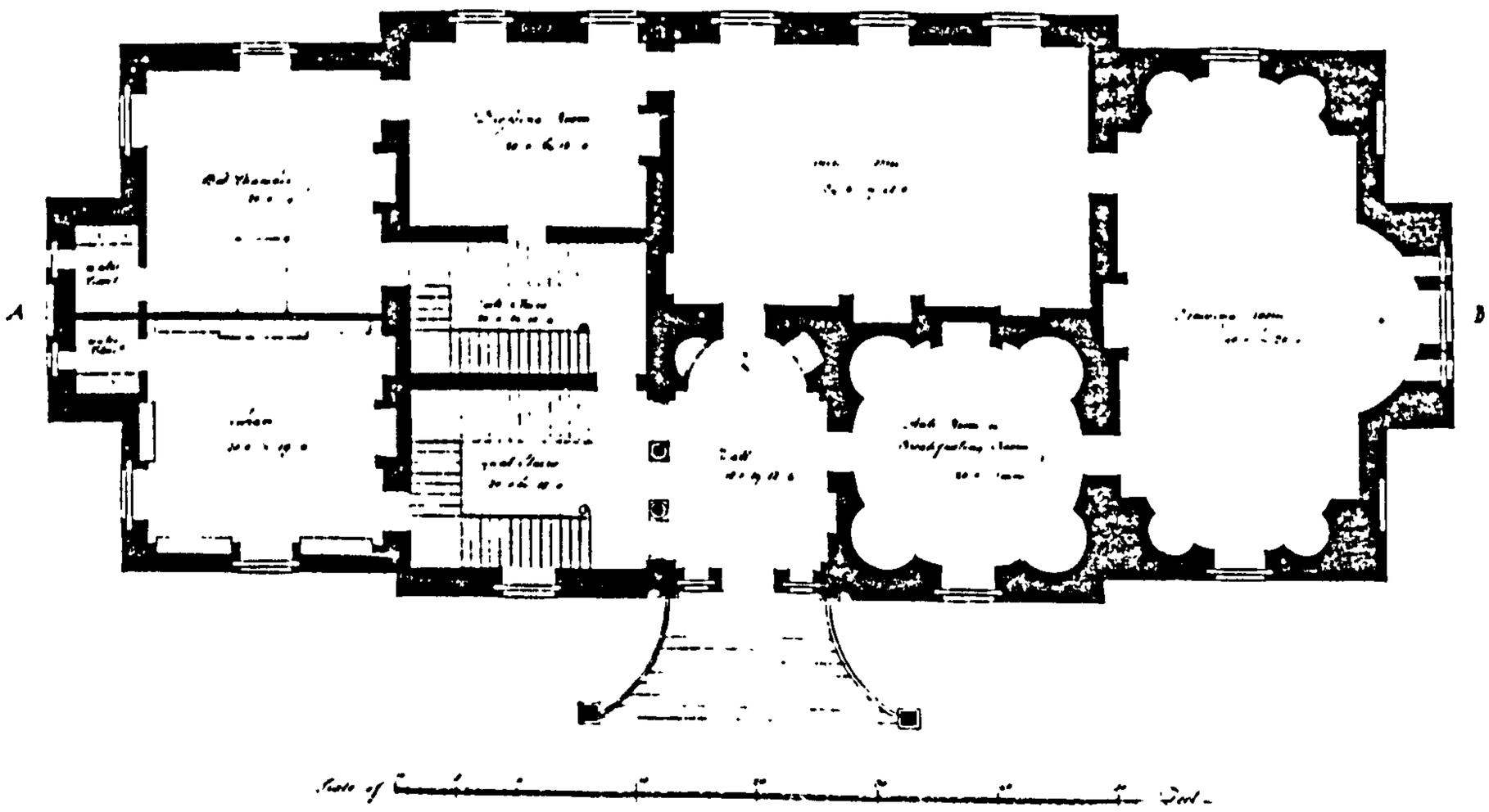

Figure 144 - Dresden Castle, Principal Floor Plan, c.1803
SRO RHP 2549

10. David Bryce's Scots Baronial Alterations

Great changes were to occur to Cullen House[85] beyond the period of study, but they would be evolutionary, reflecting larger cultural forces, not the force of one personality. The main renovation occurred mid-nineteenth century when the seventh Earl of Seafield retained David Bryce to intensify Cullen's sense of a Scottish Medievalism. David Bryce (1803-76) was the leading proponent of the Scots-Baronial. Bryce's style owed much to Robert Adam, William Burn (his partner from 1841) and Gillespie Graham.[87] The three characteristic elements of Bryce's version were picturesque massing, ecclecticism, and intricate plans.[88] All three are present in his Cullen renovations.[89]

Bryce acquired his knowledge of antiquarian detailing through Robert Billing's sourcebook: Baronial Antiquities, and from that he derived a formula of Scots pastiches which could disguise the underlying modern plan. At Cullen

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85. Accounts 1790 Some minor additional and alterations at Cullen House totalling 403 were made.
86. Valerie Fiddes and Alastair Rowan, David Bryce 1803-1876. His large practice concentrated on 200 country houses, as well as large public and commercial buildings.
87. David Walker, "Burn and Bryce".
88. Fiddes and Rowan op.cit., p. 19: "in this latter respect, a Bryce building could hardly be farther removed from the classical definition of good architecture as laid down by Alberti, for in this method of composition parts could be added or taken away at will to increase the picturesque or to reduce the cost as his clients might request."
89. BND-16-3 BND-16-12 Various elevations with picturesque appendages and imparing the classical simplicity.

he renovated the interior to expand the offices below the family apartment,[90] then separated both from guests and from servants in the rest of the house.[91] It was a plan originated by Burn[92] and developed by Bryce as being uniquely adapted for the world of baronial privilege; it was also a plan which more than one architectural critic has condemned as being expressive of corpulence.[93]

The details show Jacobean square and circular turrets, crow-stepped gables, and strapwork, all added in a willfully idiosyncratic manner.[94] The three dimensional modelling of the southwest front, particularly in the dining room fascade and the family apartments, resulted in fenestration which was out of scale with the rest of the building.[95] These mullioned bay windows in a "Scots Tudor" style provide instant clues that Bryce was not restoring the House towards an accurate interpretation,

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90. Girouard, The Victorian Country House, pp. 32-34. "Perhaps the most typical element of a Victorian plan was the owner's business room, with its separate entrance and often its little waiting room for visitors suggesting a serious attitude to running an estate, looking after one's dependents and taking part in local life; it symbolized a change in emphasis even if the owner did no more in it than smoke a cigar and read The Times after breakfast."
91. SRO RHP 12891 Plan of ground floor (1858) and BND-16-2 Plan of principal floor (1858) Also: refer to Jill Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan 1835-1914, pp. 51-55 the estate office or study was separated from the rest of the house to keep tenants and poachers in their place. It was often linked by private staircase to the family suite overhead.
92. Macaulay (1975) op.cit., Chapter 17. Burn originated the separation of a private family wing overlooking private gardens.
93. Sir John Summerson, "an Exhibit Review", in The Times 19-02-1977 "but in pictures they are disastrous: slack in proportion, chaotic in distribution and corpulent from overfeeding on Billings' Baronial Antiquities. Not to put too fine a point on it, they are Victorian monstrousities ... that, to be sure is an outmoded expression and one which today will be interpreted as a certificate of essential Victorianism, and therefore of a certain enviable excellence, hard to define."
94. Other plans: BND - 16-4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27; SRO RHP 12899; SRO RHP 12896 and BND-16-67 water colour perspective.
95. BND-16-11 Southwest Elevation.

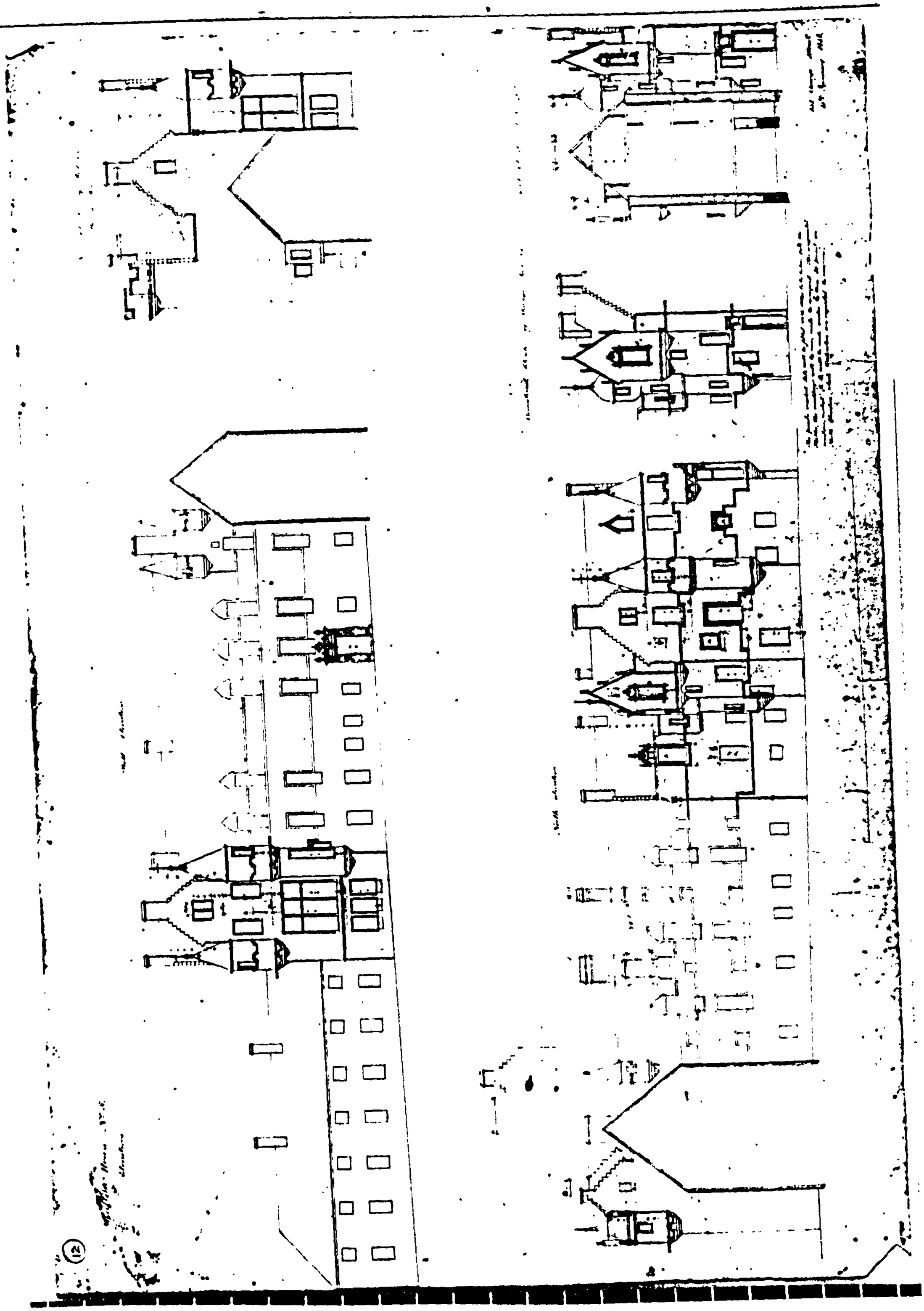

Figure 145

Cullen House Elevations, David Bryce, Architect, 1858
SRO RHP 12894-12

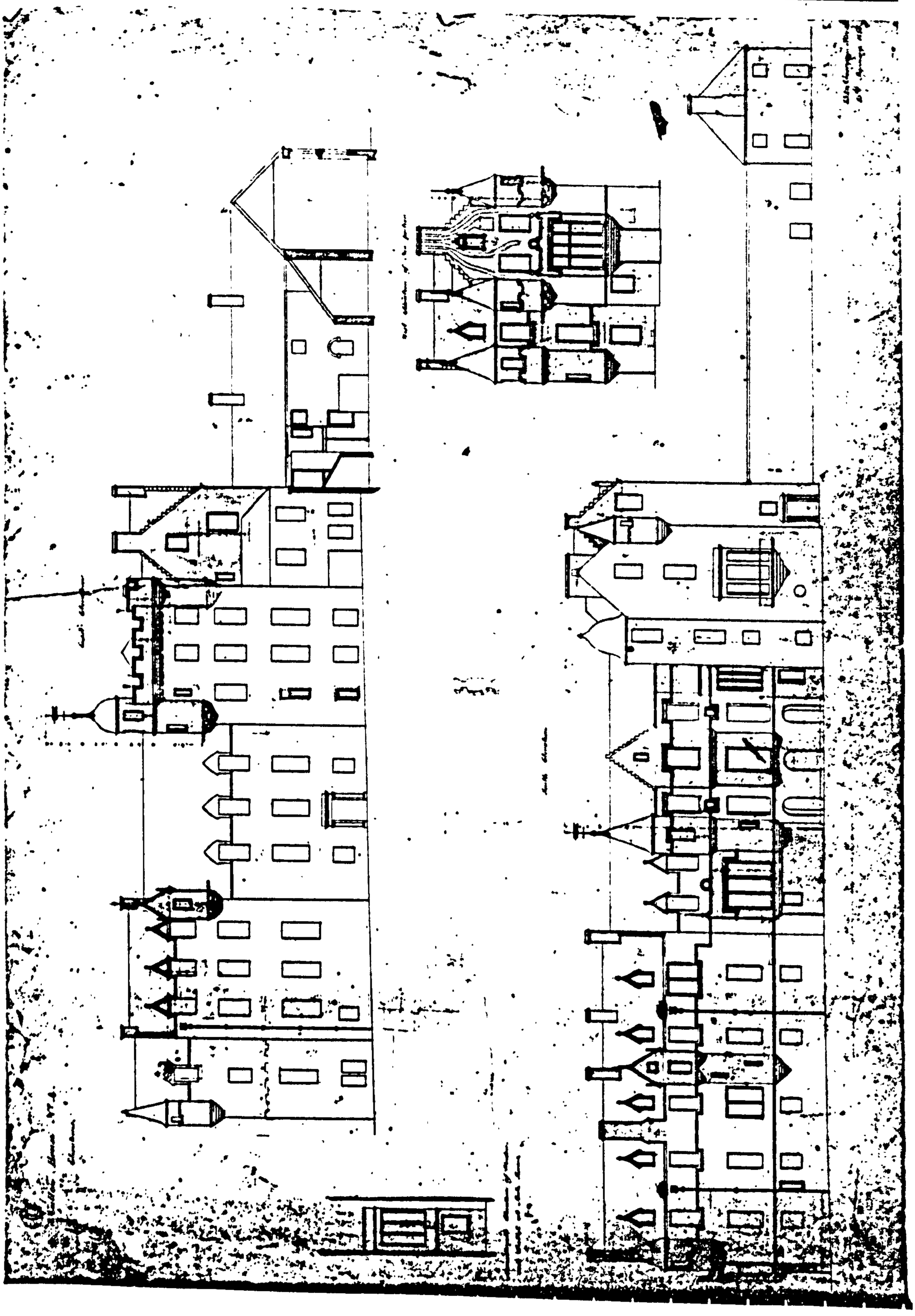

Figure 146

Cullen House Elevations, David Bryce, Architect 1858,
SRO RHP 12894-11

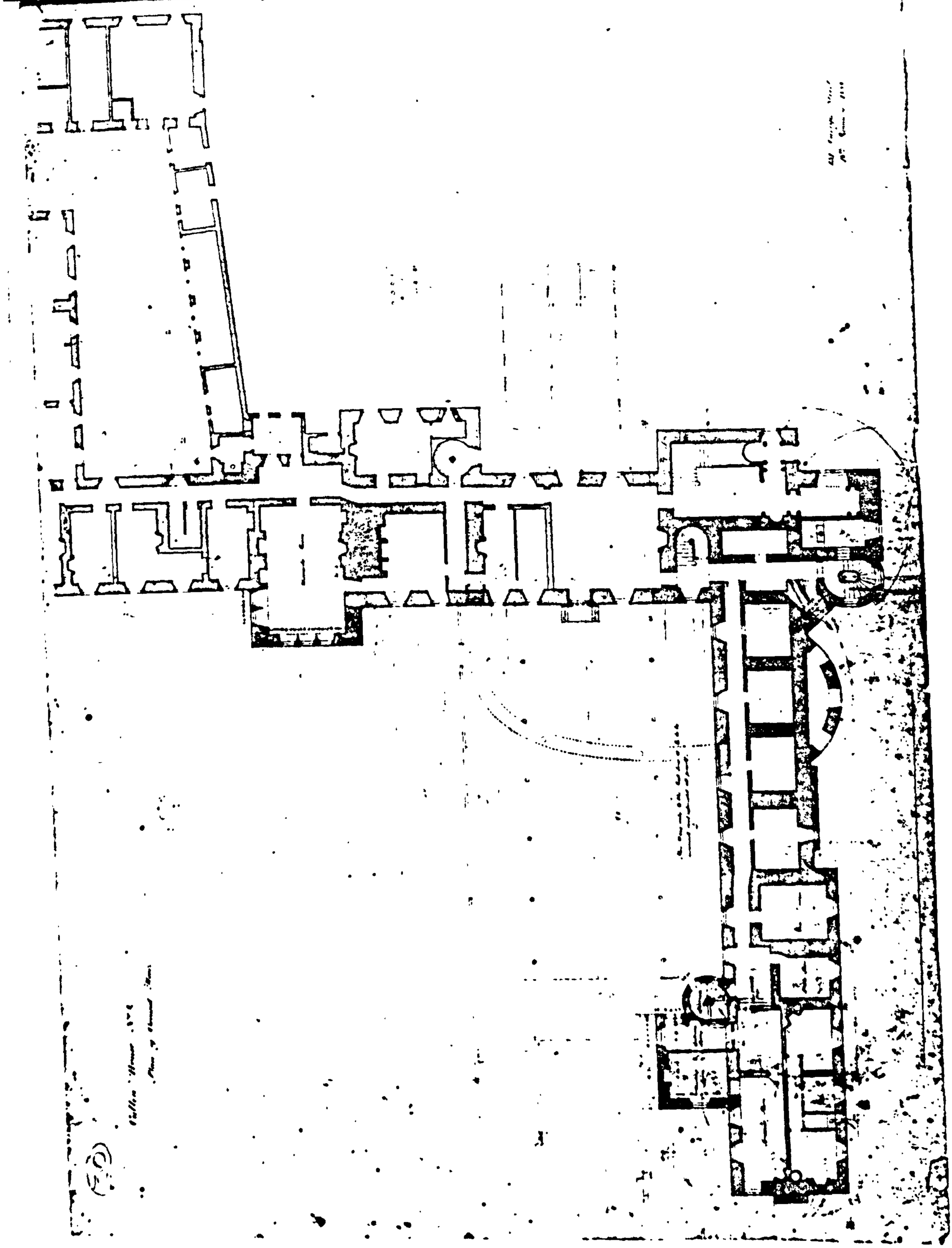

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Figure 147

Cullen House Ground Floor Plan, David Bryce, Architect, 1858
SRO RHP 12892-30

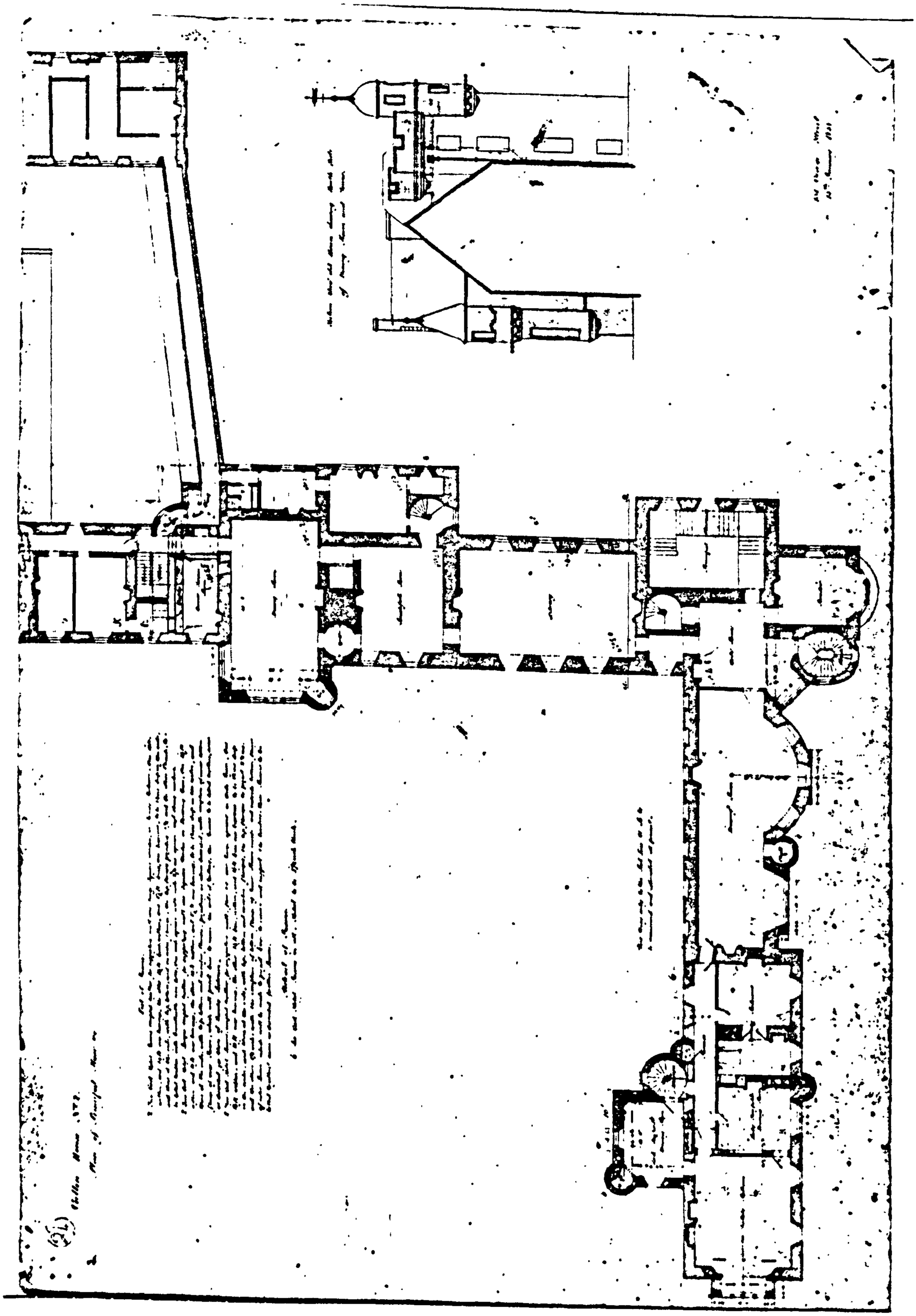

Figure 148

Cullen House First Floor Plan, David Bryce, Architect, 1858
SRO RHP 12892-24

but was rather imposing current taste upon a general theme of restoration. In this case, the detail was one invented by Burn about 1820 as a means of adding light into houses.[96] Stripping these Bryce additions from his drawings and the executed work, gives a precise record of the house as it was in 1793.

11. Corporate Image

In 1965 the eminent scholar, Douglas Simpson, described Cullen House as "one of the masterpieces of the late Gothic".[97] It is contrarily, a melange of four centuries of changing architectural ideals. Each generation contributed some further elaboration to the collective design.

Was there a discernable strategic plan? The fragmentary evidence presented in Chapters six and seven strongly point to continuity. The third Earl's east wing was achieved by his grandson, the fifth Earl's concern with orienting the House to the policies was realized by the sixth Earl; the fourth Earl's concern with circulation was enriched by the sixth Earl's Adam interiors. To some extent, each generation seemed to be building towards a predetermined plan. Perhaps this was the result of a cautious corporate approach to capital investment, perhaps it was an expression respect.

At the same time, the evidence demonstrates that the clients were articulate men of conservative taste. Very little at Cullen occurred which was not accepted form. Each alteration, each embellishment reflected larger cultural forces particular to a particular generation. Considering the options available, capriciousness does not seem unduly to have dominated judgement.

How to place the seventh Earl? His personal correspondence shows an overwhelming concern with being perceived as a person of refined sensibilities

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96. David Walker, "William Burn: The Country House in Transition". p. 20.
97. Simpson, The Stones of Scotland, p. 228

and of discerning taste. Romantic society indulged him to play as patron, author and publisher with relatively unlimited resources, until ultimately his foppish lack of serious conviction and lack of good judgement collided with his Commissioners' concern with corporate solvency. The last Findlater planned a revolution for Cullen which would have demolished the collective architectural past. It was capriciousness on a monumental scale and was set aside, as was his not unrelated bid for political power.

The 1543 tower house passed through the Reformation to find a new function as an estate nucleus in the seventeenth century. Cullen House survived Victorian renovations, the agricultural depression of 1879-94, the great depression, and two World Wars. It could not survive death duties imposed by successive Labour Governments. In 1975 the thirteenth Earl of Seafield chose to sell the contents at auction to reduce his tax burden.[98] The house was left unoccupied as a victim of a reformation of another kind, until it was purchased in May 1982 by Kitt Martin, an English architect, entrepreneur and founding member of SAVE Britain's Heritage. Martin has begun renovations to profitably subdivide the two hundred room house into very large connected tower-houses, one of which will be occupied by the heir to the Seafield Estate.[99] Cullen House has ceased to be an appropriate corporate image for lean estate management, but it will at least be carefully preserved.

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98. Christie's Catalogue, Cullen House, Cullen Banffshire, Monday, September 22, 1975.
99. Marcus Binney and Kitt Martin, The Country House: To Be or Not To Be, p. 42: Outlines methods for acquiring grants from the Historical Building Council.

Figure 149
Cullen House, 1980

CHAPTER EIGHT - DISCUSSION

1. Evidence of a Strategic Plan

Executive policy articulated, or more often expressed through action, did have a separate identity under each Findlater generation. There was also a dominating sense of continuity. The fourth Earl's direction can be summarized as expansionist, emphasizing the accumulation of freehold land. Purchases were made, debtors were foreclosed, and wadsets were redeemed. The cash to accomplish this ambitious turnaround in the Ogilvy family fortune came from government service, a conveniently elastic conscience, and from prudent estate management. The fourth Earl recognized the potential of improved marketing and technology: harbours were secured, grain movement was controlled, boundaries were located, and land was enclosed into parks where afforestation, crop experiments and livestock breeding could be controlled. The estate was run on a frugal budget, with the Earl approving all expenditures, even coal for his personal comfort.

In such a climate of austerity, the remodelling of Cullen House, contemplated during the third Earl's tenure, was trimmed towards a less ambitious, less luxuriant display. Opportunities for substantial alterations on a Palladian theme, were shelved for a more pragmatic style which might be categorized as Scots-Georgian modifications to a Scots Baronial tower house. The rationale for this one luxury was that Cullen House would become a more suitable center of business operations for an expanding estate.

The fifth Earl was carefully tutored in estate policy by his father, with the result that his became a generation of consolidation. The dominating concern was assembling manageable units, free of debt and encumbrances, which could then be improved by tenants on long leases. Many examples of nineteen year leases were begun. While there was a continued effort at purchasing land, such as the Banff estate, it was during this generation that the expanding population pushed towards the boundaries of neighbouring estates with encroachments into commonties and other marginal areas. The fifth Earl exploited the opportunities of redefining boundaries through

negotiated settlements with his neighbours. Architectural policy focused upon a park setting for Cullen House through the construction of Cullen Burn Great Bridge with the gridiron of forested enclosed farmland. This was intended to serve as a model for estate management.

The sixth Earl brought the improving strategies of his predecessors to fruition. While the Fourth Earl had randomly acquired property bordering the highland, the sixth Earl recognized the future potential of the area, and aggressively acquired large holdings. With the death of one son and the serious illness of the second son, provision was made for the inevitable merger of the Grant and Ogilvy Estates. Along with the purchases, Deskford followed an ambitious program of reforestation, new town construction, dyking, drainage, agricultural improvements, and the consolidation of logical units which could be let to tenants on long leases. Small inefficient holdings were obliterated. This policy made him the most visible of the Northeast improving landlords. His model was a carefully selected one, designed not only to enhance the family fortune, but to stem emigration, and to encourage highlanders to follow the lead. The aim was to reduce economic disparity between the two (lowland/highland) regions and thereby eliminate discontent. The policy worked.

Architectural embellishments at Cullen House during the sixth Earl's tenure, brought an enlightened classicism to the policies and to the reception room interiors. The changes were predictable. Of regional interest was the Earl's preference for an ambitious program of utilitarian construction including Cullen House offices, granaries, mills, farm buildings, bleachfields and other urban or pre-industrial structures which improve the standard of living of ordinary tenants throughout the estate.

The seventh Earl continued his father's direction, through the assistance of Commissioners and professional administrators. The dividends of increasing profits from Deskford's investments, enabled a greater capacity for land acquisition and improvement. The only deviation from the trend was the period 1787-91, during which the Earl was resident and was in full control; estate policy then radically altered towards design extravagances at Cullen.

His intent was to obliterate all traces of the past, including demolishing Cullen House, Cullen Town, and all of the policy parkland, then to reconstruct it towards his personal vision. When the Earl once again entered voluntary exile, this revolution was terminated by his Commissioners.[1]

2. Statistical Evaluation

Quantifiable indicators of the effectiveness and efficiency of the four generations' policies are population, income and land use changes.

Accurate population statistics date from the 1801 National Census; data prior to that is based upon educated guesses summarized on Table 3. The general pattern extrapolated for Scotland as a whole, points to a gradual increase of 60% through the eighteenth century, with a 160% increase in the nineteenth. Emigration remains unquantifiable,[2] although with two and one-half million Canadians alone of Scottish descent, those figures must have been substantial.

Grain yields, land area and even livestock were scrupulously accounted in estate records, but astonishingly, human resources were not. The only firm reference to population was the entry in the 1747 petition to recover damages from the Forfeited Estates. That figure was six thousand people. If the general trend is applied, there could have been 4,200 people at the beginning of the century, and 7,800 at the end. Such a simplistic model does present problems, for north-east statistics indicate a more constant population level that the national average, although The Statistical Account[3] estimated a 1700 population for Cullen Parish at 806, 1755 at 900, and 1793 at 1,214. Those

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1. Although Findlater held title, he had effectively lost control. The correspondence between commissioners indicate the extent to which leadership had become eroded: SRO GD 248-2432-1 John Ross to John Wilson 29-8-1791: "Indeed his ideas are so precipitate and so fluctuating that it is necessary for you to guard against involving him or yourself in anything that is not strictly justifiable and right."
2. That is, the records of port embarkations are available, but these are not complete.
3. Statistical Account, (1794) Vol. 12 pp. 143-155.

statistics are in line with the general trend. Another factor contributing to population increase was that the size of the estate was always variable. Mid-century land holdings were supplemented by a 40 to 50% increase in land area by 1793. Even considering the fact that much of that land was in remote, rugged terrain, the increase in population controlled through leases must have been a conservative 20%. Union with the Grant Estate in 1811 brought a further estimated 7,000 people.

Statistical evidence does not exist to prove or disprove the effectiveness of the Earl's policies in being able to sustain a greater population. Lord Deskford's pre-occupation with improvements to attract, retain and employ workers through linen manufacturers, new service communities, improved fields, increased productivity, and expansion into marginal areas, are celebrated by the reporters of the day as successful. However, there can be no denying that port records for emigration from Banffshire accelerated.

TABLE 2: POPULATION GROWTH

County	Population					
	1707[4]	1755[5]	1795[6]	1801[7]	1901[8]	1951[9]
Aberdeen		116,168	122,921	121,065	304,439	308,055
Banff		38,478	38,487	37,216	61,488	50,135
Moray		30,604	26,060	27,760	44,800	84,924
Inverness		59,563	73,979	72,672	90,104	48,211
Scotland	1,048,000	1,265,380	1,526,492	1,608,420	4,472,103	5,095,969

If the population remained relatively stable, income certainly did not. Ordinary workers who remained on the estate experienced a radical increase in standard of living. Pryde's estimate of a Scots ploughman's wage of £ 4 in 1770, more than doubled to £ 10 by the end of the century, and that, coupled with advances in education, health and housing, even considering the effects of inflation, translated into an easier life.

For the estate as a whole, rental income grew from £ 1,362 Stirling (converted values) in 1707[10] to £ 8,550 in 1776 to £ 12,299 in 1793[11] and £ 78,227[12] in 1911. The increases can be explained in terms of inheritance, land purchases, increasing grain prices, accounting accuracies, and by profits generated by the various improvements such as enclosure.

This "revolution" provided for more exacting leases, which purged feudal servitudes, payments in kind and fragmented wadsets, in favour of well managed economic units. Leaseholders were obliged to meet increased rentals by implementing specified improvements, which were calculated to increase production.

The sixth Earl provided regional leadership for the new technology and organization on experimental acreages. The success of his improvements measured on the estate can be seen from increases in specific factory rentals such as Cullen Factory from Crop 1750 £2885 to Crop 1793 £4,838.[13] or from

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4. Flinn (1977) op.cit., Chapter 3, Sir John Sinclair's estimate.
5. Campbell & Dow (1968) op.cit., - from J.G. Kyd Scottish population statistics estimate by Alex. Webster in 1755.
6. ibid, Sir John Sinclair's 1795 estimate reproduced in the 1825 Statistical Account of Scotland.
7. ibid, The Official Census of Scotland 1801.
8. ibid, 1901
9. ibid, 1951
10. This figure may have been supplemented by one further factory account.
11. Refer to Appendix C: these figures exclude other aspects of income.
12. The Complete Peerage, p. 580
13. Refer to Grant (1978) op.cit., Appendix pp. 15-19.

Portsoy Collection Crop 1760 £1788.7 to Crop 1790 £4,041.0[14]. This suggests a model of about a 2% annual increased productivity resulting in a doubled income in 50 years.

Confirmation can be made in the detailed revenues from individual farm groupings. In Table 4, the effect of variables has been deliberately reduced by converting £ Scots to £Stirling using a constant exchange of 12:1 and the converted grain prices for payment in kind were fixed at the 1707 values. The result suggests that rentals remained relatively constant for the first forty years, and on average doubled for the balance of the study period. For instance, Findlater Crop 1706 £175.1 grew to Crop 1793 £295.0 Forest of Boyne similarly doubled from 1706 £189.7 to 1793 £412.1.

Some areas appear to have regressed,such as Bruntoun which in 1706 was £50.3 while in 1793 the rental declined to £ 36.5. This was largely due to reforestation, and did not reflect long term value.

TABLE 3 CONVERTED RENTALS OF SELECTED FARM GROUPINGS 1697-1793

NOTE: For the purpose of converting rental in kind, grain prices have been kept artifically constant from 1697-1793. In reality, grain prices c. 1780 or 10/- for meal and 12/- for barley were almost triple those of c. 1700.[15]

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14. SRO GD 248-2974 "Alterations in Rents of Portsoy Collection 1776-1779".
15. Flinn (1977) op.cit., Appendix B, pp. 489-98 Friars prices 1619-1826 and vericus archival references. Conversion prices used are 12:1 £Scots to Stirling, 1 boll meal: £3.3 Stirling, 1 boll Bear: £ 4.0 Stirling 1 Merk = 0.66 £Scots.

Converted Rental In £ Stirling

Farm Group	1697[16]	1706[17]	1710[18]	1721[19]	1723[20]	1791[21]	1793[22]
Findochty					54.5	83.8	83.8
Woodside						22.7	21.7
Portnockie & Cruats						101.5	113.5
Farskane						69.6	69.6
Bruntoun		50.3	63.2			36.5	36.5
Cullen Lands		220.4				668.0	680.0
Cullen House, etc.						230.0	299.0
Pattenbringan	63.2				21.0	21.0	
Findlater		175.1	175.1			295.0	295.0
Reidhaven & Bogtoun	65.2	65.2	65.2	65.0		191.0	187.0
Fordyce & Hallyards		42.6	42.0	69.4		123.2	123.2
Fordyce Feu Duties						10.0	10.0
Forest of Boyne	189.7			101.5+		412.1	412.1
New Mills of Boyne				58.6		112.7	112.7
Deskford	182.1	202.0				805.7	813.2
New Settlement in Deskford						39.0	40.0
Windyhills & Gawkstone			19.2		19.2	60.0	60.0
Crombie						256.0	255.0
Crannah & Blacklaw						92.2	92.2
Lands About Banff	35.8					308.0	
Banff Hill Improvement						11.0	
Banff Feu Duties						135.0	

Farm Group	1697	1706	1710	1721	1723	1791	1793
Colleonard						380.1	
Baldavie & Raggall						132.0	
Ord		34.7			111.2	150.0	
Brackenhills & Rothmackenzie						75.5	
Craigherbs, & Mill of Boyndie						118.3	
Auds & Warylip						13.0	
Boyne In Boyndie	138.6		253.3+	331.3		1109.1	
Boyne in Fordyce						348.3	
Portsoy Land			134.7			369.0	
Arnbath			22.2			49.0	
Portsoy Feu Duties						76.0	
Auchoynanie						148.4	
Kempcairn	109.7	62.7			66.3	199.0	
Allanbuie						304.3	
Keith			2.0		60.2	389.0	
Cantleys/ Mongrew					61.4		
Mulben						515.4	
Elchies						140.5	
Dandaleith						105.8	
Rothes						359.3	
Mains & Milltown or Rothes						71.0	
Rothes New Town						24.0	
Haugh of Airndilly						9.0	
Dundurcas, Freefield & Colly						124.3	
Salmon Fishings						37.0	
Barluach						31.0	

Farm Group	1697	1706	1710	1721	1723	1791	1793
Muddhouse						18.0	
Main						76.0	
Myreside						50.6	
Linksfield & Dunscrook						52.6	
Bishopsmill						47.3	
Lands of Elgin						195.0	
Linkswood						284.3	
Birney Parish						379.0	
Rannas						431.3	
Lands About Nairn						19.0	
						£ 10,915.4*	

* The actual rental for crop 1791 was £12,513.

Table 3 shows that other areas experienced more intensive infusions of capital investment to effect improvements, with correspondingly high productivity. Cullen land rentals tripled from 1706 £220.5 to 1793 £680.0, as did Windyhills and Gawkstone. Ord quadrupled from 1706 £34.7 to 1793£150.0 largely due to enclosures of commonty; Kempcairn and Keith Collection grew from £109.7 in 1706 to£ 712.3 in 1793.

Increased yields as a direct result of capital improvement are clearly documented in the case of Reidhaven and Bogtown. The 1706 rental of £ 65.2 remained static until fourteen phases of improvements were implemented

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16. SRO GD 248-597-6 Rental of Lands of Reidhyth, 1697.
17. SRO GD 248-1385 Rental Crop 1706.
18. SRO GD 248-1385 Rental Crop 1710 and 1717.
19. SRO GD 248-1153 Lord Deskford's Rental Crop 1721.
20. SRO GD 248-1153-2 Peter Lorimer's Rental Crop 1723.
21. SRO GD 248-2959 General Abstract Rental Crop 1791.
22. SRO GD 248-2356 General Abstract Rental Crop 1793.

from 1775-1784,[23] with the resulting tripling of rentals by 1793 to £187.0. Another means of increasing profits is exemplified by the Boyne in Boyndie Land. Rentals rose from 1706 £138.6 to 1793 £ 1,109.1 largely due to the more effective management than the preceding bankrupt landlord provided (as well as some boundary changes)

The doubling of rentals for most previously settled land over a fifty year period was hardly revolutionary, especially when the cost of the capital investment required to produce these yields was not taken into the equation. A two percent return per annum does not compare favorably with four percent bank interest in 1770.[24]

Why all the fuss? Was it all propaganda? Two percent growth was better than nothing. Evidence suggests that tenants shared in the benefits of their hard work, and two percent to someone in a marginal economy must have seemed impressive. Spectacular profits were not made with old land, but with underdeveloped land. Reclamation projects such as Cranna and Blacklaw, yielding £92.2 rental by 1791, or Colleonard at £ 380.1 in 1791 were created largely from wasteland and mosses. That fact coupled with the reality that investments in land improvements, such as forestry, in the eighteenth century, did not mature until the next century, produces a quite different picture. Radical change did indeed occur.

A classic example of the profitability of one collection, the Moray Collection, from 1777 through 1820, is documented in Table 4. The area was largely underdeveloped prior to its acquisition in 1758 by Lord Deskford. From 1777 to 1793, there was a 35.1% increase in profits, or a 2.2% per annum increase. From 1793 to 1820 there was a 253.0% increase over the 1777 values or a 5.9% per annum increase, and that was before rentals from forestry and hunting took off.

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23. SRO GD 248-1155.
24. I. D. Grant (1978) op.cit. pp. 17-18.

TABLE 4

Moray Collection Rentals 1777 - 1820
(Reproduced from GD 248-1413 including
Elchies, Rothes, Duncdurcas, Speyside, Parish of Birnie and Elgin)

Crop Year	Factory Charge	Rental	Change Over 1777	% Increase Over 1777
1777 (Peter May)	1,775	1,401	0	0
1778 (Geo Brown)	2,450	1,417	16	1.1
1779	2,703	1,452	51	3.6
1780	2,735	1,522	121	8.6
1781	2,995	1,516	115	8.2
1782	3,447	1,510	109	7.8
1783	4,825	1,556	155	11.0
1784	5,331	1,576	175	12.5
1785	5,054	1,614	213	15.2
1786	4,841	1,784	383	27.3
1787	4,656	1,779	378	27.0
1788	4,123	1,785	384	27.4
1789	3,948	1,798	397	28.3
1790	3,227	1,806	405	28.9
1791	3,123	1,832	431	30.8
1792	3,096	1,870	469	33.5
1793	3,144	1,893	492	35.1
1811	4,897	3,328	1,927	137.5
1820 (Peter Brown)	£ 7,756	£ 4,946	£ 3,545	£ 253.0

From Table 5, it can be seen that the Collections of Cullen and Portsoy provided two thirds of estate revenue on about one third of the total land area, as late as the 1780's. Improvements in the outlying areas would be slow to reach maturity. (See Table 5)

TABLE 5: RELATIVE VALUES OF COLLECTIONS[26]

Collection	-- Rentals In £ Stirling -- 1784	1785	1786	1787	1790	1792	1793	% of Estimated Income
Cullen	4212	4211	4198	4509	4063	4435	4384	34.0
Portsoy	3591	3828	3580	3545	3386	3736	3460	29.5
Moray	2074	1193	2254	1913	2261	2030	1964	17.0
Keith	1072	2100	1143	1175	1077	1101	1110	9.0
Mulben	511	772	707	601	510	632	611	4.0
Towie	627	537	565	664	754	434	--	5.0
Thorntown & Inverury	178	131	110	181	609	645	613	1.5
Rannas Nairn	--	--	--	--	120	159	153	--
TOTAL	£ 12,267					£ 12,299		100%

Changing land use patterns have been stereotyped in 1707 as a series of discontinuous, overgrazed settlements, separated by wastelands along the coast, and by upland areas which were in the final stages of deforestation. The 1793 stereotype was of a well tempered environment full of prosperous farms and young forests. This is oversimplified.

Peter May's c. 1776 estate inventory reproduced on Table 6 with analysis on Figure 7 of a total 56,500 acres, gives a precise insight into land management. Arable infield and outfield totalled 37.5% with meadow adding a further 15.1%. Comparing with 1933-1938 statistics and with contemporary land use prepared by the Select Committee on Scottish Affairs two centuries later, demonstrates a general sense that the estate enjoyed a proportionately high percentage of arable land.[25]

The farmland was dominated by meal and barley crops, if the estate summary of rent paid in kind, crop 1776, is accurate.[27] New root crops such as potatoes and turnips and legumes such as peas were planted as well. Black Angus cattle would have dominated the meadows, with sheep wandering the uplands.

Surprizing is the fact that by 1776, several generations of Findlaters' efforts at reforestation only amounted to 2,255 acres or 4.0% of the net estate area.[28] This suggests a slower process of realizing the now famous forests. A minor discrepancy exists with Nicholson's 1765 report, for he lists 2,360 acres planted about Cullen House alone. The discrepancy is not due to the older man's use of larger Scots acres.[29] Rather, Peter May's identification of a

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25. Refer also to J.T. Coppock, An Agricultural Atlas of Scotland, Ch. 3
26. From SRO GD 248-591-2-164, and SRO GD 248-1280 General State of the Earl of Findlater and Seafield's Money Matters.
27. SRO GD 248-1.1.1777: Meal - 4223 Bolls, Barley - 2299 Bolls, Oats - 63 Bolls, wheat - 4 bolls.
28. May's inventory separately lists 304 acres of policies planting and 129 acres of Crannoch Hill plantation. These must be added to the total.
29. Scots acres were approximately one third larger than English acres.

TABLE 6:
Findlater Estate Inventory - circa 1776
GD 248-965-2 (Peter May)

Site	-- Arable Land -- Infield	Outfield	Meadow	-- Uncultivated Ground -- Woodland,	Hill&Moor	Moss	Total	Notes
Achoynany	292.1.14	72.2.17	199.2.26		493.1.19		1057.3.36	
Allanbuie & Mulderie	473.3.26	179.2.19	428.0.14		1197.0.5	253.1.16	2632.0.0	
Banfflands about	124.3.9						124.3.9	
Birnie, parish of	800.0.0		300.0.0		1600.	300.	3000.0.0	Totally conject.
Bishopmill	62.1.18	27.2	51.2.2		217.2.30		359.10	
Bogtown	105.2.39	15.2.24	66.1.37			17.1.0	205.0.20	
Boyndie, Craigherbs, Whitehills, Upper Dollachy & C.	412.1.26	84.2.22	148.2.22	92.1.30	99.0.13		837.0.33	improved part of plantation
Brackenhills, Rothmackenzie & Newmills	218.1.7	107.3.8	122.2.23		23.1.20	71.2.20	543.2.38	
Burntown, Farskan, Findochty, Portknocky & c.	325.3.17	253.1.2	280.1.10	533.0.0	870.1.26	158.2.0	2421.1.15	
Boyne, Baldavie, & Raggal	2040.0.39	1650.0.23	1258.0.21	295.2.30	1220.2.27	37.2.20	6502.3.0	
Colleonard, Reidstack & Hills of Boyndie	381.2.39	445.2.22	82.0.8	250.0.20	42.1.0	6.1.10	1252.0.19	measures not exact
Crannah & Blacklaw	146.0.24	107.2.27	99.3.8		368.3.21	134.1.20	856.3.20	
Crombie	356.0.0	373.1.15	542.3.14		176.0.30	254.1.0	1702.2.19	
Cullen including C.H. Policies	621.1.14						621.1.14	policies - 304 acr
Deskford, Windyhills & Gawkstone	1517.0.6	474.3.33	1314.3.25	519.0.10	3215.2.38	758.2.0	7800.0.32	exclusive of the mills & Milltown
Elgin, lands about	124.0.0						124.0.0	measure not exact
Findlater, Logie & Dytach	481.2.3	131.0.10	74.1.10	36.1.0	634.0.17		1357.1.0	Crannah hill 129 a. and is planted
Fordyce & Hallyeard	193.1.36	8.2.39	124.1.13				326.2.10	includes Kirkyard & c.
Forrest of Boyne, Bogmuchles & c.	766.0.6	529.3.39	789.3.36		1382.1.18	263.1.0	3743.0.0	
Kempcairn	199.1.37	62.1.37	82.1.26				344.1.20	
Keith, Edindaich, & Milltown	525.3.22		62.1.20			38.0.15	626.1.17	
Kinksfield & Deanscrook	183.2.0		128.0.19				311.2.19	
Linkwood	336.1.3	179.0.4	228.1.1		304.2.39	24.0.35	1072.2.2	
Ord	226.3.38	220.1.28	238.2.6		190.1.20	136.1.0	1012.2.12	exclusive of mill increase
Pattenbringan, Tochineil, Seafield, Malthouse crofts, Hillocks	202.2.16	77.3.0	199.1.39	9.1.8			489.0.23	
Portsoy & Arnbath	304.2.10	68.2.0		137.3.0			510.3.10	
Redhyth	79.2.1		31.3.9				110.3.10	
Rothes, Elchies, Dandileith, Dundurcas & c.	1187.0.32	560.3.3	672.2.31	87.0.10	6484.3.13	2410.3.24	11403.1.33	
Towie	580.0.20	1892.3.34	595.3.17		675.0.31	114.1.30	3858.2.12	
Ardkeith, Brachead & Ardneedly	134.1.34	29.1.5	89.3.34		146.3.0		400.1.33	
	13,562.0	7,482.0	8,469.0	1,822.0	19,477.0	4,976.0	55,955.0	acres plus 545 acres

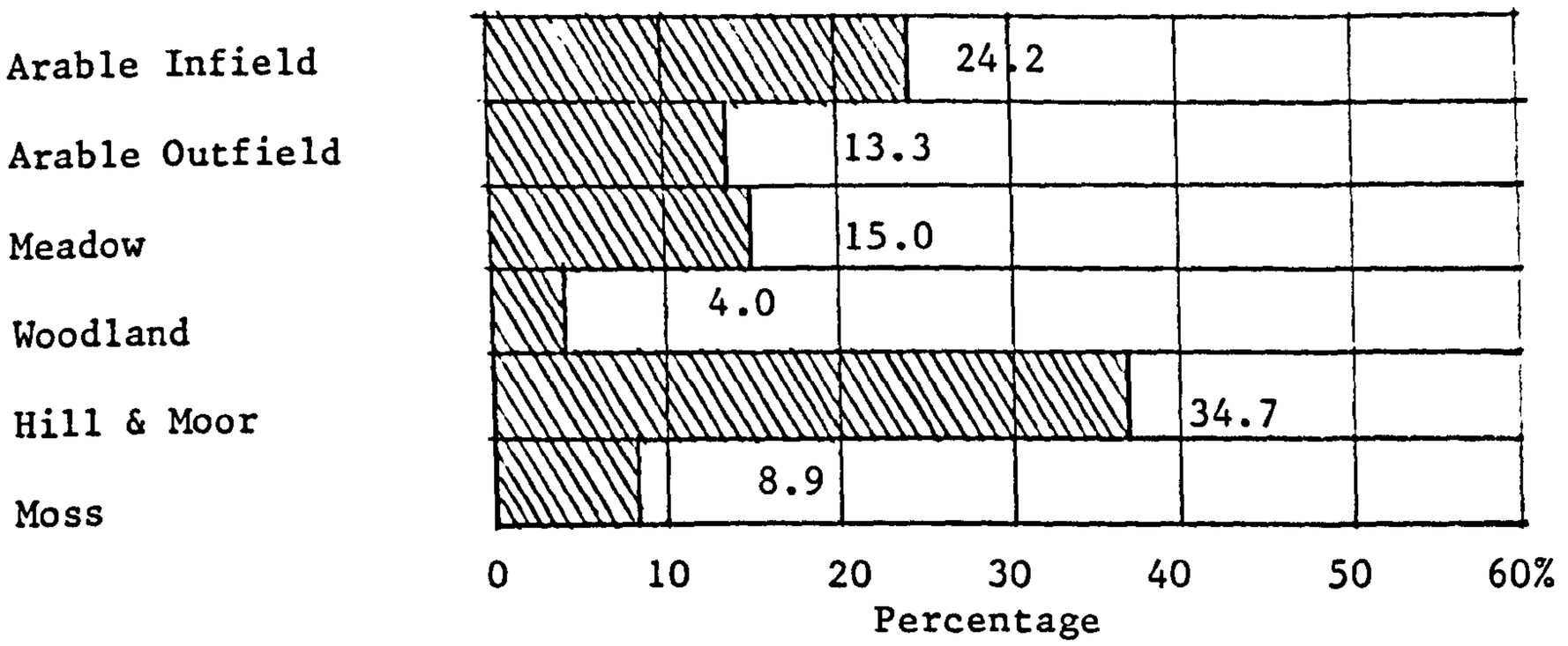

Table 7

Land Use On The Findlater Estate in 1776
Compiled from Table 6 Inventory

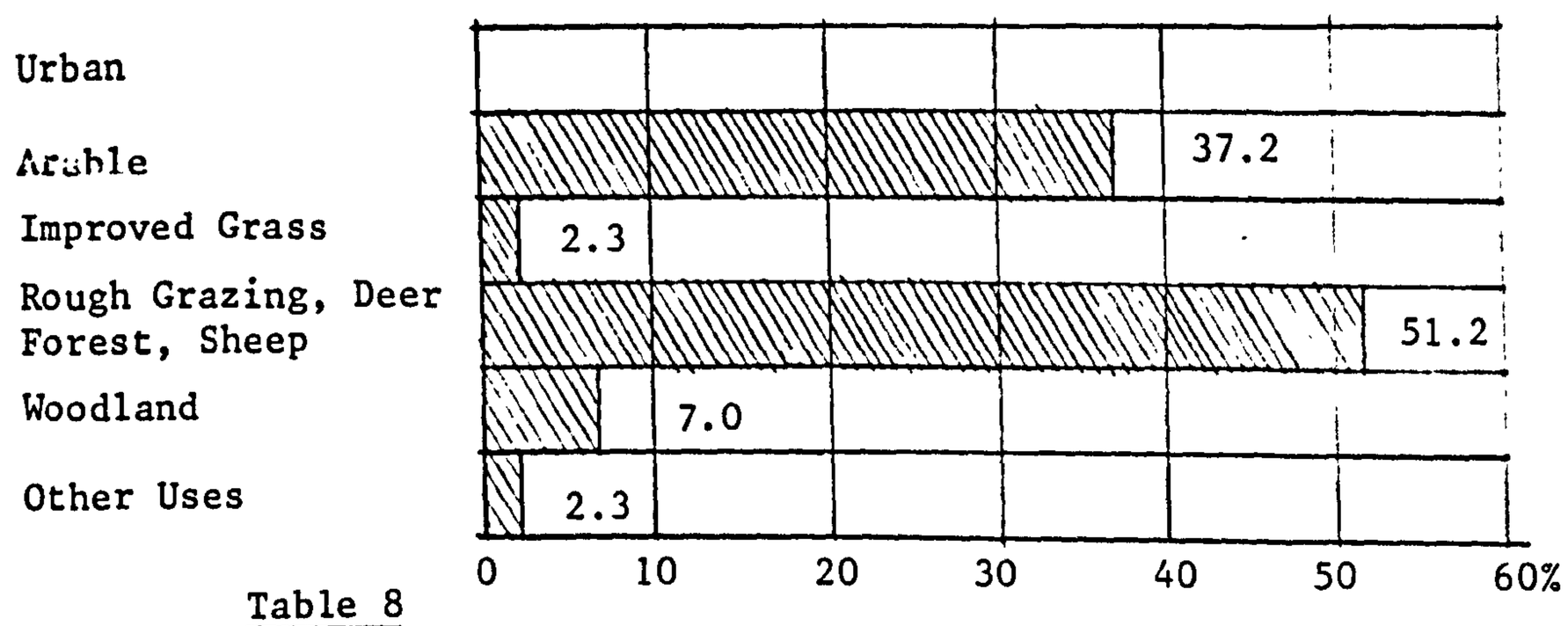

Table 8

Land Use in Scotland, 1933-38
from Nuttgens, part one, p.63

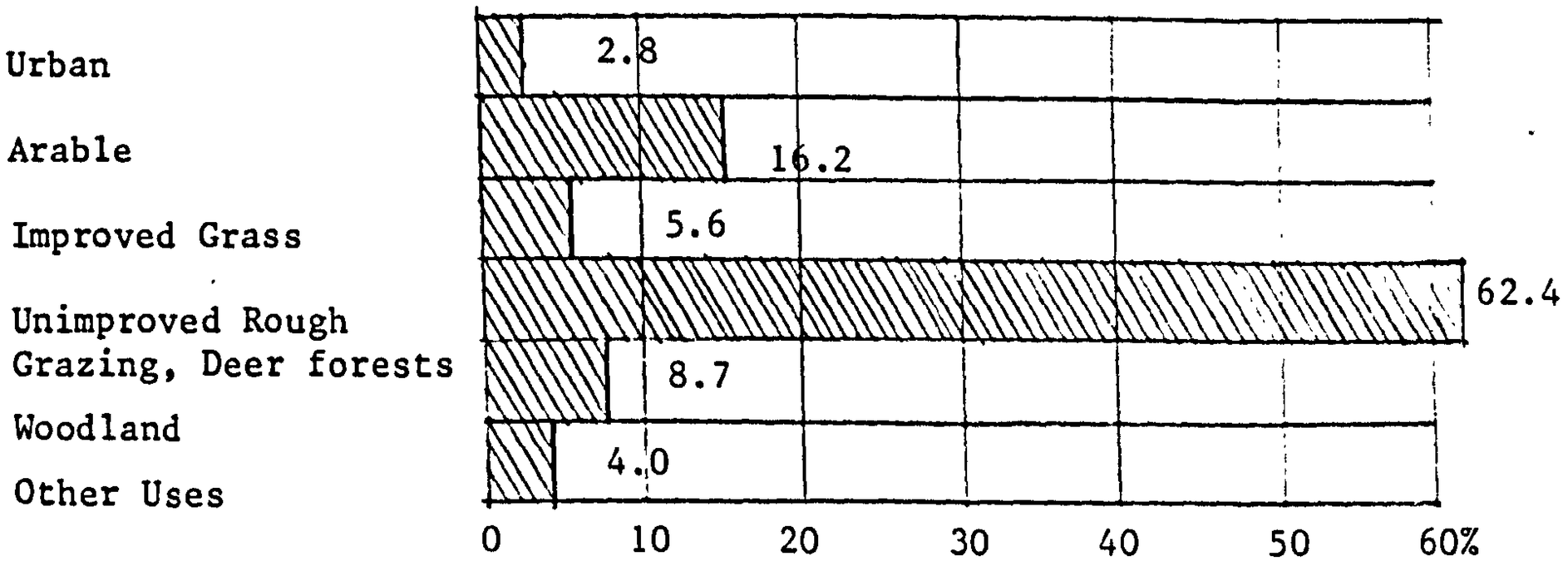

Table 9

Contemporary Scottish Land Use Compiled from the Select Committee On Scottish Affairs: Land Resource Use Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons Session 1971-72,

problem with accuracy of the measures on the Spynnie property,[30] which had been compiled by Nicholson, suggests pure error. On the other hand, May does not list ground planted for windbreaks, orchards, policies or small plantations, he only documented major Woodland. Nicholson may therefore not have been too far wrong. It must also be recognized that the May inventory was updated and possibly could have been much earlier than 1776, however, that is unlikely as it corresponded with his resignation from the Findlater estate.

Wasteland (hill, moor and moss) totalled 43.6% of the total estate. This land was unproductive except for peat casting and rough grazing for sheep. It represented the area of greatest potential. Each acre removed from that column meant enhanced profits.

The continual acquisition of underproductive upland property was the action of a landlord with a clear vision and commitment to long term prosperity. For instance, the 1758 acquisition of the 11,400 acre Elchies Estate for £24,000 yielded 1758 rental of £740, 1766 rental of £834[31] and a 1791 rental of £871; at best this was a 28 year cost. Similarly, the 1778 Mulben purchase for £15,500 brought a 1791 rental of £515 for a 30 year cost. Compared with the sale of Towie 1790-1793 for £24,510 at a rental of 28 years, or the purchase of Rannas and Darbreight for £22,527 with a £560 rental of 40 years,[32] the prices were not out of line in comparison to revenue. At a little more than £2 per acre, the land was greatly undervalued.

Eventually the large areas of "wasteland" would be converted to forests, grouse moors and deer parks with the result that by 1880, forestry and hunting income exceeded that of agriculture.

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30. SRO GD 248-680-9 May to Ross, 6-09-1768.
31. SRO GD 248 Report on Rental by P. May, July, 1767.
32. SRO GD 248-950-1-46 Rentals 8-12-1787.

Investment could not be sustained entirely from income. Loans had to be negotiated; risks had to be assumed. The strategic plan between 1707-1770 adopted a cautious debt load. The growth in overall debt rose from a £ 607 surplus in 1709[33] to a £27,530 debt in 1764, to £32,254 in 1770.[34] This was primarily due to land purchases. The extravagance of the Seventh Earl led to a lecture by John Ross in 1781 that it was the first time Findlater had exceeded his income.[35] The debt at that time stood at £46,000. By 1792 that figure had almost doubled to £ 88,387, and Findlater was forced to sell Towie.[36] The Commissioner's frugal management resulted in the debts being reduced to £ 58,927 by the time of the seventh Earl's death in 1811.

Naturally debts are only one indicator of the state of health of an Estate. However, the general assessment of the Findlater Estate even with the seventh Earl's mismanagement, was that it was robust, for the total debt acquisitions only represented three times the annual income by 1793. Of this £ 53,540 was due to purchases. Subtracting £ 323,300 was realized from sales, the 1792 net debt due to property acquisitions was £ 30,240.[37] By comparison, the Grant of Grant Estate was encumbered by a £ 212,416 debt load in 1811,[38] with interest charges exceeding its annual income.

Improvements, shrewd investments in upland properties at a time when it was unfashionable, and sound management principles over four generations, laid the foundations of a great fortune.

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33. SRO GD 248-574-6 John Stewart, Writer-in-Signet Charge and Discharge Earl of Seafield's Account between 1707-1709; 05-1709.
34. Grant (1978), op.cit., Vol. 2 pp. 193-194.
35. SRO GD 248-591-2-215 Ross to Findlater 6-02-1781.
36. Refer also to SRO GD 248-590-3-97 in 8-03-1791 Debt Stood at £ 88,944 while after deducting fixed expenses, only £ 6,000 of discretionary annual income was left. Ross was of the opinion that retrenchment was necessary. Refer also to SRO GD 248-1280, the debt in 1.1.1791 was £ 89,223.
37. SRO GD 248-1280.
38. SRO CS 96-2374.

Environment Consequences

The Statistical evidence demonstrates positive growth, but what of the environmental consequences? By 1707, the amount of improved land amounted to about 35% of a parish. The balance was a wasteland of rough grazings, a deforested ground susceptible to erosion. While it is difficult to quantify the extent of environmental degradation, the evidence points to biophysical mismanagement.

Environmental quality in the year 1793 was radically altered for the good. Afforestation, grasses, new crops, erosion control devices, drainage techniques to improve soil fertility, removal of peat bogs and marshes, enclosures of wasteland, all had a positive effect.[39]

Conceptual form evolved from medieval runrig strips of one to five acres scattered between wasteground in an amorphic pattern, to the defined enclosures of the early eighteenth century such as the 129 acre Findlater Park and the 269 acre farm of Dytach. (Figure 63). By mid-century a geometrical purity dominated gridiron improvements such as the 78 acre moss of Whitehouse (Figure 64) and the first phase 269 acre farm of Colleonard. (Figure 12). This was the period of the 555 acre trapezoidal Bauds of Cullen (Figure 66) and the triangular addition to Colleonard. (Figure 12). By the end of the sixth Earl's life in 1770, the geometry had become more sophisticated with a concern for adaptation to terrain and exhibited the signs of an awareness of the new aesthetics, such as the 491 acre farm of Greenhill, (Figure 68) which was carefully adapted to the terrain, and the Shenstone

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39. This interpretation recognizes the value of management such as contained in C. Glacken, "Man's place in nature in recent western thought" p. 166: "Before the end of the eighteenth century, certain ideas about man as a modifier of the natural world were well established..." This is in contraction to A. Toynbee's thesis in Mankind and Mother Earth, p. 562-574 which views eighteenth century progress as ultimately responsible for environmental devastation.

inspired plantations at Colleonard. (Figure 12).[39a] By 1793 the ability to plan and contemplate improvements had become almost regional; the Seventh Earl's 15,000 acre proposed policies (Figure 139) would have covered four parishes with as naturalistic and as wasteful a landscape as a Brownian pupil's formulae could achieve.

Architectural form evolved from an unpredictable provincial medievalism to Neoclassical conformance to a rational order inspired by the perceived idealism of the Greco-Romans. Ironically, what their Pictish forebearers obstinately fought to keep from becoming assimilated within, the eighteenth century Enlighted Scots triumphantly imported.

There were voices of dissent. The '15 and '45 rebellions were dramatic protests to the changing economic and social conditions. The losers forfeited control of their estates and ceased to be influential. Protests to forced improvements were unlikely to be made from clerics either; the rigid Calvinism of the Reformation had mellowed into a more moderate Presbyterianism with secure living and houses provided by patrons. There was a minor schism over the right of landowners to control ecclesiastical appointments, but that too did not threaten the foundations of the Enlightment.

The well educated middle class had the most to gain from the accumulation of great wealth of the few landowners. The prosperity that was generated by the improving dictates of the Earl of Findlater created employment for a host of professionals. Those at the bottom of the scale were educated to follow sermons, but were not educated to an awareness of the momentous events about them. They were carried along by the force of civilization without recognizing what hit them.

4. Long Term Management

The drive that established Banff's integration with the larger world did not happen without deliberate planning. Organizational structures emerged on estates such as the Findlater Estate to plan, control and

39a. Watkin (1980) op.cit., p.27: Although the inspiration did not translate into the same investment in controlled vistas and buildings. Colleonard confined the sense of the natural to paths and plantings.

develop potential. Gradually feudal rights and obligations fell away, to be replaced by an enterpreneurial economic unit whose central corporate objective was maximizing profits to thereby exercise power.

The vision directing this effort began in the mind of the fourth Earl of Findlater, an aristocrat with an uncompromized belief in absolute authority. His leadership was continued by his son, with the grandson bringing his vision to full realization. The great-grandson's dissipation failed to ruin the estate's fortune, since effective proprietorship was invested with Commissioners. Administrator Ross, chief factor Wilson, and other professionals provided the conditions for continued successful applications of innovative technology to improve working and living conditions.

Evidence proves that the human mind had become capable of rational and analytical thought which could manipulate a regional environment to provide economic prosperity. This could be said to be representative of the birth of the stewardship principle.

Or was it luck? The evidence has been correlated with the benefit of hindsight and it has been consciously presented in support of a central thesis. Could the landowner in 1707 have visualized the great changes that would occur by 1793? Did the fourth Earl have Delphic insight? No, but he recognized the forces of broad cultural change and ordered his corporate life accordingly. Decisions were made with long term implications, and those decisions were either honored in subsequent generations or were consciously altered to take advantage of some improvement. The last Findlater was an exception; for him, the wealth and authority meant frivolity, and in terms of the proposal to restructure Cullen in 1789, the frivolity would have had a profoundly detrimental effect upon thousands of people.

The vincibility of aristocratic vision extended to the ideas of even a leading Eighteenth Century Scottish Improver, Lord Kames.[40] In The

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40. W. C. Lehmann, Henry Home, Lord Kames and the Scottish Enlightenment, Chapter 6 and Ian Simpson Ross, Lord Kames and the Scotland of His Day, Chapter 16.

Gentleman Farmer ... Kames rationalized an improving regime for farm and offices which served to stimulate landowners to action. In so doing he stipulated wages to tenants, while all profits went to the landowner.[41] As early as 1815, the rights of tenants to a share of the profits (or losses) from their investment[42] was recognized as a just principle.

The absolute right for one mind to shape the lives of so many without consultation, ultimately led to a demand for the separation of political, social and corporate power. This flaw also helps to explain why such a seemingly successful management model as Scottish estates provided, did not come to thrive in the new world. There were attempts in the plantation colonies, in Nova Scotia, in Selkirk's Red River, some ranches and on Vancouver Island; but even the greatest corporate venture, the Hudson's Bay Company, with a mandate to control a third of a continent, eventually lost dominion and became only one corporation amongst many which now must carefully calculate long term survival.

The limits to autocratic property rights continue to provoke controversy in Scotland. The contemporary estate inheritor, the thirteenth Earl of Seafield, proposed to combat death duties and extradordinary taxation by extraordinary measures maximizing short term profit. Since 1976 he has auctioned the contents of Cullen House, sold Cullen House, all but obliterated the policies, arbitrarily clear cut Abernathy forest (a site of special scientific interest in the heart of the Caledonian Forest),[43] and has demanded unreasonably high payments for feu title clearances to end ninety-nine year leases.[44] The controversy generated from these and other short term management techniques have recently created such a protest from government, public organizations and other landowners, that the Earl has been forced to reconsider his policies to the extent of removing his factor.

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41. H. Home, The Gentleman Farmer, Chapter 14.
42. Ibid, Supplement to 6th edition, p. 526.
43. The Scotsman, 26-04-1984.
44. The Scotsman, 27-04-1984.

What does this all mean for architectural history? Design decisions are not always limited to expressions of broad stylistic phenomena. A particular client's strategic plan often influences space and form. To Scots, this is self-evident; it is not necessarily so to Canadians.

APPENDICES

A. Findlater Estate Archival Surveys

B. Estate Inventory

C. Annual Reports

D. Landowners

E. Construction Contracts 1719-1732

F. Gardener's Report 1732-1765

APPENDIX A

FINDLATER ESTATE ARCHIVAL SURVEYS

note: each plan is plotted on Figure 2, p.14.

	SRO PLAN REFERENCE NO.	TITLE	DATE
1.	8853	Proposed Cullen to Portsoy turnpike with Seventh Earl's amendments See also 8851	1803
2.	12874	Lands of Cullen (east)	1762 redrawn 1797
3.	11838	New Keith "According as they are now divided into regular lots" see also 8876 (c.1768)	1764
4.	12882	New Cullen	c. 1820
5.	8877	Moss of Carnoch and Hill of Bauds	1736
6.	8878	Clashmadin Hill	early 18th c.
7.	11847	West side of Deskford See also 11848 draft	1771
8.	11845	East side of Deskford	1771
9.	9024	New Rothes land division	1766 redrawn 1769
10.	9025	Nes Rothes tennants See also 11820 (1790)	1791
11.	11816	Birnie Estate Volume 1 - 26 Plans	1786

	SRO PLAN REFERENCE NO.	TITLE	DATE
12.	11821	Linkwood	1768
13.	11855	Road from Cullen to Kilnhillock	1789
14.	11823	Myreside and Linksfield	1764
15.	11833	Rothes	1817
16.	11851	Ord, Boghead, etc.	c. 1769
17.	11839	Bruntown, Farskine, Findochty and Woodside	1766
18.	11853	Lands of Rannas (prior to purchase)	c. 1770
19.	11844	Greenhill improvement	1766
20.	11841	Town and lands of Fordyce and farm of Bogtown	1764
21.	11857	Lower part of Boyndie Parrish	1798 (renewed) Original c. 1767
22.	8847	Cairntown, Broadley and Broadley Park	1770
23.	11849	East side of Knockhill	1767
24.	11840	Barony of Findlater See also 12887 plan redrawn 1795	1761
25.	11854	Whitehouse Moss at Kilnhilock	c. 1760

	SRO PLAN REFERENCE NO.	TITLE	DATE
26.	11850	Hills of Boyndie and Braeface of Colleonard	c. 1770
27.	11842	Boyndie, Whitehills, Craigherbs, Warylip, Blackpots and Over-Dallachy	1766
28.	8868	Keith Newtown and Moss	1780
29.	12878	Cullen New Town	1817
30.	12876	West approach to Cullen House - White policies. See also BND-16-30	1789
31.	12880	Cullen New Town expansion	1825
32.	12879	Cullen policies	1822
33.	12877	Revised Cullen White policies	1790
34.	12875	Cullen policies "as they lye at present"	1764
35.	BND-32-1	Whitehills Plan	1825
36.	BND-32-1	Portsoy Town Feu	1802
37.	GD248-951-5-2	Lintmill, Cullen Bleachfield Company Plan	c. 1750
38.	12884	Banff Town	c. 1770
39.	BND-34-2	Banff Town proposed redevelopment	1826

	SRO PLAN REFERENCE NO.	TITLE	DATE
40.	11865	See 29. Cullen New Town Sketch	1817
41.	11856	Shirralds and Ellyside with Pattenbringan	1794
42.	11852	Upper Boyndie Parish including Moss of Park, New Mills, Brackenhill and Rothmackenzie	1774
43.	12888	Bogmuchals	c. 1772
44.	8874	White Moss (Reidside Moss)	c. 1765
45.	8876	Road through Blacklaw	n.d.
46.	8866	Balloch Hill (with cairn at top)	1739
47.	8875	Sketch of contraverted ground below the greens of Rothen (Reidside Moss)	n.d.
48.	9032	Warylip (22 acres divided into nine lots)	c.1770
49.	11843	Craigherbs and Buchragie	1761
50.	8856	Sketch plan between Durn and Portsoy of a boundary settlement between Durn and Findlater et.al.	1770
51.	8860	Line of march between old and new Knockhill Mosses (Whitely Moss near Inverkindling Hill)	n.d.
52.	13954	Lands of Mulben	c. 1765

APPENDIX B

Estate Inventory

A specific inventory of estate constituent parcels, has been compiled from a comparison of charaters, correspondence, legal proceedings and various property catalogues.[1] Presentation follows a time and location format here; with mapping plotted on contemporary ordnance survey plans in chapter one. Boundries have been approximated within the limits of the data.

For much of the century, the estate was divided into five collections (also know as management units or factories), with a factor responsible for each collection, and a chief factor (or steward or chamberlain), directing the whole for day to day decisions. These collections are: Cullen, Portsoy, Murray, Keith and Towie. There were periodic changes in estate possessions with the result that collections varied between two and six units, but for convenience, these changes will be ignored.

Each property listed under a collection has been dated to the approximate time of acquisition using the four estate management periods: expansion (1707-30), consolidation (1730-50), improvement (1750-70) and Administration (1770-93). The initial period does not differentiate traditional holdings from those acquired form 1707-30. Referecne to sale or purchase of land in the archieves has been listed separately in chapter three.

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1. For instance: SRO GD 248-1160 inventory of writs at Cullen, Vol. I c.1771 compiled by William Robertson; SRO GO 248-571-5 decrete to establish property of the Findlater Estate 26-01-1748; SRO GD 248-572-3 will of the third Earl of Findlater; SRO GD 248-798-5 tallie of the fifth Earl to Lord Deskford 4-10-1748; and SRO GD 248-965-2 Findlater Estate Inventory by John Ross c. 1776.

Cullen Collection

1707-1730:

Findochty . . . Westerside, Knowhead, Geo. Sinclair's Croft, the Mains & Garden, Mossfold, Broomfold, Nethertown, Fishertown & boats, Scotstown, Carnoch.

Portknockie . . Portknockie lands, fishertown, boats & port, Cordiner's land, the Stacks, Knight's improvement, Cruats, Ovensrood, Cobble Croft, Bowfiddle Park, the improvements, Greencastle.

Cullen . . . . Cullen House, Hillocks, Broomleys, Seafield, Tochineal, Pattenbringan, Burnside, Shirralds, improvement at Shirrells, (Muldavat, Craighead, Shirrells, mains & glen of Muldavat, mills), Moss of Cullen improvement, Burdsbank, Old Mill, New Mill, Seatown & boars, Smithstown, Rottenhillocks, Malthouse Croft, Battle Haugh, New Mill Brae, Salmon fishings, Cullen town.

Pattenbringan . Upper and Nether.

Findlater . . . Findlater Castle, Meilke and little Hillocks, Hillbrae, Whitehouse, Easter & Wester Killhillock, Barnyards of Findlater, Brankenentum, Broom, Dovecot, Dytach, Sandend, fishertown & boats, Garronhead, Bog Park, Thomaswell.

Redhaven & Bogtown. . Redhyth (Redhaven), Upper & nether Bogtown, lime quarries, fisher boats of Redhyth.

Fordyce . . . . Fordyce town & kirkyards, Fordyce Castle, market & customs of Hallowfair, Hallyards.

Forest of Boyne . . . Hillend, Auchip, Slackdale, Burnside, Ordenhills (Ordenquill or Ordenhooves), Muttonbrae, Summertown, Wintertown, Craigiefoord, Butterytack, Knowiemoor, Windshole, Canterbury, Burns, Limestones, Mains of Bogmuchles, Toux, Badenycoohers, Begburn, the Coory, Badifinks.

New Mills of Boyne . . New Mill, lands, Dunnimaud, Muirake, Rothmackenzies, Reidstack, Swardens, Stoneward, Fishkedlie, Lawtie's Croft.

Windyhills & Gawkstone . . Wester, Over & Nether Windyhills, Gawkstone, Lurgbrae, improvements, Cantly, Burnside, Sauchterton, Mosses of Aultmore (Aldmore).

Deskford . . . Lettchiestown, Smithtown, Bleachfield, Inaltry, Cottown, Carestown, Meikle & Littke Knows, Croftgloy, Hollandbush, Hoggie, Kintywards, Greenhill, Little Skeith, Mains of Skeith, Broomhaugh, Broadrashes, James Longmoor's Croft, Mid Skeith, Supper Skeith, Backies, Bognagight, Clochmacreech, Langlandburn, Craidbstone, Ramore, Broom of Skeith, Carrothead, Burnsheads, Berryhillock, Knappycauseway, Mosside, Castle and tower garden,

Croft, Fachyhill, Clunehill, Upper & Nether Mills, Kerstown, Swallohillock, Kirktown and Kirklands of Deskford.

Bruntown . . . Burntown, Upstrath, Claypots.

Arnbath

1730-1750:

Woodside . . .

Farskan . . . . Denside, Cardley, Claygate, Farskean mansion, gardens & pidgeon house, the Mains, Fatkill, Kirkland, Burnside.

Hill of Bauds . .

Logie . . . . . Logie house, Crannoch hill.

Longmuir (Langhill) . .

Mosses of Kinminity and Mosses of Edingight. (Grange)

Deskfoord . . . Cultean, Ardiecow, Oathillock, Ordens, over & Nether Tilliebriegless, Langlandburn, Craibstone, Squardoch, Ardoch, Over & Nether Blairock, Clune.

1750-1770:

1770-1793:

Rannas . . . . . including Hill of Maud.

Portsoy Collection

1707-1730:

Ord . . . . . Mosses of Ord, Milltown of Ord, Old Town of Ord, Blackloanhead, Burnside, Cairn of Ord, Newtown of Ord, Breadbog. Bochnogy in Raggal.

Brackenhills & Rothmackenzie . .

Boyne (Boyne Parish) . . . . Bleachfield, Boyne Castle & Manor, Houses and yards on Westside of Road, Duffus' Cairn, Lourdens, Auds & Boarstone, Park of Craigherbs, Fiskaidly, Kirktown of Boyndie, Blackpots & Craigens, Whitehills, Fishertown & boats, Craigherbs, Boats land, Warylips, Little Craigherbs, Over Dallachy, Nether Dallachy, Westside, Threepland, Greencoats, Easter Wester and Middle Whynties, Gardens of old Boyne, Cowhyth & Scotsmill, Lettle and Meikle Brangan, Barleymill, Littmill, Meikle and Little Ordens, Little & Meikle Rattie (Reatty), Graenfauld & ward, Rattie manor & garden, Brewcroft & other crofts of Raittie, Bankhead, Nether Blairmaud, Upper Blairmaud, Paddockburn, White Culphin, Inverboindie, Garriflatt, Right to use mosses of Banff.

Boyne (Fordyce Parish) . . . Buckraigie mansion and Hills, Whitefaulds, Leggsmill, Baronsmill, Wyliiholes, Hill of Chattie, Wellheads, Kindrought, Mosswards, Roughtwillie, Cowhythe, Portsoy burgh, barony, harbour, port, fishing boats, Mills of Portsoy, Aird, Right to passage in Burn of Durn, Mossess of Blackhills and Whitemoss.

1730-1750:

Banff . . . . . Castle of Banff, Garrieslot, Lawson's Lands, Mill's lands, Russel's parks, Chalmer's Croft, Snappy Park, Kngswell park, Kitchen garden, Caldhame Park, Goodale's houses and yard, improvement on hill of Banff, various tenements in Banff.

Ord . . . . . Boghead

Craigherbs . . . Eastmost & Westmost Wicketfold Park, Boggy park, Old Craigherbs, the Broompark, Barnyards and Kitchen garden, Over & Nether Mills of Boyndie, Nethermills crofts, Small Arabel Haugh, Robbie's croft, Buchraigie park, Chalderspay of Upper Boydie, Cairncroft, J. Mackie's Croft, the Lourdens, Hills Boyndie.

Boyndie (Boyndie Parish) . . Brangan, Cairnton, Broadley, Broadley Park, Upper and Blck Culphins, Ordens in Boyndie.

Boyne (Fordyce Parish) . . . Mill and Millands of Tillynaught, Tillynaught, Upper and Nether Wandless, Auchenichie & Baley, Middyboyn, Auchmore (Altmore), Longside of Achmore, more gardens & houses in Portsoy.

1750-1770:

Colleonard . . . Mains and hills of Colleonard, Reidstack, Duncan's Croft, Easter and Wester Culbeuchly, Paddocklaw, Denhead, Whiteoutie.

Baldavie & Raggal . . . The Mains, Croft of the Mains, Easter Baldavie, Grigor's Croft, Mill and mill lands, Raggal, two crofts,

Badenspink, Bidtown of Badenspink

1770-1793:

Murray Collection

1707-1730:

1730-1750:

1750-1770:

Myreside . . . . Birkenhill, Myreside.

Linksfield . . . Linksfield, Deanscrook, pidgeon house, feu duty of Snuff Mill.

Bishopmill . . . Cross of Bishopmill, Arch. James' lands.

Land about Elgin . . . Borrowbrigs, Washing Green, Baxter's croft, Boyles yarks, Provost Innes' park, Blackfraars Haugh, Dovecot Park, Wester & Little Parks, Aughteen part of Barflathills, Grishop, Friar's Dyke, Greenhill's enclosure, Greenhalls, Ragg's Wynd houses, Kilnbarn, 5 crofts.

Linkwood . . . Beckitland, Tayockside, Parker's moss, Linkwood Mains, garden & pidgeon house, flour Mill & other mills, Ja. Alexander's land, Muirlands of Linkwood, Park & greene near muiflands, bogs, Muirtown, Glassgreen & Muirylack, Waulk & Lintomill of Muirtown, little grassgreen Michie & Holbownichie, Stonescross Hill, Blacklands, Rectillane.

Birnie Parish . . Dykeside, Castlehill, Rusherook, Greenwards, Grangemeadow, Hillhead, Mill of Briney, Redloan, Eastertown, Shogle, Craighead, Thomshill, Foths of Thomshill, Newlands of Foths, Brewhouse croft, Stankhouse, Duffus hillock, Newlands of Shogle, Greens of Loghinbuie, Blairies, Meikle Gedloch, Coyploch & Baronside, Middletown, Rannagairn, Boginduie, hanging folds of Coyploch, newlands of Rardonside, The Star, improvements at Star, Glenlaterath, Blairhall, Glenchapel, Burntlands of Gedloch, Bogmore, grazing of Corrycoppernoch, improvements at Whiteleys, Upper & Nether Bogs, improvement at Gedloch.

Elchies . . . . . Mains of Elchies, Glebe of Macallan, Gardens, mill & croft, Wester & easter Craighead, Lochingston, Overtown, Clayfurr, Hillhall, Phubuy, Whitehilloch, Allachrow, Whiteapses, Braehead.

Dandaleith . . . Old Killy, Longerock, Clachbreck, Hillochead, Longsider & Little Crooks, Craighook, Haugh of Landaleith, Steanytown, Longtown, the Mill, Mallochhead.

Rothes . . . . Mains, Milltown & rest of new Town, Corquhile, conrack, officer's crofts, Wellbogacre, Ardnellie, Blackburn, Chapelhill, Mill, Waukmill, Newton, Blackhall, Burncrook, Stainbuckie, Whitebog, Allanmore, Overtown, Cairngall, Nethertown, Gosleperaig, Bogroods, Sleepyhouse. Troup's Hillock, Corshealloch, Birntkirk, Welleyes, Swinehouse, Brackhill, Braehead, Ardeanny, Davieshouse, Greenbanks, Forbriggs, Airnskeldie, Fordyce Shealls, Tar, Badfleugh, Foulfoords, Lagmore, Netherley, Longrish, Meikle Bawds, Badinandrew, Folds, Brackennots, Broomhillock, Longgerrack, Crofts Bodingair, Mills in the Glen.

Logie . . . . . Auchinway, Edinvilly.

Haugh of Airndilly . . .

Dundurcas, Freefold, Colly . . . .
Cushnybog, Vicar's Glebe, Burn of Lowrden, Brackenslack, Rottenmoss, Duncurcas, Freefold, Colly.

<u>1770-1793:</u>

Main . . . (near Elgin)

Barluach . . . Achinrothes, Glens, Barluach & Piteraigie

Lands in Burgh of Elgin
Lands in and about Burgh of Nairn

Keith Collection

1707-1730:

Kempcairn . . . Westertown & Corseburn, Mongrews, Kirkhill & Ecclessiastical lands of Kempcairn, Mill of Myres, Mains of Kempcairn, Hollyley, Lochend, Braehead, Greenbanks, Drum, fairs of Keith, Gatesdie, Ardneedley, part of Altmore moss, Mains of Milton, Earl's mill & Croft, Milltown of Broadhaugh.

Keith . . . . Westertown, Edindaich, part of Lochend, part of Meikle Dunnyduff, Houses in new and old Keith.

1730-1750:

1750-1770:

Achoynanie . . . Little Ardron, Thomastown, Hill park and Meikle Ardron, Lowrtown, Achoynanie mains & Garden, Croft, new park, Little Dunnyduff, Braetown, Easter & Wester Herrocks, Ardemannoch, Mill & Milltown.

Allanbuie & Mulderie . . . . Marchbraes, West and East Garlands, Nether & Upper Cullyshangan, Easter & Wester bushes, Hillockhead, Bowlins, Mains of Mulerie, Myreeside, the banks & sarklands, Powat Wells, Mains of Allanbuie, North & South Bogbains, Mill & Millands of Crooksmith, Burnside, Forgie & Drakemyres, Janet's Leys, Walker's Trough, Backcraigs.

Crombie . . . . Redfoord, Tillfaff, Old Crombie, Mill of Crombie & Milltown, Crombie mains & garden, Braes of Crombie, Tillyfaff (Wester), Ramore.

Crannah & Blacklaw . . . South Crannah, Little Cranna & Ronald's Croft, Mains of Cranna, Winebrae & Cows croft, Mill of Crannah, Mill croft, Winton's croft, Mid Crannah, Blacklaw.

Carnousie and Knockworth

1770-1793:

Mulben
Kilvarock

Towie Collection

1707-1730:

1730-1750:

Lands about Inverury . . . 2 Burnriggs, Crawstone Butt, Outfield of 12th part, houses in Inverury, Hackerdale Haugh, Horn of Killhaugh, Langlandfold, Hungryhill.

1750-1770:

Kingsfoord . . . Curriedown, Upper Ordley, Nether Ordley, Kingsfoord, Mill & Milltown of Towie, Invertherney, Dykeside, Thomastown, smallburn & Croft, Mill of leggat & Mill croft, Miltown of Leggat, Meikle or upper Leggat & Blackhills, Chapell of Leggat, Roanfud, Towieturner, Towie mains, garden, orchard, Fields of Towie, Pitdoulsie, Slackend, Aerestrype, Birkenhills, Greenbrae, Loup, Cammalynes, Burraldales.

Lands about Inverury . . . Burnriggs, Crawstone Butt, Outfield, Inverury Houses, Hackerdale Haugh, Horn of Killhaugh, Langlandfold, Hungryhill.

1770-1793:

Collection sold for £ 23,300 c.1790.

APPENDIX C

Annual Reports

The accounts for each crop year were prepared by factors and cleared with the Earls until 1770. After 1770 John Ross, Commmissioner to the Seventh Earl, prepared a more general "Annual Report" listing the major items of income and expenditure. The few variations between the steady increase in income can be explained by extraordinary circumstances, such as the 1782-83 crop failure resulting in a general Scottish depression.

INCOME

All figures express in £Stirling

Item	Crop Year																	
	1774	1775	1776	1777	1779	1780	1781	1782	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793
Rent	8516	9647	8550	9399	10196	8691	10187	9960	11386	12775	12559	12591	11032	12030	12786	12513	13136	12229
Fue Duties & causualties	219	94	433	294	195	278	296	421	120	125	20	96	10	-	-	-	39	-
Gross wood sales	81	105	153	130	66	98	91	142	75	92	85	115	69	-	128	241	286	205
Farm/garden sale	202	272	289	305	237	564	392	362	678	591	527	705	614	715	684	893	634	456
Interest pymt	131	201	1929	63	393	57	3278	421	33	-	59	50	-	185	54	21	30	44
Loan repymt	-	-	793	468	-	-	-	-	1735	-	59	143	87	992	194	1267	100	-
Property sold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-	3422	-	20770	627
Money borrowed	1144	1803	2885	731	7952	15502	1900	2928	10519	4040	3815	5043	5926	30433	12660	5819	2230	5264
Factors rests	2830	2311	2305	496	2410	2476	3003	2310	1035	2664	4634	2953	6515	3513	4919	2431	1106	3237
Miscellaneous	-	-	453	4	9	81	11	5	93	907	11	407	29	64	374	20	26	-
Total	13127	14436	17798	11893	21463	27748	19161	16557	25678	21297	21805	22105	24285	47935	35224	23207	38359	22130

EXPENDITURES

All figures express in £Stirling

Item	Crop Year																	
	1774	1775	1776	1777	1779	1780	1781	1782	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793
Church, school manses etc.	149	148	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	530	153	-	-	-	-	-	380	200
General building	56	56	49	17	434	212	120	62	118	163	60	142	389	187	-	-	-	-
Cullen House & policies household	261	353	295	266	931	2281	410	458	3052	2745	1861	2648	4104	5748	4338	3275	1112	858
Family provision	1015	1034	803	803	803	1043	1043	1043	892	858	748	803	870	737	803	803	803	888
Lord Findlater	2319	1942	4578	2863	3596	1236	4771	3840	3103	4497	7276	6675	5619	3469	3567	3744	3931	4228
Management	100	100	100	-	-	-	319	-	151	393	262	235	293	350	477	345	370	374
Legal fees	-	100	90	-	-	100	207	-	224	-	157	25	141	58	208	148	174	71
Charties	140	159	126	117	121	135	117	114	144	323	135	253	155	117	124	145	221	206
Interests & annuities	1984	1694	1685	1242	1453	2116	2367	2468	2733	2713	3026	2570	3000	2873	4940	4422	4702	3443
Fishery boats & houses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	55	18	47	85	95	40	44	61	163
Inclosures & ameliorations	221	116	180	266	288	1244	640	553	719	570	435	363	284	708	863	594	376	434
Miscellaneous	170	161	150	115	159	755	1033	290	802	579	415	425	517	705	720	435	348	253
Land bought	-	-	-	-	-	6502	420	985	-	722	-	-	1500	22527	3216	-	-	-
Debt repymt	4240	6026	8833	3813	10716	3949	4612	2640	9789	1427	3828	818	2519	2146	10713	6656	22315	7461
Transfers & loans made	-	50	-	-	-	3527	561	441	300	-	-	100	-	100	-	-	-	-
Factors rests	2312	2296	497	1671	2476	3003	2310	3402	2664	4634	2953	6516	3513	4919	2431	1106	3232	3311
Free rent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	13127	14436	17798	11893	21463	27748	19161	16557	25678	21197	21805	22105	24285	47935	35224	23207	38359	22130

APPENDIX D

Landowners

Reign	Landowner
James I (1424-37)	Walter Ogilvy, 1st baron Auchlevyn & Deskford, b. 1419, d. 1464 (?)
James II (1437-60)	James Ogilvy, 2nd baron Deskford (1464-1509?)
James III (1460-88)	Alexander Ogilvy, 3rd baron Deskford & 1st baron Findlater (1510-1554)
James IV (1488-1513)	
James V (1513-42)	John Gordon, inheritor (1554-1562)
Mary Queen of Scots (1542-67)	James Ogilvy of Cardell, baron Deskford and Findlater (1554-74)
James VI & I (1567-1625) of England 1603	Walter Ogilvy, baron Deskford & Findlater (1574-1623) and 1st Lord Ogilvy of Deskford 1615.
Charles I (1625-49)	James Ogilvy, 2nd Lord Deskford & 1st Earl of Findlater 1638. (1624-52)
Lord Protector (1649-60)	Patrick Ogilvy, 3rd Lord Deskford & 2nd Earl of Findlater, etc. (1652-54)
Charles II (1660-85)	James Ogilvy, 4th Lord Deskford & 3rd Earl of Findlater etc. (1654-1711)
James VII & II (1685-1702)	
William & Mary (1689-1702)	James Ogilvy, Lord Chancellor, Secretary of State, 1st Earl of Seafield, Viscount Reidhaven, Lord Ogilvy of Deskford & Cullen 1701; and 4th Earl of Findlater (1711-30)
Anne (1702-14)	
George I (1714-27)	
George II (1727-60)	James Ogilvy, 5th Earl of Findlater, 2nd Earl of Seafield, etc. Vice-Admiral of Scotland 1738-64 (1730-64)
George III (1760-1820)	James Ogilvy, (Lord Deskford), 6th Earl of Findlater & 3rd Earl of Seafield, etc (1764-70)
Regency (1811-20)	James Ogilvy, 7th Earl of Findlater & 4th Earl of Seafield, etc. (1770-1811)
George IV (1820-30)	Lewis Alexander Ogilvy-Grant, 5th Earl of Seafield & William IV (1830-37)9th Baron Grant of Grant (1811-40)
Victoria (1837-1901)	Francis William Ogilvy-Grant, 6th Earl of Seafield, etc (1840-53)
	John Charles Ogilvy-Grant, 7th Earl of Seafield, etc. 1st Baron Strathspey in the United Kingdom (1853-81)
	Ian Charles Ogilvy-Grant, 8th Earl of Seafield, etc (1881-84)
	James Ogilvy-Grant, 9th Earl of Seafield, etc. (1884-88)
	Francis William Ogilvy-Grant, 10th Earl of Seafield (1888)
Edward VII (1901-11)	James Ogilvy-Grant, 11th Earl of Seafield, (1888-1915)
George V (1911-36)	Nina Caroline Ogilfy-Grant, 12th Countess of Seafield (1915-1968)
Edward VIII (1936-37)	
George VI (1937-52)	
Elizabeth II (I) (1952-)	Ian Derek Francis Ogilvy-Grant Studley-Herbert, 13th Earl of Seafield (1969 -)

APPENDIX E: CONSTRUCTION Contracts 1759-1732

1. Contract 1719 for Cullen House

Att Cullen the twentiesixth day of Ffebry one thousand seven hundred and ninteen years. It is condiscended and aggreedupon betwixt William Lorimer Chamberlain to the Earle of FFindlater and Seafeild etc., and James Ogilvy mason in Elgin on the one and other parts in manner following That is to say the said James Ogilvy for the summe of money after mentioned to be payed to him in manner and after the terms after expressed binds and oblidges him, and his after (-) to slop apart of the wall towards the west of the said Earle his house of Cullen of that roome commonly called the roome betwixt the new and the old walls of the said house, for building and in putting a new public gate in thise wall and to build and upputt the said gate att four foot of breath and as high as the said wall will allow, under the josts of the first storie of the foresaid roome. And lykeways to slopp and take down the largh dore of the gravell wall of the old house of Bullen betwixt the present publick entry and the Kitchen doore and to erect ane new door in place therof at four foot breath and seven foot high at least, as also to slop the fore and boack walls of this said roome for inputting the josts of the first stone thereof and building the windows of the second storie of the said roome inmanner after entioned, and further to build upputt the said fore and back walls of the foresaid house as high as the late Earle of Findlater his roome on the north part thereof stand builded, and the build the south gavell of the said roome as high and correspondent to the north gavell thereof already build with ane chimney in the said south gavell arising form the floor of the third storie fo the said house now to be built and camping up the same to the hight of the chimney head already built on the north part of the said house. And further to slop the windows of the fore and back walls of the said second storie of the said house and upputt the same att four foot breath ten foot high, and the windows of the upperstorie to be built, conforme to the dimensions of the windows of the said Earle his gallery in the old house of Cullen, the free stone of the said windows being all moulded for chasshes and to be payd for be the siad Earle conform to a separatet contract of this daitt and further the said James Ogilvy is to sevell and inputt the haill josts of the second and third stories of the said roome and

the balcony of the said haill work on both walls And the said James Ogilvy oblidges him and his foresaids to make the said whole work as sufficient every manner of way as the rest of the work of the said new house of Cullen already built is, he always getting the lyke materialls and he is to slop the said wall for the gate upputt the said gate betwixt the daitt hereoff and the first dy of September next And to enter to the rest of the said worke att the fytheenth day of March January (1720) and continue theratt till completing the same. And for that effect the said James Ogilvy oblidges him and his to have three qualifyed workmen desyde himself constuntly to attend the said work until lthe same be compleited. For the which causes the said William Lorimer binds and oblidges him in name of the said Earle to pay or cause be payed to the said James Ogilvy his airs exrs or assigneys the summe of one hundred and eightie pound Scots mony att the terms and according to the division after mentioned Viz sixtie pounds money thereof att the entry to the said work sixtie pounds mony foresaid att putting on the josts of the third storie, and the other sixtie pound att the completion of the work with four bolles meall of bountyof the whole work And one shilling six pennce Scots per day of morning drink to each of the said three men. The said James having his own bed and dyett in the said Earle his family. And the said William Lorimer is to furnish barrowmen, scaffoling nails and other materialls necessary for the said work mason tools excepted. In witness whereof both parties have scribbed their (written be Mr. Robert Kot Blinshell Clerk of Cullen) palce day month and year of God above mentioned before witnesses John Lorimer, George Philp, William Whyte, servitors to the said Earl and the said Rot Blinshell.

Wm Lorimer

James Ogilvie

2. Contract for Cullen House Renovation 1720

Att Cullen House the Ninth day of December (1720). It is condescended and aggreed upon betwixt an noble and potent Earl James Earl of Findlater and Seafield on the one part and James Ogilvy mason is Elgine on the other part in manner and to the effect following that is to say the said James Ogilvy for the summs of monie and quantity of meall aftermentioned to be payed to him be the said Earl or his order att the terms after exprest Binds and obliges him and his to build erect and upputt for the said Earl his house of Cullen, and staircase consisting of eighteen foots and an half foot wideness and twentie seven foot half foot length within walls, and of three storie height, having two windows in the lower room of the said staircase One the rof towards the east and an other towards the south, each of saied windows consisting of three feet breadth, and four feet five inches height, togehter with an entrie door or gate in the sied staircase to the said Earl his gairding, consistenge of three feet eight inches breadth and seven foot three inchdes height; and having in the second storie of the said staircase three windows towards the east, consisting of the same dimensions of bredth and height with the windows of the giggroom of Hall lately built by the said Earl att the north of the said staircase; and likeways having in the upper or third storie of the said staircase three windows towards the east of the like breadth and height of the windows of the third storie of the rooms above the said biggroom or hall built this year by the said Earl; and to level the geests of the said third story of the said staircase equal with the geests of the said Earl his present gallary of the said house of Cullen: As allso to build and extend the walls of the said staircase above the said geests to the height of an convenient room such as shall be appointed be the said Earl with an chimney is the said upper room in any place ther of as the Earl shall appoint. And lykeways to furnish bases ballasters and cover of the said ballasters to the roof of the said staircase for making the same an ballcony; and further the said James Ogilvy is to slopp that part of the wall of the lowest story of the said newwork towards the south for making an entire door to the scalstair aftermentioned and to build and erect the said door att three and an half foots breadth and seven foot height plain work, and to build and erect and Scalestair within the said staircase consisting of three turning each turning having seven steps with slatts conform to the said turnings,

together with esler and hewen work necessary for the said stair, the stair itself consisting of six foot breadth see margival note and to slop the wall betwixt the inner seller of the old south jam of the said Old house of Cullen and the stair to be built inthe said staircase and to build and erect an door therin such as the wall will allow, together with an door of hewen work in the new pantrie of the said stair or staircase. The said door having concave mouldire, and the landing or uppermost flatt of the said scalestair is to be on a levell with the floor of the present outermost room from the dyning room of the said old hour os Cullen; And the said James Ogilvy is likeways to slopp the wall build and erect an new door from the said upper flatt of the stair to the said outter room from the present dining room consisting of foots of breadth and foots of height; and lideways to slopp build and erect an door from the gallary of the said Earl his house to the upper or third room of the said staircaise consisting of such dimensions of breadth andheight as the room will allow and that sashways or otherways the Earl shall appoint as allso the said James Ogilvy for the causes aftermentioned is to furnish for the said Earl his used one thousand foot of pavement stones for the parlour of the said new house and second table rom adjecent thertoe and as many pavement stones as well serve for the said staircaise and lower pantrie; And in the like manner the said James Ogilvy is hereby bound to slopp the walls of the pantrie head of the said old house of Cullen and erect an entrie therein consisting of two doords from the present outter room of the said old house to the forsaid new hall or dyningroon consisting of such dimensions as the Earl shall appoint and the work shall allow; and likeways to slopp and inputt two doords from the present gallary of the said old house to the third story of the forsaid new house his year built by the said Earl consisting of such dimensions as the walls will allow and finallie the said James Ogilvy is to slopp and build an new window to the old staircase foot door of the jamm of the said house and three windows in the said jamm betwixt the foot of the said jamm and the gallary door of such dimensions as the walls will allow and the Earl shall appoint as allso the build an partition wall of stone and lyme betwixt the palour of the said low room allreadie built and the room designed for a secnd table rom with an other wall from the said cross middwall to the present kitching door of the said new work both which walls are be built jeest height and have in them two entrie doors in such places as the Earl shall appoint each door being free stone jamms soles

and lintells to be furnished by the said Earl himself; and the said James Ogilvy is the furnish and hew the haill freestones necessary the forsaid staircaise, scalestair, flatts, doors, windows, pavement, eslerwork, lintels, soles, corner stones, bases, ballasters, covering of said ballasters, sones for compleeting the chimney, caping, garling, water barges & bases of the said chimney, and tabling necessary for compleeting the forsaid stair and staircaise chimney windows doors and others above mentioned and to make the stones appointed for the said haill windows moulded fitt for Sauches, and likeways to make the whole work of the said staircaise, stair and other good and sufficient mason work And to finish and compleet the said haill work betwixt the date herof and the first day of January (1722); and likeways the said James Ogilvy is to make a new window in the west wall of the old staircaise jamm betwixt the present door f the old pantrie head and the wall of the said new hall or dynningroom of the dimensions of the windows of the said new hall or bigg dyning rom, and to make an other windown betwixt the twoe doores from the gallary to the rooms above the new hall of the dimensions of the windows of the said new rooms and to furnish free stones and hew the same of the same mouldrie with the said windows of the new work and the levell the wall and inputt the jeests of the said balcony roof of the said staircaise, And the said James Ogilvy is hereby oblieged to make such alterations in making the door from the staircaise to the Lobie as may preserve a window of the same mouldrie with the rest and of such dimensions as the work will allow and hew and to build erect and furnish freestones for the same. For the which causes the said Earl binds and oblieges him his heirs exers and successors to content and pay to the said James Ogilvy his heirs, exers, or assigneys the summ of six hundred fiftie two pounds Scots money and twentie boll sof meall att the terms and conform to the division aftermentioned Viz the summ of two hundred pounds monie forsaid att the date herof, one hundred pounds att the levelling of the jeests of the said staircasie from the gallary, another hundred pounds monie forsaid att compleeting the second turning or flatt of the said stair, an other hundreded pounds at compleeting the said stair and slopping and putting up the doors to the bigg hall and the sperplus of the forsaid haill summ to be payed att compleeting the haill above work, the forsaid twentie bolls meall to be payed as the work requires and the said James Ogilvy shall demand and one shilling six pennies Scots per day for morning drink to each mason the said James

Ogilvy shall have with him att the forsaid work; he himself having bedd and baord within the Earls family and the said Earl is likeways to give the said James Ogilvy and new suit of cloths and an hatt to the value of sixetie pounds Scots monie and taht by way of gratuity of bounty to the whole bargina, and the said Earl is likeways to furnish rock stone, lyme, barrowmen, scaffolding, and to pay the boating & boat fraught of the said freestones; and both parties oblieges them to perform their respective parts of the premises to each other under the (failure) of two hundred pounds monie foresaid by and attover performance and for the more security both said parties consent to the registration hereof in any Judges courtbooks competent within this Kingdom that all execution necessary may pass here on in form as offeirs and for that effect they constitut, their prers for witness wherof they have subt their presents wrn on this and three preceding pages of stamped paper by Patrick Lorimer servant to William Lorimer Chamberlain to said Earl; place day moneth & year of God above Wrn, before these witnesses the said William Lorimer above designed John Lorimer and William White servants to said Earl and the said Patrick Lorimer, witnessess also the said James Ogilvy his signing the two marginal notes on the second page and the marginal note on the third page.

Findlater
James Ogilvy

3. CONTRACT - 1723

At Cullen House the twentie eight day of November Seventeen and twentie three years. It is condescended and aggreed upon betwixt and noble and potent Earl James Earl of Findlater and Seafield and etc. on the one part and James Ogilvie mason in Elgin on the other part in manner and to the effect following that is to say the said James Ogilvie for the causess aftermentioned binds and oblieges him to slopp the two windows looking towards the west in the room att the north end of said Earl his great hall within his house of Cullen and to build the said windows of the height breadth and mouldrie with the windows of the said hall, to carry on the belt below the saids two windows according as the same is done in the said Hall, and sicklike to slopp the door passing from the said room into the nurserie and to make the same of equall height and breadth with the other door theirof from the said Haill, as allso to build up with stone and lyme the window in the said room looking towards the east, and likeways to slopp the bigg window in the late Earl's room by taking out the sole theirof and making the said window upon a levell with the other windows in the upperstorie of the new work lately built and allso to slopp the other window in the said room looking towards the west, and make the same of equal breadth and height with the forsaid window but of the mouldrie of th eother windows of the said upper storie and to furnish and upputt a Storm head upon the said window of the like fashion with the rest of the windows of the said upper storie lately putt up and sicklike to slopp the door passing from the said room o the late Earl his bigg closet and make the same of equall breath and height with the dor that comes from the two rooms in the upper storie to the said room and to build up with stone and lyme the window in the said room looking towards the East, and likeways to take down the wall on each side of the great gate of the said House of Cullen below the sole of the window of the room form of the siad bigg hall and to build the same up sweepways equally on boh sides of the gate to the cornise allreadie placed above the Coat of Arms standing above the said gate and cover the said wall on both sides with sufficient pavement stones fitt for that purpose and to build the wall next to the brewhouse of equal thickness with the rest of the said wall and to build up that part therof with rock stone and lyme when the old stair was that went to the topp of the gate and the said James Ogilvie binds and oblieges him to

furnish hew and lay the haill freestones, rebats soles lintals pavement and other freestone whatsoever that shall be necessary for completing the hail above work which is to be finished betwixt and the first day ofJuly next under the penaltie of fourtie pounds Scots by and attover performance for the which causes the said James Earl of Findlater and Seafield binds and oblieges him and his to content and pay to the said James Ogilvie and his the sumen of Eightie pounds Scots monie the one half thereof att eh begining of the work and the other half aff compleeting the smae and to pay the boat freight for the freestones necessary for the said work and to furnish barrow, and rock stone and lyme for the msai, and the said James Ogilvie is to have bedd and dyet during his continuance att the said work and each of this servants massons to have their morning drink or eighteen pennies Scots for each working day they shall be att the said work consenting to the registration hereof in any judges court books competent within this Kingdom that all execution necessary may pass here upon in form as affars and for that effect constitute their prese in witness wherof both saids parties have subscribed their presents witnessed by Patrick Lorimer servant to the said Earl place day moneth and year of God above witnesses by John Lorimer & William Whyte servants to the said Earl and the said Patrick Lorimer.

Findlater
James Ogilvie

4. CONTRACT 1732

At Cullen House the day of 1732 years. It is condescended and agreed upon betwixt ane Noble Earl James Earl of Findlater and Seafield Lord Ogilvie of Deskford and Cullen on the one part and Alexander Fraser mason in Raws of Huntley on the other part in maner and to the effect following. That is to say the said Alex. Fraser forthe sumof money aftermentioned binds and obliges him to build and erect the two new aditions to the said Earl his mansion House of Cullen of the dimensions and according to two plans thereof drawn by Mr. William Adams architect and subscribed by the said Alex. Fraser of this date the laigh stories of which additions are to be vaulted and the whole work to be sufficiently done conform to thw said plan and the walls thereof to be so built that they may join and exactly correspond with the wall sof the forasid House of Cullen formerly built in order that the old work thereof and this present new work to be built by the said Alex. Fraser may be sufficiently joyned and made water tight and sichlyke and said Alex. Frser binds and obliges him to bild and erect in the said new work 10 vents of chimnies and to carry up the same to the top of said work and mantle the same sufficienlty with free stone. As also to furnish to the said Earl the hail free stone that shall be necessary for the wholle devres windows, chimnies and otherways at the rate of £5 Scots money per running foot and also the steps of the oval stair at the rate of 27/step and flat and the other stair mentioned in said plan at £25/step and flat declaring allways that the said Alex. Frser is hereby obliged to fress, hew and square and take down from any place the said Earl or his factor shall apoint what free stone shall be thought necessary for said work out of his houses of Kempkcairn, Milltown of Keight, or any other place within his Lordships interest and fit the samen stones for the above work. hereby contracted upon at this price of 2 shillings six pence Scots/ foot counting the same still with an runnig line as the new free stone is to be measured, as also the said Alex. Fraser binds and obliges him to have sufficient measons and burrowmen for building of said work and to enter to the same betwixt and the 20th day of May or sooner if required next to come and to finish to oval stair contained in the foresaid plans and two stories of the other adition therein mentioned betwixt and the first of October next and to compleet the whole work specified in said

plan betwixt and the fifteenth day of May 1733 and to slop such doors and windows and make other conveniencies in the said work as in and by the said plan if directed and ppointed and shall necessary for compleating the communiation betwixt the old work and this new work presently to be built for the which causes the said Noble Earl James Earl of Findlater and Seafield binds and obliges him his heirs and sucessors to content and pay to the said Alex. Fraser the sum of £60 Sterling money for the building of the mason work of

etc . . It continues to describe Money paid for materails plus schedule of payment, any new stones is to be brought to Cullen harbour by Fraser.

APPENDIX F

Gardener's Report 1732-65

GD 248-590-1-21
Cullen
1765

The extent of ground, and number of trees planted in the policies and plantations about Cullen the seat of the right honourable the Earl of Findlater and Seafield under the direction of George Nicolson from 1732 to 1765.

1734

The grass parks as they are divided by strips of plantings between every two parks, was begun in the year 1734, and finished in the year 1740, consisting of the farms of Old Miln, Upper and Nether Craghead, Achnga, Castlefield, and parts of the farms of Upstrath and Claypots, including the breas of Battle Haugh, Smal burn Den, Crannehaugh, and Breas and Haugh oposite to old Miln, etc.

300 acres . . . . . 439,000 trees

1747

The great plantations was begun 1747 and consisted of 900,000 fir, 360,000 birch, 30,000 oaks, 30,000 beeche, 40,000 ash, 30,000 elm, 10,000 larch, planted on the Lettle Bin and its invirons. These were planted at 6 ft. distant and each acre had about 1464 trees.

1100 acres . . . . . 1,600,00 trees

The north side of the Big Bin contains all fir

90 acres . . . . . 131,760 trees

The pice of ground between upstrath and woodside

60 acres . . . . . 87,840 trees

The Hill of Badds planted with firs

600 acres . . . . . 878,400 trees

The Lang hill contains 200,000 fir, 50,000 birch, 30,000 oak, 40,000 ash, 20,000 elm, 11,000 larax, 20,000 beach

260 acres . . . . . 878,400 trees

A pice of ground added to the Lang hill above Padenbringen consisted of 60,000 fir, 10,000 oak, 4,000 elm, 6,000 beech, 6,000 ash.

60 acres . . . . . 86,000 trees

Clean Hill contains 40,000 fir, 10,000 birch, 4,000 elm, 2560 ash,

40 acres . . . . . 56,560 trees

Crana Hill contains 200,000 fir, 16,600 birch, 4,000 beech

150 acres . . . . . 220,000 trees

2,660 acres . . . . . 3,878,600 trees

A list of Foreign American trees, and tree seeds, shrubs and flower seeds from America, London and other places for ornimenting the plantations and pleasace ground about Cullen preceeding the year 1765.

<u>Purchased from Christyfor Gray, London by Lord Deskfoord, January 24, 1746</u>

1 red nutmeg peach, 1 white peach, 1 Jean Hatice plum, 1 Whit primordian plum, 1 french minion peach, 1 white Magdalch peach, 1 Christ. Thorn, 11 white persamine, 1 corrigia, 1 persian jassimine, 1 verginian sumach, 1 New England sumach, 1 Carolina sumach, 2 American cyperss, 2 flowering ash, 2 scarlet flowering maple, 2 Carolina poplars, 2 Catalphas, 2 Acacias of virginia, 1 Yuca or Adams neddle, 1 evergreen honeysuckle, 1 Late red hoeysukle, 1 Dutch honeysuckle, 1 Italian honeysukel, 1 trumpet honeysukle, 1 doube virgins bowr, 1 Caralina been kidny, 1 Travlers joy Tulsans, 2 Trumpet flowers, 1 Clematites, 1 peper tree, 1 passion flower, 1 fore vine, 1 striped joy, 1 rid virgins bower, 2 ash leaved maples, 1 saven, 1 arbor vitea, 1 moss prinvce rose, 1 Austrian rose, 1 scarlet horse chesnut, 1 dutch 100 leaved rose, 2 arbor judea, 1 double flower sweet bryr, 1 purple althea, 1 white althea, 1 scarlet althea, 1 stiped flower althea, 1 Norway mpale, 1 red maple, 1 white

Mezerion, 1 red meserion, 1 bladder nut, 1 bladder sena, 1 true phyrea, 1 common laural, 2 alaternus, 1 silver hedghog holly, 1 evergreen privite, 1 portugal laural, 1 quart evergreen acorns, 10 cones ceder Labanon, 12 cones stone pine, 30 cones cluster pine, 7 perwinkles 7 sorts, ¼ lb Larax seed, 3 whiping willows, 3 occidental platunus, 3 spanish platunus, 1 double plssomed peach, 1 double blossomed almond, 1 dwarf almond, 1 fruit bearing almond, 1 cinqufoll shrub, 1 st. Johns wood, 1 st pelcos wood, 1 double yellow rose, 1 white cluster rose, 2 yellow jessimine, 2 cornilian cherries, 2 swedish junipers, 1 glassnbury thorn, 1 cockspur thorn, 1 layzeral, 1 pyracantha, 1 double flowered pyracantha.

Tree seeds from New England 1747

New England pines, pinaster, silver firr, american larax, stone pine, common larax, Balm of Gelead, Cornilian Cherrie, New England Sumach, Candleberrie tree, Water elder, Tulip tree seed.

Shrubs from London 1748

2 evergreens roses, 4 maidens blush roses, 2 double yellow roses, 3 blush 100 leaved roses, 2 moss province roses, 4 evergreen honeysukles, 2 late red roses, 10 fily roses, Jutsans, joyants periwinkle, 20 acacias, 8 arbuts, 2 Caraline cherries, 1 silver striped joy, 3 svions, 3 cherry plums of virginia, 68 ceder of virgini, 8 arburvitae, 500 larax, 2 cedars of Lebanon, 2 Chinas arburvita, 10 tulips of virgini, 7 cedars of Lebanon, 30 Italian cyperss, 4 blush belie rose, 4 double yellow roses.

Flowering shurbs from Chirst. Gray, London 1749

10 American cyperss, 20 Noraway maple, 5 striped chesnuts, 10 bird cherries, 6 Area Theopharastis, 3 scarlet Althea, 3 purple althea, 3 striped althea, 3 silver striped althea, 3 white flowered althea, 3 yellow blotched althea, 3 tacamahaca, 10 virginian acacias, 1 striped oak, 1 virginian sumach, 4 double fl. brambles, 10 new england medlar, 4 parsly leaved elder, 10 arbor jueas, 10 hyperican frutex, 1 striped white elm, 1 double flowered cherrie, 2 haws with pyracantha leaves, 2 white ceders, 1 snow drop or finge tree.

Tree seeds from Pensilvania 1749

Magnolia or rose laural, sower gum of typelo, sasiifras or cornas, tulip tree, candlberrie myrtle, beach cherrie, arbur judea, persimum, alspice, spanish oack, swamp spanish oak, white oak, black oak, red oak, willow oak, champean spanish oak, lard tough grained whited, large black and white walnut, this shelved hiccory, rought hiccory, white hiccory, white ash, white ceder, reid ceder, scumach, beech sumach, vibernum, long cond Whymouth pine., two and three leaved pine with small cones, 3 leaved pine with rough cones, jersypine.

American tree seeds from Lord Hoptoun 1750

White oak acrons, mixed flowering poplar, black flowering poplar, sycamore seed, locust tree seed, strasburgh pines, honey locust in pods, honey locust seed, red plum peach, learge yellow soft peach, white plum peach, date plum, black gum berries, 1 dogwood berries, dwarf sumach, staghorn tree, virginian ivy, hiccory nuts.

American trees from Mr. Hammond 1750

1 pomgrante with a double flower, 1 passion flower, a few small norway maples, 3 striped chesnuts, 10 bird cherries, 5 cornilian cherries, 6 theopherasties, 3 althea frutice, 10 virginian acacias, 2 striped oaks, 4 virginian sumacks, 4 double flowering brambles, 10 dwarf melars, 4 parsly leaved elders, 10 juas trees, 10 hypericum frutiae, 2 striped white elm.

Tree seeds from America by commission 1750

Tuplip tree seeds, sugar maple, white hiccory, sweet soft shelved hiccory, long walnut, white walnut, white oak acorns, mountain or chesnut oak, dwarffe oak from desant, honey locust, weet flowering locust, judas tree, great mountainn magnolia, magnolia swamp, sweet gum, common sumach, teatedie or beech sumach, murtle tree, sassafras, red ceder, cypress, silver firr, jersey pine, three leaved pine, Weymouthspine, dogwood, white ceder,

American trees from (-) Bartrum 1752

flower paplar, sweet gom, black gum berries, virginian dogwood, virginian reid but virginian hop hornbeam, virginian sumack, virginian ivy, anow wood tree,

virginian mulberrie, unknown virginian tree, virginian sycamore.

American tree seeds from John Bartum 1753

Sweet gum of liquid amber, sower gum or tupelo, jursy pine, three leafed pine, Weymouts pine, rose leaved magnolia, siliqastrum or judastree, thin shelled hiccory, rough hiccory, pspanish oak, black oak, white oak, swamp spanish oak, red oak, willow oak, hard tough grained white oak, dogwood, white ceder, champain spanish oak, red ceder, candelberrie myrtle, sassafras, slucster cherrie, beech cherrie, beech sumack, black sumach, viburnum or sheeps turd.

American seeds from John Bartrum 1754

Jersey pine, silver firr, tulip tree, two and three leaved pine, red ceder, sugar maple, sweet soft shelled hiccory, honey locust, sweet flowering locust, siliqUarum, white oak acrosn, mountain chesnut oak, white ceder or cypress, dwarffe red oak of the desant, sassafras berries, dogwood berries, white hiccory, beech sumack, myrtle berries, cluster cherrie, magnolia swamp, lotus, great mountain magnolia, sweet gum, common sumach, white long walnut, new england pine.

American tree seeds from Mr. William Crawfoord 1756

Tulip tree seed, magnolia or bay tree, ceder or juniper, ceder or juniper, sweet gum, sycamore burrs, sweet maple, red maple, suitch beech, virginian beech, virginian elm, swamp ash berries, wild locust pods, pisamain seed, (-), (-), crab aples, chinguapin, dogwood, horse wood berries, sweet wood berries, green wood beries, red wood berries, black arrow wood boll, hard wood pods, tyew berries, seven bark seed unknown seed, mountain cherrie, grape cherrie, winter cherrie, tree sumach, black sumach, red mountain cherrie, grape cherrie, winter cherrie, tree sumach, black sumach, red sumach, red bud, red boutt berries, red haws, white haws, posion haws, white thorn berries, bastard elder, virginian hasle nuts, winter grapes, red grapes, sugar currans, wild goose-berries, virginian brambles, short leaved ivy, jesuct burrs, alspice, great mountain pease, callivant pease, chester pease, red pease, gray pease, forward balck eyed pease, barren huckleberries, geen sang seed, phytolacia poke wood.

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